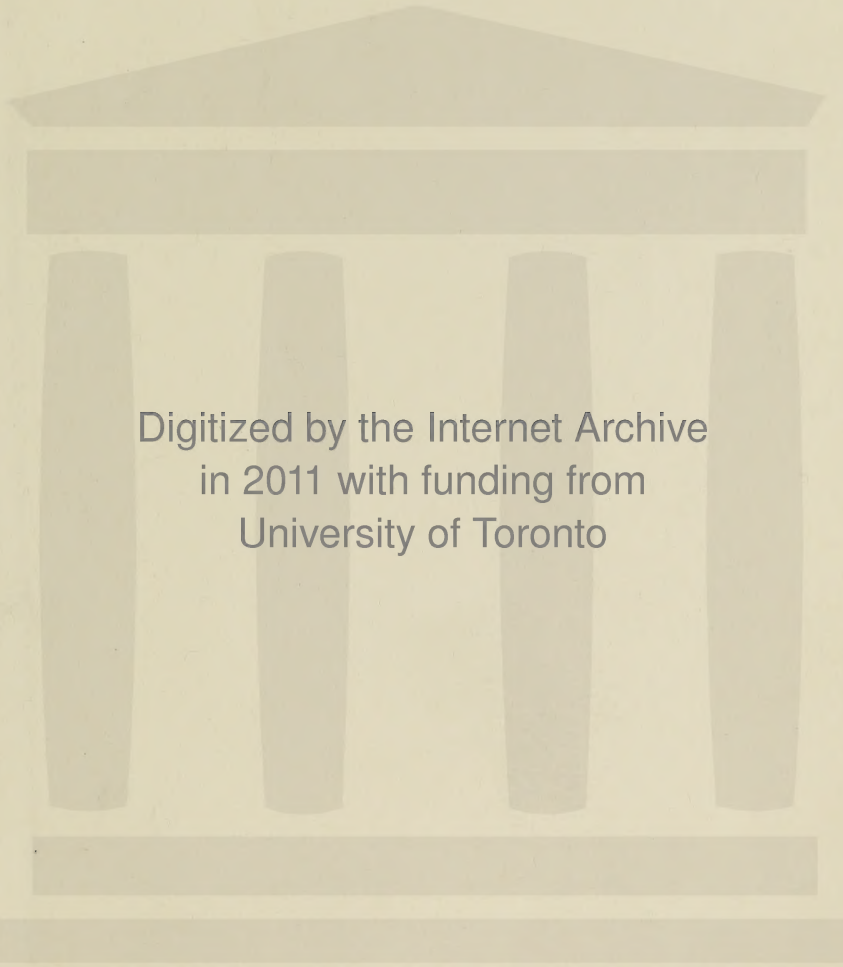




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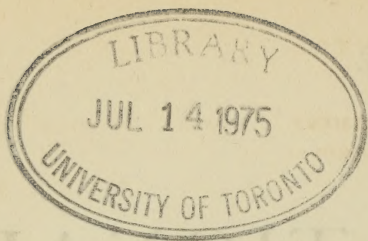
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THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1876.

THE HERZEGOVINAN QUESTION.

WHEN the Sultans conquered what has since been called European Turkey, the lands they added to their realm were inhabited by a curious medley of races. At Constantinople, as well as in its immediate vicinity, the Greeks, the ruling race of the Byzantine Empire, were the predominating element. Only a hundred miles farther north the tongue changed. There appeared the Bulgarians, a Tartar tribe from the banks of the distant Volga, who had taken the land from its original possessors, had adopted the religion and speech of the latter, and nominally, if not really, had become in time a Christian and Slavonian people. Still farther north, on the other side of the Danube, the Wallachians, or as they have recently begun to call themselves, Roumanians, occupied the wide plains sloping down from the Transylvanian hills. If the Bulgarians are a mixture of the early Slavonian settlers and Tartar immigrants, the Roumanians are the offspring of Slavonians, and Romans colonized under the Emperor Trajan. As in the case of the Bulgarians, the Tartar language was superseded by a more highly developed Slavonian dialect, so in Wallachia, the Slavonian being the less cultivated form of speech, had to give way to the Roman, though, it is true, to an excruciatingly mangled and corrupt form of Roman. Recrossing the Danube to the south, and proceeding west, the Turkish military explorers came upon the only Slavonian tribe of the region, which had managed to preserve purity of race amid the flux and reflux of ebbing nationalities. These were the Servians, the sole inhabitants of the now semi-independent principality of Servia, who also form the bulk of the population in the districts immediately south and west. Still farther west

and south, in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Albania, the character of the race changes again. Here the ground-work of society to this day is the ancient Pelasgian, who occupied the Greece of pre-historic times ; fell back before the immigration of the heroic Ionian, and in later days, under the territorial names of Epirote and Macedonian, formed the armies of Pyrrhus and Alexander the Great. In Bosnia and Herzegovina this unique relic of primeval times had been Slavonized and Christianized even in the days of Turkish invasion. In outward appearance this section is to-day completely Slavonic and Orthodox, while farther south, the old language survives, forming the distinctive mark of the wildest tribe among white men. The portion of the Pelasgian race, clinging to its primitive vernacular, is now called Albanian, and with the exception of a Roman Catholic section, whose inhabitants are denominated Mirdites, professes Mohammedanism.

Such was the ethnological aspect of the land when the miserable Byzantine succumbed to the courageous Turk ; and such it is now, after the lapse of 400 years since the fall of the last Constantine, and the accession of the first Mohammed. Nor is this the only respect in which European Turkey remains what European Byzantium was. The eastern since its separation from the western half of the Roman empire, never deserved the name of an organized or even civilized polity. Though the capital contained a numerous bureaucracy and a good many intelligent, cultivated, and scholarly men, the ancient genius of the Greeks was wholly extinct, and there remained nothing around the graves of so much greatness but a foul heap of despotism, corruption, and avarice. Culture was confined to a few individuals burrowing in the treasures of the past, without an idea that intellectual attainments could be anything but a pastime of the learned few, while political life had so entirely fled from the centers of the ruling nationality, that the only institutions they could give to the subject races were tax-gatherers attended by headsmen and police. In wonderful consonance with the peculiar system of government cherished by the degenerate Greek, was the administration introduced by the Turks after the conquest. If the Greek had no culture to impart to the tributary barbarians, because he had long lost the last lingering memory of what was once his ; the Turk had still less to communicate, never having got beyond mere rudiments himself. If the Greek looked too much down upon Slavonian and Tartar to take an interest in the life and manners of these outer barbarians ; the Turk—who would not have objected to the barbarism of his new subjects, which hardly equaled his own—too utterly despised them for

being Christians, to wish for any contact. Thus the Padishahs slid easily into the habit of perpetuating the political arrangements of their Christian predecessors. They exacted tributes; allowed their military and civil representatives to plunder, torture, and kill for their private benefit, over and above what had to be done in the public interest; and every now and then quelled a rebellion by main force, or, if they could not quench it by arms, bought off insurgents by bribes, or hounded one mutinous element against the other. In consequence of this preposterous course, pursued by two successive and apparently opposite governments, the bulk of the population in European Turkey continues in a condition not unlike that of a thousand years ago. Ninety-nine out of every hundred inhabitants are tillers of the soil, using the most primitive instruments, and raising no crops beyond what is required to avoid starvation. The infinitesimal minority are Turkish counts, expert in the use of poniard and whip, Greek traders, reputed the greatest cheats in the universe, and a few miserable artisans, chiefly made up of Jews and gypsies who supply the peasantry with those indispensable articles not manufactured by their toiling wives and daughters. There are hardly any schools except for Mohammedans, where some useless Arabic and Persian is drummed into the heads of the young scholars; there are many churches, but no religion which is not pagan in its form, while its most visible effect is to foster mutual hatred between the different sects. Most of the Christians belong to the Greek Orthodox, or Oriental church; some few are Roman Catholics; others, still fewer, adhere to the Nestorian or Armenian patriarchs. With the exception of a bishop here and there, the Christian clergy are as coarse and brutal as the peasantry, or as their Mohammedan colleagues.

Political institutions are on a par with the moral and intellectual status. Every month or so the Sultan changes his cabinet, to please the caprice of one of his wives, to suit the taste of his eunuchs, or in obedience to the behests of the foreign ambassadors, and the padishah's advisers fly in and out of office, like pigeons in a dove-cote. The new ministers forthwith appoint a new set of provincial governors, who hasten to procure a fresh staff of tax-gatherers—the only species of working officials thought worth their bread in that practical country—and the machinery set up is immediately put in motion to utilize the precious time. In a month it is all over with Pasha this, and Pasha that, steps in to renew the old tragedy under a new name. What with government taxes, official exactions, and ground-rent to be paid to Turkish land-owners, no Christian peasant has more than enough to

keep body and soul together. Many have not even this, and depopulation is steadily going on. A land whose fertility is unparalleled in Europe, and whose mines, were they properly worked, might pour out an inexhaustible stream of iron, coal, and copper, is with difficulty made to yield enough to maintain a handful of ragged, desperate, and semi-savage villagers. The Turk, as complete a Tartar as when he left the Siberian steppes, too stupid and too lazy for even the rudiments of civilization, as a matter of course is equally indifferent to the growth of that particular quality in his subjects. Though as a private individual by no means without estimable qualities, such as honesty, courage, and the love of truth, he is, nevertheless, too inveterate a barbarian to be able to conceive any art or practice of government which does not include robbing and killing. Systematically to enforce these, he has had recourse to two simple expedients. The Turkish army consists of Mohammedans only, Christians being expected to pay a special tax for an exemption, intended to render them defenseless; while to adopt a civil arrangement corresponding with this military one, Christians, with a few insignificant exceptions, are neither officials nor judges; nor—that which is the chief beauty of the system—is Christian testimony accepted against Mohammedan offenders. What this leads to, in the prevailing savagery of the latitude, we need not expatiate upon. To show how directly these national and religious contrasts work upon each other, we will call attention to the size of the country. With all its multifarious components, the area of European Turkey is not much larger than twice that which the United States can spare for its lakes. A safety-valve to the Turk, who derives security from so many contending races, this proximity of different languages and religions, renders the present dispensation particularly odious to all the various sects of Christians.

It was in the month of May that the disturbance in Herzegovina was first announced. Occurring at a moment when the European world was preparing for its usual summer siesta, it attracted little notice. It was really too much to expect of political society that it would take an interest in those ever-disturbed regions, when genial spring was approaching, and trunks were being inspected preparatory to the next pleasure trip. Turkey had been too often agitated by periodical spasms to excite particular apprehensions; particularly when we were daily told that, thanks to the intimate relations between Berlin, Vienna, and St. Petersburg, peace was guaranteed for ages. But appearances are deceptive. It soon became apparent that the present *émeute* was a serious one, or at least was considered such

by the telegraphic agencies. These latter institutions in European lands being mostly connected with government offices, it is comparatively unimportant which presumption was correct. The telegraph insisted upon being afraid, and the public, suspecting whence the agitating news issued, after awhile fell into a like uncomfortable state of mind. Disquietude once excited, it was speedily increased by the ignorance prevailing as to which government pulled the wires; for as all make use of this powerful instrument, all to a certain extent place their telegraphic bureaus at each other's disposal, reciprocating services which there is no saying how soon they may want themselves. Gauging the rebellion by its own merits, there was certainly nothing particularly original about it. A census, we were told, was being taken, when the well-known arbitrary arithmetic of Turkish officials led to a murder or two, which set the stone rolling.¹ A Christian peasant in Turkey, besides being expected to surrender at least half his produce to the landlord, has to pay a variety of taxes to the government. He pays a capitation-tax, a military service exemption-tax, and several other imposts levied upon him or the members of his family personally. In addition to this he pays so much, for every tree he grows in his garden, every ox and sheep he rears in his stable, nay, upon every egg he allows to turn into a chicken. The tax-gatherers having an amiable weakness for multiplying the human and animal objects coming under the cognizance of the law, many a desperate collision has resulted from a dispute as to the sum of one and one. If the victim have a chicken or a sheep to spare for the census officers, these intelligent individuals are easily convinced that their liberal friend is too poor to be taxed at all; but if the man be really too destitute to respond, or if he is suspected of hiding away his substance, then woe betide him. Though the Turk is too lazy to be inventive, even as a tyrant, there is no lack of harassing tortures ready at hand. Recusants who do not see the benefit of enriching the Sultan or his officers, are sent up a tree, where they have to remain for a week or so. For a change they may have to stand with water in their shoes for a couple of days, planted to the same spot, or they are beaten to death; or they have their wives or daughters taken from them; or they have the image of their patron saint desecrated, at the risk of terrible retribution from the insulted picture. All these playful amenities are doubly felt in Bosnia

¹ Murder and revolt are every-day occurrences in Turkey, especially in the Bosnian Vilayet, where robbing on the one hand, or withholding on the other, has almost always been at the bottom of these sanguinary outrages.

and Herzegovina. These provinces bordering upon Hungary, whither the German feudal system extended in the middle ages, long years ago adopted arrangements similar to those of their more aristocratic neighbors. At the time of the Turkish conquest, Bosnia and Herzegovina were the only Slavonic parts of the new empire possessing a native nobility who owned the land, and a peasantry who tilled it for them. The existence of this chivalrous and warlike class at first strengthened resistance, but when defeat was an accomplished fact, riveted the bonds of the conquered. While the peasantry with nothing to lose remained Christians, the nobility to a man became Mohammedans, to save their patrimony. Had these new Mohammedans adopted the Turkish speech, the original difference between them and the real Osmanlis¹ would have disappeared in time; but as they still use the Slavonic vernacular they are doubly hateful to the peasantry, who are daily reminded of their masters' descent and mercenary proselytism. So great is the oppression exercised by the Bosnian beys against the Bosnian rayahs, in return for the abomination in which they are held by the latter, that a country containing no more than 1,360,000 inhabitants it is calculated harbors several thousand professional outlaws who have fled to the woods and hills, whence they emerge only to make raids upon the Turkish inhabitants.

When I have added that of the total mentioned, 580,000 are Orthodox Greeks, 500,000 Mohammedans, 250,000 Roman Catholics, and the rest gypsies and Jews, it will be understood that, the antagonistic elements being about equally divided, none can escape the effect of this mutual enmity.

All through May and June, the inexorable telegraph continually told us of encounters in the Herzegovinan hills. The principal scene of these collisions was the mountainous country in the south. Leaving the villages and more accessible valleys, the insurgents would repair to the narrower defiles, attack Turkish settlements, and storm the primitive forts studding the region. The Alpine nature of the country facilitated a task favored by solitude and that scarcity of population which tells of centuries of misgovernment. The resistance of the Turks was feeble beyond description. The 12,000 regulars in the province were wholly incompetent to fight an enemy equally strong at the outset, and invisible except when in the act of surprising a marching battalion, or assaulting an isolated castle. As to the Turkish inhabitants, they are comparatively few in Herzegovina, living mostly in the northern or Bosnian districts; but even these

¹ Native Turks.

few might have done something, had they not been seized with a panic which prevented effective action. Thus the rebellion grew, infected other parts, and seemed to assume threatening proportions. There could be no longer any doubt as to the reality of the thing. Though telegrams might exaggerate, and semi-official scribes give highly colored accounts, there were, after awhile, too many "own correspondents" on the spot, to permit of further scepticism.

In all this the impotence of the Turks, and the audacity and determination of the insurgents, were equally apparent. Though the wild men of the hills were ever so cunning in hiding by day and roving by night, it was unintelligible that the Turks should almost invariably fail to protect themselves from their adversaries. Though the insurgent chiefs were ever so bold, or their hosts ever so numerous, why were no re-enforcements sent to the Turkish generals operating against them? The rottenness of Turkish institutions might have delayed the arrival of assistance; but was there really so little of a state left, that no re-enforcements could be sent at all? Did it really take a couple of months to collect some 10,000 or 12,000 men, and dispatch them to the scene of the disturbance? And what should be said of the Sultan who permitted himself to be reduced to such a plight?

These questions had been asked for months, before the actual bearings of the situation were evident. When the truth came out, it appeared that the Sultan had been wronged. He had had other enemies to fight than a handful of ragged mountaineers. He had had to contend with a combination of geographical and political circumstances equally militating against him. A glance at the map will show the peculiar nature of his geographical difficulties. Bosnia and Herzegovina are almost entirely surrounded by foreign territories. North and west they border upon Austrian soil; the east is flanked by the semi-independent principality of Servia, while half the southern frontier is hemmed in by the towering ridges of Montenegro. Only in its south-eastern extremity can the province be entered from Turkey proper, and here only through a narrow pass—the defile of Novi Bazar. This pass having been occupied by the insurgents before the Turks had time to creep up, had been made practically useless, and will probably remain so while the rebellion continues. After this inconceivable carelessness, there remained nothing but to have recourse to the Sutorina and Klek. These are the names of narrow strips of land, projecting from the western frontier of Herzegovina, and coming down to the Adriatic Sea, right through Austrian territory. Both, however, are too mountainous to be prac-

licable for troops; and both abut on Austrian gulfs with long and winding coasts; and the Vienna government have always maintained that no Turkish transports can enter these intricate channels without their special permission. In the present instance there was delay in obtaining the requisite consent; and when, after protracted negotiations, some 2,000 men were at last disembarked at Klek, it was discovered, that for any good they were likely to do, they might as well have been left at Constantinople.

Klek is so rugged that it would have required the labor of a year, and a considerable outlay, to construct necessary roads. Another adverse circumstance perhaps, was found in the fact that, as the insurgents held the hills, no Turkish pickaxe could have made its way to the possible site of the road. Accordingly, the Turkish troops were compelled to sit down quietly between hill and sea, enjoying the breezes of the beautiful Adriatic, while the terrible strife raged on unremittingly in their rear.

To understand the subsequent stages of this unpromising campaign, we have to enter the labyrinth of the Oriental question, and look for some diplomatic thread to guide us through the bewildering maze. Were Turkey situated on an isolated island in the Polar seas, there is no telling whether the stagnation marking her past history would not be indefinitely prolonged.¹ Unfortunately however, for the present comfort and future greatness of the Ottoman nation, the raids of their early rulers extended too far west. When the Turk stepped across the Bosphorus, and planted his heavy foot on European soil, the incorrigible Asiatic ventured into a world unlike his own, and which in the long run, would be sure to rise against him. Backward as the Servians, Roumanians, and Bulgarians are in the struggle for culture, they have produced a few intelligent individuals, tinctured with, if not deeply steeped in European lore. Profiting by the lucky circumstance that a number of their co-nationalists are Austrian subjects and live in provinces bordering upon theirs, these enterprising pioneers have endeavored to imbue themselves with something of the learning meted out to their more fortunate brethren across the border. Add to this that Serbia and Roumania, being semi-independent, have attracted a certain number of German merchants and artisans, and it will be seen why even Turkish

¹ There might be rebellion, but there could hardly be revolution. The Slaves might rise; but poor, ignorant, and defenseless as they are, could hardly contrive to defeat the organized power and armed battalions of the oppressor. Nor would there be any neighbors, related in language and blood to the unfortunate victims, to support the cause of those whom they regard as their kith and kin enthralled by an inferior race.

sultans, amid all their majestic stolidity, should have had their misgivings as to the expediency of persisting in utter savagery.¹ Nearly forty years since a successor of the Caliphs so far recognized his duty as a denizen of Europe, as to issue a solemn decree guaranteeing to his Christian subjects the security of life and property and the honor of women. There was also a clause in this memorable statute upon the impropriety of provincial governors and local tax-gatherers adding to the imposts ordered by the central government. If it was strange that there should be occasion to legislate on these elementary principles of social life in any part of Europe, A. D. 1839, it was still more extraordinary that notwithstanding their special enactment, they were utterly neglected even after the promulgation of the famous *hatti sherif*² of Gulhane. So little indeed was the spirit and action of the professional brigands at Constantinople affected by the Imperial decree that, sixteen years later, at the close of the Crimean war, the Turkish crown had to make the humiliating admission implied in the confirmation and renewal of the philanthropic *hatti sherif*. Worse than this, a few months ago, when the Herzegovinan rebellion seemed to make it advisable for the Sultan to try to curry favor with Europe, another proclamation was inserted in the columns of the government Gazette, paternally blaming officials and tax-gatherers and enjoining the strictest justice to be observed henceforth and forevermore. The moral axioms laid down in this latest seigniorial effusion would do honor to Aristides, Cato, or Confucius; the language in which they are expressed is serious enough for the Koran, and sufficiently grandiloquent for the Emperor of the Celestials; yet while the Turk is what he is, it would be absurd to suppose that any fine words or benevolent intentions of his ruler, even if sincere, can affect the relations between the Mohammedan and those he calls *rayah*, or cattle. In fact there is not a politician cognizant of Turkish affairs but knows the ordinances of the Sultan to be utterly impotent to humanize his subjects.

Public opinion in Europe having so often and so strongly spoken out upon the character of the Turkish rule, the question arises why the Powers have not endeavored to improve or to do away with it. We need trace the cause no farther than to the well-known sphere of self-interest. Whatever the condemnation pronounced upon Turkey

¹ No doubt, their sense of the indispensable was quickened by Russia's taking a feeling interest in the future of the Serb, who speaks a language cognate to her own, and acknowledges a form of Christianity, whose catechism comes nearer to the Russian, than either the Catholic or Protestant.

² A Turkish decree of highest authority.—Ed.

by Christians of every denomination, it is notorious that the governments and people of Europe cannot agree as to who or what is to be put in her place. Russia, it is well known, has long been endeavoring to free the rayah from the Ottoman yoke. Having certain affinities with them in religion and speech, she has been putting forward creed and grammar as a reason why she should take a particular interest in their welfare.¹ Unhappily for the rayah, the rest of Europe objects to this proposition. Though the greater part of the rayahs are Orthodox Greeks, it is contended that since none of them are under the spiritual rule of the Czar, who is the infallible Pope of Russia, this secular and ecclesiastical potentate can have as little interest in looking after the souls of Bulgarian or Serb, as in attending to the salvation of Protestant or Catholic. Again, the linguistic claim is disposed of by the remark that if a mere etymological relation between two dictionaries were to entitle the possessor of the one lexicon to annex and govern the possessor of the other, Germany might lay claim to England, or the Washington government establish a branch office at Berlin. Russian policy with regard to Turkey being thus rejected by the common consent of Europe, the fear of promoting Russian pretensions has seriously impeded the liberation of the rayah vassals. There is a disquieting apprehension haunting Europe that, governed as she is by half a dozen men, and relying upon the blind obedience of her illiterate millions, Russia regards the constant acquisition of fresh territory as her sole *raison d'être*; there is on the other hand the fact that England and Austria look upon Russia's advance in the direction of Constantinople as an immediate injury to themselves. England, regarding the tenure of India, and the maintenance of her position in China and Australia, as dependent upon pre-dominance in the Mediterranean, is averse to any changes likely to expose Egypt and Suez to the attack of a large European force; while Austria, a loose agglomeration of antagonistic nationalities, would find her own Slavonians aspiring to reunion with the liberated Serb, were an independent or half-Russian empire ever to be set up on her south-eastern borders. Availing himself of these old and long-confirmed idiosyncrasies, Napoleon III., in 1854, succeeded in bringing on the Crimean war. A signal mistake of his antagonist facilitated his purpose. Nicholas, flattering himself that England would recoil from allying herself with a *parvenu*, thought his opportunity had come;

¹ At the time of the Crimean war this plea led to the demand of a patronage over the Turkish Christians, which, had it been accorded, would have made the Czar the suzerain, if not the sovereign of the Sultan.

but as Palmerston was never over-scrupulous in his friendships when there was any thing to be gained, Napoleon no sooner offered his support than it was accepted ; and two hundred thousand men had to seal the new league with their blood. A more useless and frivolous war was never undertaken. To Napoleon it was a mere pretext for diverting the attention of his people from domestic affairs, and for throwing a veil of imperial and military glory over his antecedents as a civilian, a republican, and a president ; to Palmerston it certainly appeared necessary to check Russia, as far as it could be done without remodeling the continent, the effete arrangements of which were as dear to his conservative heart as the supremacy of the Sultan at Constantinople. Yet it was clear that unless a strong state could be established on Russia's frontiers, no temporary victory would have the power to prevent her eventual acquisition of the coveted ground. Such a state could only be a Germany, united under Austrian or Prussian auspices ; but as the idea of making an intelligent and manly race a powerful one, was particularly odious to the British premier, he actually preferred leaving Russia in a position to damage him, rather than contribute toward the revival of an empire which, though not necessarily opposed to his country, would have been sure to possess the power of pursuing an independent and well-sustained policy for good. There is proof for the assertion that if Palmerston, in 1854, had offered to befriend either Prussia or Austria in obtaining supremacy in Germany, either of these states would have been happy to aid in the coercion of Russia ; while there is no proof required to show that in such an event, coercion would have been unattended with bloodshed, and might have had the contingent advantage of obviating further attempts. But Lord Palmerston willed it otherwise. The war was to be gone through like a fashionable duel, inflicting a slight wound, disarming the adversary for the moment, and leaving him free to begin again as soon as the scar was healed, and the plaster off. And so it came to pass.

Austria and Prussia holding back, Russia lost nothing but a fleet and a town. The latter she rebuilt at once ; the former, after a little respite, when the next European war enabled her to tear the treaty of peace from top to bottom. To-day her revived navy again commands Constantinople, though it is only twenty years since she was forced to consent not to have a single man-of-war in the Euxine.

The next effort Russia made to interfere in behalf of the rayah, occurred in 1866. Here again the intimate connection between the German and Oriental questions was manifested. In 1854, Prussia,

deeming it unsafe to interfere unless protected from possible consequences by reunion with Germany, had abstained from participation in the war; Austria, though she too would not go the length of attacking Russia, yet in the interest of her own Oriental position, so far made common cause with the Western Powers as to concentrate a large force on the Russian frontier. Hence, when in 1866, Prussia aimed at supremacy in northern Germany, Russia decidedly favored the plan, thinking it would render her northern neighbor just strong enough to be an even more valuable ally against Austria and France, yet not strong enough to become formidable to herself. The crushing effect with which Prussia fell upon Austria in 1866, and upon France in 1870, greatly disturbed these Russian calculations. The defeat of Austria made Prussia virtually supreme in northern and southern Germany, and this victory was so materially consolidated by the destruction of France, that Prussia, the intended useful auxiliary of the Czar, is important enough to play a rôle of her own. Partly indebted for this to her having abstained from Oriental affairs in 1854, her increased influence curiously enough was first demonstrated by the assumption of a novel attitude in the interminable business of the East.

A few words will elucidate this, the decisive point upon which the present situation turns. Though Russian politicians were put out in their reckonings by the unexpected facility with which resuscitated Germany asserted her position in the family of states, they were correct as far as they based their anticipations upon the unlucky geographical position of the new empire. With all her brilliant victories Germany cannot transplant her local habitation from a site where she is jammed in between the three greatest military powers of the world. Were one friendly, that one and Germany might be a match for the remaining two; but with all hostile or at least doubtful, the situation of the fourth, notwithstanding her unmistakable prowess, is an unenviable one. France, always panting for the Rhine, sees in revenge an additional incentive to war. Austria, a medley of incongruous races, mutually neutralizing each other, is governed by a dynasty who, because they are Ultramontane, and cannot forget the position they once occupied in Germany, would declare to-morrow against the Berlin government, if they saw their way thus to supersede Hohenzollern by Hapsburg. Francis Joseph, who, in June 1870, affixed his signature to a treaty in which he engaged to assist Italy and France in a decisive war against Germany, can never be trusted again in Berlin, even though he did leave his allies in the lurch upon ascertaining which

way the wind blew. There remains Russia, whose feelings as to the undesirably unqualified success of Germany were too acute to be repressed in 1866, or in 1870. However amiable he might have been at the beginning of the Bohemian campaign, when all was over, the Czar strongly objected to permitting Prussia to annex Saxony, damage Darmstadt, or even to wound Austria; and though he would not allow the revengeful Francis Joseph to attack Prussia's rear in 1870, he did not by any means approve of the operations subsequent to Sedan, which ended in giving Germany an invulnerable frontier. Too obvious to need comment, the purport of these remonstrances was strikingly revealed in the spring of this year (1875). Finding France arming with the utmost dispatch, and Austria bent upon following her example as far as her finances permitted, Germany, six months ago through the mouth of her diplomacy, intimated an intention to anticipate war, if once convinced of its inevitability.

The French, not being ready at the time, were scared by the threat and ceased talking of revenge; the Austrians cunningly affected indifference; while Russia, whose voice could not be ignored when Austria and France might have to be faced conjointly, assumed a commanding attitude and forbade war at Berlin. Galling in itself, the veto of the Czar was accompanied by peculiarly aggravating circumstances. Being just then on his usual trip to the German spas, the Czar personally communicated his dictates at Berlin. Not satisfied with this unusual proceeding, he received the leading diplomatists accredited to the Berlin court, and speaking as if it were he who directed German policy, informed them that there was no longer any apprehension as to the continuance of peace. Improving upon this, Prince Gortschakoff the Russian chancellor, who had come with his master to Berlin, while at that capital issued a circular note to the Russian diplomatists, in which he repeated assurances of peace, and which, before sending, he read to the assembled ambassadors of the town. We will not waste words upon the glib versatility with which these and contingent facts were subsequently denied by the semi-official scribes of more than one European country. Suffice it to say that they are facts, and being so, have changed the diplomatic relations of the European world.

After this, what is the position of Germany? Chained up by Russia until the hour when France and Austria shall be ready to fight her again, she has to spend a large portion of her substance, industry, and intellect, in preparing for the rainy day. Were her people rich, bellicose, and indifferently civilized, they might, after the late unparalleled

successes relish the idea of having another tilt with two adversaries at once. As it is, they are pacific, poor, and intent upon working out the religious and social problems, to which the course of their history has gradually led them. They chafe at the necessity of keeping half a million of men under arms; they are getting exceedingly dissatisfied with the steady increase of the army estimates, when they have hardly money enough to maintain their schools and administrative service, at their former pitch of excellence; and they begin to demand that something shall be done to enable them to live like Christian and civilized beings, even though the incorrigible mistake of their ancestors located them in the center of the continent. There are symptoms to show that the idea of continuing in this perplexing condition, grows more and more unpopular with them. If France is vain, martial, and rich; if Austria is a tool in the hands of her sovereign and army; if Russia deems it necessary to keep Germany in constant anticipation of coming evil, lest some day she may prove an inconvenient neighbor, "what," the Germans ask, "is to become of the old country?" Is Germany to be ruined by her peace expenditure and the gradual decline of her domestic arrangements, even if she does not succumb in war? Is she to reap the benefit of restored unity in the guise of certain danger and probable impoverishment? Is she, who was comparatively happy while disunited and weak, to become a target to be shot at by all her neighbors, merely because she has recovered the capacity, though not the will, to injure them? The negative answer returned to these pertinent questions, by the German government and nation, makes the Herzegovinan rebellion the portentous affair it is.

Let us now revert to the desolate districts from which we have wandered, to visit the lordly capitals where their fate will be decided. We left the Turkish troops gazing wearily at the cliffs of Klek. When all hope of accomplishing their errand had been given up, help suddenly came from a quarter whence least expected. The same parties who had originally done all in their power to delay the dispatch of troops to Klek, now veered about, and offered to further their march to Herzegovina. In order to understand this sudden move of the Austrian government it is necessary to see how it stood with regard to the courts of St. Petersburg and Berlin. For many years past Austria had been the friend of Turkey. Too weak to cope with Russia, too divided in herself to wish for change, Austria, in her own interest, had been instrumental in prolonging the existence of the sultans. If she were to prevent the aggrandizement of

the Czar, if she were to discourage the designs of her own South Slavonians, who wished for reunion with Serbia, and the formation of a Slavonic state, she had no alternative but to second England in keeping up Constantinople. But to be successful, this policy must be based upon the alliance of some other power, strong enough to enable Austria to counteract the Russian scheme. As long as England did not withdraw herself from European politics, and France was not so blindly opposed to Germany as to care for little else, Austria could never be in want of help against the Russian legions. But in the last few years a change has come over the Continent. Its armies have assumed such formidable proportions as to divest English participation in war of much of its former significance; France has only eyes for Germany, on whom she wishes to be avenged; while Germany, having France on her hands, had no wish to provoke Russia if she could possibly avoid it. The upshot of all was, that Russia had matters pretty much her own way, and in any crisis might have dealt with Turkey as she pleased. Unprepared for action in 1870, she has since doubled her army, and taken measures to treble it in the course of a few years more: "What," it is not unnaturally asked at Vienna, "can all this be intended for, unless to destroy Turkey at the next opportunity, and to carry out at last the oft-attempted programme of Peter the Great?"

These misgivings have borne their fruit. Unable any longer to support Turkey by main force, Austria made a virtue of necessity and determined to satisfy the legitimate demands of the Sultan's subjects, if the Sultan could not be kept in power by any simpler means. She could not indeed allow the Servo-Bosnians to achieve independence, unless prepared to see her own South Slavonians slip away from her at some future time. She could not even countenance the Bosnian in striving after that semi-independence already enjoyed by Serbia, as this too might exercise a disturbing influence upon a portion of her subjects; but she would try and procure an improved administration for the *rayah*, which, while it left them impotent to engage in foreign politics, might make them sufficiently contented with their lot to endure the Sultan's rule. In other words, having lost her powerful allies in the cabinets of Europe, Austria wished to remove the danger which had rendered alliances necessary. On sundry occasions in the winter of 1875, these new tactics oozed out. We will not stop to recount when and where; it is enough to say that the diplomatic world knew of it. Had it not, Austria's attitude during the present rebellion must have revealed the secret. We speak the truth when we affirm

that Austria at first positively promoted the mutiny. When the first shots were fired in Herzegovina, she allowed powder and ammunition to be sent across the frontier by the South Slavonian sympathizers among her own subjects. She likewise permitted numerous Dalmatians to join the insurgents, receiving their families on her territory, and even sustaining them at the public expense. Compare this with the detention of the Turks at Klek, and there can be no doubt as to its significance. But if it was desirable that the insurrection should grow so as to enable Austria to advocate reform at Constantinople, it was none the less necessary to keep it within bounds and to prevent the rebel chiefs from raising demands, whose fulfillment would be prejudicial to Austria herself. Thus the Turks, kicking their heels at Klek, were ultimately invited to march to Herzegovina through Austrian ground; which they did, escorted by Austrian troops. The number of the Turks thrown into the revolutionary province in this way, is variously estimated at from 10,000 to 20,000 men. It may be hard to determine which figure is the correct one, but it is easy to infer from the steady continuance of the insurrection that the number was cleverly calculated so as to prevent victory on either side.

Not a little instructive has Russia's conduct been throughout. Though it is only seven years since she officially entertained, at St. Petersburg, an assemblage of pan-Slavonic deputies from Austria and Turkey, who had come to denounce their respective governments, ever since the metamorphosis of international relations which supervened in 1870, she has treated Turkey in a different style. The wind had so entirely shifted her way, that if she could only wait for the full fury of the storm, the prize must be cast upon her shore. Meanwhile it was her interest to keep matters quiet, and, by befriending the Sultan, to utilize the lull for the better preparation of the final stroke. She no more pestered the Sultan with clamors for reform. She no more alarmed him by pointing to an array of troops at the other side of the Pruth; but she encouraged the insane luxury of the reigning potentate, applauded his every caprice, and in this way, while eliciting his gratitude, in no wise promoted his stability. It is easy to imagine Russia's feelings on finding Austria moving in the opposite direction. To side openly with the Sultan, would never have done for a power pluming herself on protecting co-nationalists and co-religionists from Mohammedan wrath; but to allow Austria to go on, would have frustrated her projects. The decision arrived at in this dilemma was marked by the prudence and promptitude characterizing the foreign politics of the St. Petersburg government. On

the one hand they ordered the whole of their European cavalry and field artillery to be mobilized; on the other, they did not refuse their nominal adhesion to Austrian remonstrances at Constantinople. That these representations might have no effect, they at the same time took care to secure the appointment of a Grand Vizier sure to spurn reform.

If, after all that has been stated, the question is proposed, Why does not Russia, so much the stronger of the two, compel Austria to shorten the rebellion; we approach the kernel of the whole affair. Hints have been lately dropped in the Russian press suggestive of a suspicion that Austria would never dare to contravene Russian designs did she not count upon German support. There are no outward symptoms to justify this charge, though there is much in the relative position of the powers to render it intelligible. Germany, having by her victories placed herself in a situation which she finds it dangerous and expensive to maintain, it is natural to attribute to her a wish to emerge from it. This surmise is confirmed by what occurred in the spring of 1875; and if Russia then aided in holding Germany down, she will be now all the more inclined to fear Germany's effort to free herself. These Russian apprehensions have thus far enabled Austria to pursue her course with impunity. Were Russia to attempt to coerce Austria, Germany might profit by the opportunity, and finish France; or else might try to remodel the East in a way advantageous to herself. Russia must wait for France to be ready for Germany, before she can afford to set the ball in motion in the East. Whether the rebellion is to produce any result, will chiefly depend on Austria's estimate of the weight Russia attaches to these reasonings. If she thinks Russia would acquiesce in an incipient consolidation of Turkey, rather than risk the bringing on of a premature *mêlée*, she will not abstain from forcing reform upon the Sultan; if the contrary is her opinion, she will refrain from promoting an encounter, fraught with danger to herself.¹ Meanwhile the three *corps d'armée*, mobilized by Austria soon after the beginning of the insurrection, remain stationary in Croatia and Dalmatia.

Is it necessary to advert to the "consular commission" force? Bent upon ushering in mediation, Austria early in autumn demanded that the consuls of the powers who had guaranteed the independence of Turkey in the Paris treaty of 1856, should be dispatched to the insurgent camp to listen to the complaints of the rebels. Russia sec-

¹ Of course, if Austria should deem herself justified in hoping for German support, her resolve would be uttered independent of Russian proceedings.

onded the plan, as the Slavonians would never have forgiven her had she said nay ; while Russia and Austria being sure to neutralize each other, the four Western Powers could have no motive in negating a step which meant nothing. So the consuls went, and causing it to be published beforehand, that they had no authority to promise the active interference of their courts, were not even admitted into the presence of the insurgent chiefs. Their failure gave Turkey a pretext for repudiating half her national debt.

A concluding line may be appropriately devoted to the part played by Servia and Montenegro. These being Slavonian states, the one partially, the other wholly free from Turkish control, their people and their governments warmly sympathize with the rebels. Thousands of Servian and Montenegrin volunteers have joined the insurgents, with the connivance, if not with the direct assistance of their governments ; but as both Russia and Austria, though from opposite motives, have an interest in keeping the armies of these states out of the field, their appearance on the scene was an absolute impossibility. They might take heart of grace, were Russia and Austria to fall out. There will be time enough for this and other changes. The Bosnian winter will fight on the side of the insurgents, whose best allies are the snow and the storm. With these steady-going friends on their side, the rebellion is sure to drag on till spring. Indeed, there will be little to induce the insurgents to lay down their arms, even when the icy Bora shall have been superseded by more genial breezes from the south. Their villages are destroyed. Their wives, children, and aged relatives—half the population in fact—have fled to Austrian soil. And where the Turk reigns, murder is never far off, no matter what the Sultan may promise or intend.

THE CONFLICT OF RELIGION AND SCIENCE.*

THE keen saying of Bacon, "there is a superstition in avoiding superstition," has been often verified in the history of opinion; but it might have startled the master had he foreseen that its most marked example would be furnished in these days by science itself. We have had too many champions of Christianity, who weaken its cause by denying the results of modern discovery; we have now quite as narrow a type of dogmatists, who mistake their scorn of revealed truth for philosophic wisdom. The work before us is a rare specimen of this latest growth in England and in our own country. We opened it, knowing the author to be a man of deserved reputation in his own sphere, and hoping for light in regard to the questions which employ the best minds of our time; but we laid it down with the conviction, that a thorough knowledge of the spectroscope, or of the mysteries of chemical analysis, does not of necessity imply a knowledge of theology and Christian history. With this feeling we shall freely examine the book. It has seemed to us the more needful to do it, because several of its reviewers, in fighting over the geological issue, have left unanswered the false theory of revelation by which the whole argument stands or falls. We shall gladly accept every genuine fact. But when the most competent scholar in the field of natural study, offers us his loose reading and looser logic as the verdict of philosophy on religious belief, we shall try him by his own standard; and as he appeals to science, to science he shall go.

Let us state at the outset the line of the argument which our author has given us. It is his purpose to show, by a review of the most prominent ages of Christianity, that there has been from first to last an irreconcilable conflict between science and dogmatic faith. The long record is divided by him into several critical epochs. The first struggle of early Christianity ends in the suppression of the schools of Alexandria, and is followed by the Southern Reformation, as he strangely calls it, in which the truth of the unity of God,

* "History of the Conflict between Religion and Science," by J. W. Draper, M. D., LL.D. New York: Appleton & Co. 1875.

destroyed by Christian idolatry, is reaffirmed by the Mohammedan religion. The next conflict is as to the nature of the soul, and ends in the anathema of the church on the pure, scientific doctrine of Averroism. The succeeding conflict is with the dawning science of Europe concerning the position and structure of the earth. This is followed by the Reformation of Luther. The present is the controversy between religion and science, as to the government of the world ; or the question of supernatural order, and natural law. Such is the history which our learned author gathers at last into one conclusion. Science is progressive. The religion of the Christian Scripture and church is in its nature bound by certain unchangeable traditions, which must always be opposed to the views affirmed by natural discovery. We beg the reader to mark clearly the terms of the question. Had he sought only to expose the superstitions of the past, his book would have been no new discovery of a fact admitted by all reasonable Christian men. Had he sought, again, to show that these errors were only the crude conditions of our growth, and that we might look forward to an age when science should be found in harmony with the essential truths of revelation, we should gladly hail him as a teacher. But the conflict, in his view, is inherent in the character of revelation. There is no hope save in the surrender of the whole fabric of a supernatural religion.

Such is the historic argument we are to meet ; and we may state as clearly the position we shall take against it. We shall not identify revelation with any traditional systems of Biblical interpretation or theology. It is here that such critics are seemingly strong, only because they can wrest against revelation the weak weapons of its defenders. We claim that Christianity is a revelation of God as a personal Creator and Father ; of the moral condition of man ; of the gift of redemption in Christ, and of the connection of a life of holiness with the life to come. Such truths are in their nature essentially the same in every age, because this revelation is fitted to the same spiritual wants, and has its witness in the moral life of the race. But as this religion is given in the form of historic records, and yet more interpreted by men, it must be studied in all such particulars by the light of science, of language, and historic criticism. The Scriptures are not designed to be the oracle of scientific certainty. Biblical and doctrinal learning have their law of gradual progress, as have all other departments of knowledge. In this view we should read the history of the Christian past ; as the record of a growth of imperfect systems indeed, of truth mingled with superstition, yet a record linked

with the steps of all human civilization under the guidance of God. If by this principle we examine the theory of our boastful critic, we find that he has neither understood the meaning of revelation, the worth of Christian history, nor the claims of its reasonable believers.

We turn, then, at once to his historic sketch. Instead of any general argument, we prefer to follow the method of our author; for we can thus test, step by step, the solidity of his learning, and give him the happy privilege of refuting himself. It might be thought somewhat singular at first, that he should begin with an elaborate story of the conquests of Alexander. But we soon learn his purpose. It is necessary for him to prove that the pagan world was not indebted to Revelation for the truth of monotheism, but that the doctrine came from Persia. We pass over the pages of historic episode, which may be useful to some readers not familiar with the commonplaces of that time, and mark the original discoveries of this writer. None can deny the genius or learning of that remarkable school, which in the later day of Greek wisdom produced such masters as Ptolemy and Hipparchus. They were undoubtedly the heralds of inductive science. Nor can we doubt, again, that the new impetus given to the Greek intellect was largely due to the march of Eastern discovery. But we are indebted to our author alone for the information that "this great intellectual development was aided by the knowledge they acquired of the religion of Persia." It is readily understood that some religious ideas entered from this source into the later Jewish system, and in the form of Manichæan theosophy played a large part in the Christian heresies; nay, we may find traces of this influence, although in a far less degree, in the Neo-Platonic school. But it is neither proved by the remains of that time, nor allowed by any historian of repute from Ritter to Ueberweg, that the later Greek science was in any way affected by the peculiar tenets of the Persian religion. The fancy of this critic, weaves this web of theory out of the thinnest facts. Nor would it help him, if it were true, since the religion of Persia was no monotheism in that later time. It is a question by no means settled among critics, whether such a truth was ever held by that people. Yet we are told, again, in the most authoritative tone, that "Persia had at first followed the monotheism of Zoroaster, and afterward accepted dualism." We need only send him to the Avesta for the refutation of his statement. It is the conclusion of our ripest scholars, at whose head stands Spiegel, the translator of the sacred books, that "the religion of the Persians in the time of Darius, Xerxes and Artaxerxes, was essentially the

same as it appears in the Avesta. Nay, we learn from the same authority, that Zoroaster, or Zarathustra, although he was probably the founder of the religion, was even in that day, as we may judge from the character assigned him by classic writers, a very mythical personage. Doubtless, therefore, the Persian, like other branches of the Aryan religion, began with the worship of the heavenly bodies, and afterward passed into the ritual system of the Avesta. It was, indeed far purer than many of the superstitions of the East ; a religion which had retained somewhat of the simplicity of the primal light-worship, nearer to the Hebrew in its rejection of idols ; yet it was no monotheism, but a dualism, and its mythology had created, beside the powers of light and darkness, a host of lesser divinities. We commend our author to a more thorough study of a subject, before he attempts to invent a theory.

But we must pass from his historic rambles to his ideas of Greek philosophy. Having taught us how the sublime truth of monotheism entered from Persia, he will now prove that Greek genius reached in that age its highest development, only to be followed by a barbarous Christianity. To do this, he must show us that the guiding intellect of that age, Aristotle, was a true inductive philosopher, not to be confounded with the barren scholastics of the church. But if he is at home in the epicyclic theory, he is in the cloud-land of fancies when he attempts metaphysics. We cite his words :

"Plato descended from the composition of a primitive idea to particulars ; Aristotle united particulars into a general conception." "The essential principle of the Aristotelian philosophy was to rise from particulars to universals, advancing to them by induction." "The inductive philosophy thus established is a method of great power. To it all modern advances in science are due."

No statement could more misrepresent the truth. Aristotle, without doubt, studied nature with more accuracy than any before him, and hence had at times what have been called "luminous anticipations" of science. But to say in any sense whatever, that his philosophic method was that of induction, is only possible to those, who have gained their ideas of him at second-hand. The method of Plato, as well as Aristotle, is to ascend from particulars to universals ; but the main difference between them is, that Plato conceived his universal ideas as entities, Aristotle held them as mental cognitions. The analytic genius of the Stagyrice thus led him to the widest range of systematic knowledge. But his method is that of rigid logical demonstration ; and none can read his Physics without accepting the

criticism of Bacon, that he "constructed the world out of his categories." It is curious to observe how a superficial thinker like Lewes, in attempting to show the beginning of positive science with Aristotle, has refuted himself in mistranslating the famous sentence from the *Metaphysics*, "Art begins, when from a great number of experiences there is formed one general conception of like cases." But the word rendered "experiences" is the exact contrary, "many *ἐννόηματα*;" not an induction of facts, but a logical unity in the mind. We have dwelt on this, because it touches the whole argument of our critic. Neither Aristotle nor his scholars in the middle age had reached the path of experimental science. It was in the order of knowledge, that they should first study the problems of human thought.

We are prepared, after the author's eulogy on the religion of Persia and the perfection of later Greek science, for more novel discoveries as to the rise and decline of the Christian faith. It is soon disposed of. It fills a much smaller place in his view than the astronomy of the Museum. There was, it appears, as the result of these Macedonian conquests and the "military domination of Rome," a general sentiment of the "universal brotherhood" of man. The Jewish-Christian sect thus at first gained its sway over the pagan world, as a sort of "communism." We may well admire the genius which has reached so plain a solution at last of the grandest problem of history; even simpler than that of Mr. Buckle, who wrote the story of Christian civilization with Christianity left out. It is not enough for such reasoners to recognize in the condition of the Roman world, in the decay of pagan worship, and in the social interchange of nations, that which gave room for the ideas of a nobler faith; but we are gravely asked to find in that world, lying under the yoke of the Cæsars, without liberty, with the most appalling growth of social vices, with no belief save in the most swarming superstitions, the natural birth of a religion, which purified not only idolatry but the life of the household and the state, and has shaped the whole civilization of the after time. This is indeed a wonderful *instantia crucis* of the inductive science. But our philosopher does not dwell long on the origin of Christianity. Even the simple truth with which it began is destined soon to fall away; and we learn that it soon became a distinct paganism. There is probably nothing in history which can quite compare with the inventive boldness of this chapter on the corruptions of the church. We had long known that there were errors and vices in the primitive age; but we had no conception of their extent. It has been discovered by this scholar, that Constan-

tine actually consecrated the ancient pagan rites under a Christian form, with the express purpose of conciliating the many heathen of the Empire. The Madonna was the Egyptian Isis, with the infant Horus in her arms and the crescent moon under her feet. The Feast of Purification was an open substitute for the Lupercalia. It is in this spirit he writes history ; an instance or two of natural superstition is cited as if the spots covered the whole disk of the sun ; and all the ages of Christian life, of intellectual battle with pagan error, of moral purity or social regeneration are nothing to his scientific mind.

But we must follow him now, as he enters with much learning into the Christian theology of the early age. It will, doubtless, awe many of his readers to find him so profound in his citations from the Fathers, yet we beg leave to examine a few statements. Our author informs us that Christian doctrine was, in the age of Tertullian, the simplest of faiths, but it changed with Augustin into a system of revolting dogmas. He quotes at large the famous apology to Severus. "The attentive reader will have remarked," he says, "in Tertullian's statement of Christian principles, a complete absence of the doctrines of original sin, total depravity, predestination, grace, and atonement." Such a mode of dealing with the writings of this father is a little singular. It should be known to such a critic that this simple Tertullian was the most fertile intellect of the West African church, and did more than any other in his age to shape that theology of the Latin communion, which was afterward ripened by Augustin. It should be known that he is the author of many treatises, full of the most subtle discussions of doctrine ; and although Augustin has brought into more systematic shape the tenets which our critic specifies, each one of them is to be traced in Tertullian. It should be known to him that a view of the theology of that time must embrace the fathers of the Eastern church, who represent more than the West its noblest philosophic thought, and who joined the spirit of Plato with a Christian faith in their discussion of the unity of God, freedom, and immortality. To present this official paper of Tertullian to the emperor, as an epitome of Christian theology, is as absurd, as it would be to send one who desires to know the principles of the *Novum Organon*, to Bacon's *Apology* in the case of the Earl of Essex. Nor is it strange, therefore, that we find this choice criticism followed by as lucid a view of Augustin. Our author gives us a few disjointed passages, and then pounces on the Pelagian controversy. It is dismissed by a summary appeal to science. We are told that the great point of the controversy was "whether death had been in the world before Adam, or was the penalty

of sin." Pelagius was the unconscious herald of the modern school, which proves that long before man, thousands of species and genera had died; and thus the church, in sustaining Augustin, severed theology from science! It is indeed, difficult to meet such talk with due gravity. Undoubtedly this question was involved in the controversy; but no one, at all acquainted with doctrinal history, is ignorant that the real difference between the two was in regard to the nature of divine grace and human ability. Nor does it matter at all, in our estimate of the great doctor of the Latin church, whether he were right or wrong in this particular. Such criticism is as absurd, as to doubt Newton's laws of astronomy because he had a fanciful theory about the London plague. The task of Augustin was to study the deep laws of human nature in conscience and history, to show the truth of Christianity in its adaptation as a revelation of redemption to the moral want of the race; and while there are errors in his system, derived chiefly from the Platonic philosophy which he followed, no competent scholar will deny him his place as one of the noblest teachers, not only of the Christian church, but of all time. To measure him by the method of this critic, is to measure a mountain by a microscope.

At this point our learned author reaches the first step of his conclusion. The barbarous religion of Christ at last seals its hostility to science by the closing of the schools at Athens under Justinian. It might not be very difficult for us to answer him on his own ground. The act of Justinian was, of course, that of a despot. But what had that to do with the real progress of science? There was at that period hardly a vestige of Greek genius such as had bloomed in the better day of a Ptolemy or Hipparchus, and whatever of intellectual life survived, had passed into the Christian church. But it is a deeper defect which blinds him to the intellectual worth of that age. To him there is no progress save in the sciences of mechanics and chemistry. It is impossible for him to conceive that a religion, which did not produce great geometers, or settle the structure of the globe, could have done any thing for the race. Had he even got so far as the philosophy of Comte, he might have learned that the growth of the human mind must begin with the theological and the metaphysical before it can reach the scientific stage. Had he known the deeper law of Christian history, he would have discovered that, however admirable the knowledge of nature, the noblest science is that which concerns the moral and social life of humanity. It was no loss to the world, if it waited a few centuries longer for a Copernicus. The task of the church was

to educate the pagan mind in a purer faith, and when that first step was passed, to shape the life of barbarian Europe; and the same Justinian, who closed the Athenian schools, had wisdom enough to give the world the Pandects of Roman law.

But we are now ready for another of the great historical discoveries of our author. It is the period which he has called the "Southern Reformation." The religion of Mohammed proclaims the unity of God against an idolatrous Christianity; and the church again shows itself the enemy of science. It would be hard to find a chapter in which so narrow a basis of fact is made to support so huge a pile of theory. We are told that the Christian church had introduced the worship of Isis in the form of the Madonna; that Nestorius was condemned for rejecting this idolatry, and when his banished sect spread over the East, the Arabian prophet was converted by its teachers. But this is not all. "The life of the prophet was devoted to the extension of this theological doctrine;" and hence our historian claims for Islamism the leadership of scientific progress, while Christendom had lost the truth of the one God. It will be necessary only to turn to the history of that age in order to test this theory. Nestorius was one of the victims of a harsh theology; and the church which condemned him, had already been infected by the superstition, which ripened later into Mariolatry. But every student knows, that while the dispute concerning the *θεοτόκος* entered into the question, the doctrine for which Nestorius was sentenced was that of the separation of the two natures in Christ. We may justly lament the spirit of an age, which had too far lost in its metaphysical subtleties the living power of its own doctrine; we may not doubt that such a decay left Christendom the weak prey of the Arab invader. But to say in any wise that the church had renounced its faith in the one God, or that its partial superstition could be called idolatry, is only extravagant nonsense. We can thus fairly understand the relation of our religion to that wonderful and brilliant era of Saracenic life. History has cast a much clearer light in our day on the character of Mohammed, than when he was wont to be treated as the arch impostor; it has shown that he was indebted to Jewish, probably to Nestorian sources for much of his doctrine; and that above all, the faith in the one God in spite of blended errors, made that religion the conqueror of the East. But it does not seem to occur to our author that this very fact is the refutation of his strange claim for Islamism. He has admitted that the religion of the Koran is only a bastard form of Christianity, and thus he directly allows that all the progress he

claims for the doctrines of Mohammed is due to the belief, which he rejects as at war with science. Christianity gave the power which overthrew idolatry; Mohammed gave the legends of the Koran, the sensuality and the martial fanaticism. Nor is it less astounding to hear a philosophic historian talk of Islamism as the "Southern Reformation." Undoubtedly the monotheistic faith of Islam changed the polytheism of the East, and was in that respect the source of a higher civilization; but we are not aware that it converted any part of Christendom. It subdued the decaying empire by force of arms, and the fresh strength of an Arab people was mightier than an old, corrupt civilization. But what has that to do with a Southern Reformation?

Yet we have not ended the paradox. Our author is not content with giving just praise to the Saracenic civilization, but he must hold it up as far grander than that of Christian Europe during the same period. We shall not yield to him in our admiration of that marvelous age. The history of the world has no chapter more brilliant than that of the Caliphs, who won a victory grander than had been achieved by the scimitar. That civilization grew like the tropic plant, which reaches its full beauty in a season. But it shows an utter want of historic insight to compare it with the development of the Western race. The genius of the Arab, like all of the Semitic stock, was narrow, although intense in the range of its ideas. It could interpret the works of Greek science; but it could not lay the foundations of a great social polity, or give birth to a literature and art like that of Europe. Even in science we have the judgment of Whewell, that the original contributions of Arabian schools are slight. And it is a grave mistake to speak of this progress, as if in any sense the religion of Mohammed were more favorable to the cause of science, than the Christianity of the church. Our critic might well consult a Semitic scholar, not likely to be too partial in his religious tastes, Ernest Renan, who will teach him that the bigots of the Koran were more hostile to the study of Greek philosophy than any in the darkest day of the Latin communion. Thus the age of the Mohammedan civilization reached its bloom only to decay, and has left nothing save a splendid memory. But it was the necessity of the Christian civilization, as it was to endure, to have a slower growth. The church of the seventh century was busy with the education of the hordes that overturned southern and middle Europe; and after the mind of the continent had been trained in religious faith, in social order, in the fusion of races, in the development of a rich, manifold life, it could ripen a literature, an art,

and a science also, which should survive when Islamism had passed away forever.

But our historian has not quite closed his eulogy of Mohammedan wisdom. Not only in regard to the unity of God was the Christian church opposed to science; but in the next conflict concerning the nature of the soul we are to find the same sad bigotry. Averroes, the great Arabic commentator of Aristotle, taught the doctrine of emanation, which according to this critic is the same with the modern theory of evolution; his learning passed from Spain into the Christian schools, and was at last condemned by the church. It is strange indeed, that in his zeal to array science against religion, our eager champion should have made such blunders in regard to the system which he praises as genuine philosophy. He has found in Aristotle the master of the inductive method; and he now, with greater lack of learning, accepts the doctrine of his commentator. Yet he should have known that Averroes, or Ibn Roschd, is, in the opinion of the most competent scholars, not a true interpreter of Aristotle in his theory of emanation. The teaching of the Greek sage, as clearly stated in the twelfth book of his *Metaphysics* is, that there exists an active intellect, present to the human soul, yet distinct from the passive or passional nature. There are other passages from his treatise on the soul, which speak of this active intellect as alone incorruptible. Hence the question arose, whether he held this universal mind to be impersonal, so that there could be no personal, individual being after death. The difference of view on this weighty point, is the dividing line between the Christian disciples of Aristotle and the system of Averroes. To omit all other authorities, we need only cite the learned work of Renan on the Arabian sage, which our critic seems to have skimmed just enough to mistake. Aristotle, as even Renan admits, has not clearly expressed himself on this point; but it was perhaps from some later Greek commentators, as Alexander of Aphrodisias, that Averroes borrowed his idea. His system is that of a thorough pantheism. It starts with the conception of one indivisible soul, impersonal, emanating through all, individual in none; and thus ends in the denial of a personal immortality. But our critic has not only confounded the view of the Greek master with this notion of emanation; he has strangely identified it with the doctrine of evolution. Yet the two are very opposites. The theory of Averroes is a masterpiece of metaphysical speculation; it begins with the most abstract idea of being, and reasons downward to all souls as partakers of divinity. The theory of evolution is of a natural life, known only in

phenomena, passing from the lowest embryotic form to organic completeness, yet by the very nature of inductive reasoning excluding all possible idea of being. Evolution admits no teleological view. Aristotle and his disciple held that "God and nature do nothing in vain" (*De Cœlo*).

But we need spend no more words in showing this error. We leave the critic in the hands of our positive sages, who will hardly forgive him for indorsing the most subtle of metaphysical ideas, as science. We need only turn at last to the absurdity of the charge against the Christian church. It is so far from a conflict between religion and science, that we may justly call the controversy a defense of the sound science of the mind against the most baseless speculation. We have no wish to defend the philosophy of the scholastic time, or deny the worth of the knowledge that replaced its barren schools, but we may claim at least that it shall not be loosely sneered at by every half scholar, who can prate of the "dark ages," yet understands nothing of the intellectual power that grappled with the problems of human thought. It is indeed one of the most singular features of that period, that it joined with its ecclesiastic spirit the utmost freedom of inquiry; nor do we need a better proof than the fact that Averroism itself could have so strong an influence on its opinions, and even men like those of the later school of Padua, could remain public teachers, while they were sceptics in regard to the deepest truths of the Christian religion. It was only when the doctrine of the Arabian commentator appeared in an avowed pantheism, that it was rejected; nor was it an act of blind church authority, but Albert the Great appeals to Aristotle himself in his masterly defense. If, therefore, our critic wishes to sustain the theory of absorption into the divine essence as a truth of modern science, his conflict is not with religion alone, but with the best reason of every age.

We come now to nearer times, and conflicts where we shall not be compelled to criticise so closely our author's vague learning, but can dismiss his assumptions with fewer words. The next battle between religion and science is as to the nature of the world. The old story of Copernicus and Galileo appears again, and the persecutions of the church are recorded with much eloquence. No one, we suppose, even the narrowest of Roman ecclesiastics, would defend to-day the ignorance of that time; but it was reserved for this writer to discover that the Copernican theory is "opposed to revealed truth." We are gravely assured that Copernicus himself was aware of this. It is hard indeed to reason with such a logician. He must have read history

- with strange eyes, if he does not know that such a theory, grand as it was, could only be slowly accepted at that time; that men of unquestioned science were doubters, as well as half-educated priests; that it was not wonderful if the geocentric view, the most natural to the unscientific mind, should be sustained by appeal to the language of the Scriptures. But it is worse than absurd, when he thus attempts to fasten on revealed truth the responsibility for all the imperfections of human knowledge. It is the best evidence that there is no conflict between science and religion, that the system of Copernicus has taken its just place in the belief of Christian interpreters as well as of astronomers. None can be found in our age who would regard the language of Scripture as other than that of popular, phenomenal speech: and he who speaks of the discovery "as opposed to revealed truth," only proves a prejudice blinder than that of the most slavish literalist. We cannot indeed fail to observe how this spirit peeps out in page after page of our author's writings. It is not for the progress of astronomy, after all, that we are to be grateful, but for the fact that it has relieved us of our Christian superstition as to the immortality of man. We are told that the result of all our knowledge of the stars is "that man, his pleasures or pains, are of no consequence;" that a philosopher must rise above the vulgar error of believing that "these gigantic bodies have no other purpose than what is assigned by theologians, to give light to us." And is our author unaware, that some of the truest Christian minds, before and after Chalmers, have accepted the reasoning of modern astronomy as proving the likelihood of other inhabited worlds, and so far from lessening our hope of human redemption, as enlarging our ideas of the goodness of God and the sphere of our immortality? But this is lost on our philosophic author. Giordano Bruno, closes this chapter, and it is strange with what perverse ingenuity an instance of church cruelty is turned into an encomium on pantheism. We are not only to reprobate the men who burned him, but to enroll him among the martyrs of truth, and "erect his statue under the dome of St. Peter's!"

Here, then, we reach the views of our author in regard to the Protestant Reformation; and although he has placed before it a chapter on the age of the globe, we take the liberty of postponing it for the sake of chronological order. The Reformation is, in his phrase, the conflict respecting the criterion of truth. He begins with a general sketch of the vain attempts of the church to enforce its doctrines, and lays down as the principle of the Reformers the right of private judgment. But we are told that, "so far as science is con-

cerned, nothing is owed to the Reformation." The leaders "were determined to banish philosophy from the church." It is not a little amusing that in proof of this he has cited Luther's denunciation of Aristotle. Had he read the books of Luther, or known the spirit of his age, he would have learned that the scholasticism of the Papal church, the Aristotelian logic which had frozen the life of the Gospel, called forth the wrath of the German apostle; and we can pardon his vehemence, when we know from his own history how hard was the battle of faith against tradition. The protest against Aristotle was the same in regard to the truth of religion, as that of Bacon in philosophy against the "fruitless categories" of the school learning. Our critic sees in it only the hatred of religion to science. But the *gravamen* of the charge against the Reformation is stronger than this. It was "the fatal maxim, that the Bible contained the sum of all knowledge," "the Procrustean bed of the Pentateuch," that made it the enemy of all progress in scientific discovery. We have here the same deplorable misconception of history, which we have seen from first to last in this volume. It is clear enough that the science of Biblical interpretation was not far advanced among the Protestant Reformers. The principle of the supreme authority of the Scriptures was their noble weapon against the traditions of Rome; nor was it strange that it should be mistaken for a theory of verbal infallibility, which a more thorough knowledge must correct. It was enough for them that they opened the sealed book, and gave it to the study of Christian men. To ignore the worth of the Reformation for history, because Luther and Calvin did not understand the later results of natural research in their bearing on the origin of the earth and man, is unworthy of one who professes to write a philosophic history. The masterly criticism of the great German historian, Neander, gives us the true estimate of the Reformation. Had it not been for the religious life, which stirred the mind of the world, all the discoveries of science and the growth of letters would have done little for the civilization of Europe. But the later history of Protestant thought is evidently as unknown to our author as its beginnings. He has given us the names of a few scholars, who seem to him more advanced in sound learning; yet the meager list proves how little he has studied its progress in the interpretation of the Scripture, or the promotion of a Christian science. To him it is merely a religion somewhat more tolerable than that of the Vatican. The only Protestantism he accepts is that which has entirely renounced its faith in a supernatural revelation. There can be in his view no alternative, save the dullest

adherence to the traditional theology of the past, or to fling away every truth of Christianity. He looks with "cold impassiveness" on all this history since the Reformation, as of less moment than that of a few fossil remains in some pre-Adamite cavern.

We can thus pass to the remaining chapters on the results of more modern discovery. The question of the formation of the earth and its age, is presented to us with a full array of the wonders opened by men of science in the last half century. We accept readily every sound conclusion which has been reached. But when we are told by our critic, that there is an irreconcilable conflict between revelation and modern geology, we simply reply that it is an absurd assumption. There is nothing whatever in a reasonable view of the Mosaic cosmogony, which forbids the belief that the earth has passed through a long series of formations; nay, we hold that our knowledge of the Scriptures has been vastly enlarged by the light thrown on the primeval history of man by the Bible of the rocks. It may indeed be well for us to wait until we have some more fixed arithmetic than that of our author, who talks of thousands of thousands of years preceding our historic era. Such extravagance has naturally created doubt. But the progress of Christian science on this subject is enough to show that there is no conflict in any warrantable sense. There have been and are those who have feared that the book of Genesis might lose its truth, if it did not contain a scientific account of earth and man, and who have thus resorted to very forced interpretations. But each step of discovery has had its just influence. There is no intelligent mind which does not accept the geological view of the gradual work of creation, or the facts which science has established as to the character of the deluge. Nor is there any result as to the antiquity of the race, which will fail to be received, whenever the vague theories of the hour shall be finally settled. The history of the race is not embraced of necessity in the annals of the Hebrew family. We shall in all such questions arrive at as clear a conviction, as we have already of the truth of the Copernican theory. It is to this the whole progress of Biblical study is surely tending; and if there are naturalists, who know more of the spectroscope than the Scriptures, who misquote Augustin and Luther, yet call themselves scholars, we may allow for the unscientific defects of some Christian divines.

One last point remains. It is that of the government of the world by divine intervention or unvarying law. We have here the fullest exposition of the belief of our author. All the brilliant discoveries

or theories of modern time, the nebular hypothesis, the wonders of organic evolution, the correlation of forces, are brought together in this chapter as centering in this one truth of natural law. This is to decide forever the fate of Revelation. Christianity declares a supernatural Deity. Science proves a fixed, unchanging order. We accept this question as the highest for our modern thought; but we reject utterly his statement that it is a conflict between Christianity and science. It is to the peculiar character of the charge, which this writer brings against the claims of Revelation, that we ask attention, since it involves the weightiest point of modern unbelief. The religion of the Bible, we are told, gives us only a series of "miraculous interventions." There have been, undoubtedly, too many defenders of Christianity in past years, who claimed that a miracle was the suspension or infraction of a law of nature; and to science itself we owe a large debt, in that it has given us, since the controversies with the English deists of the last century, a truer conception of law. If there be a conclusion, as this wise man should know, in which all Christian thinkers agree, it is that a miracle is the action of a divine and higher law, which does not suspend but subordinates what we call laws of nature. If we accept the truth of a personal God, we need not doubt the possibility or probability of a special revelation. There can be, therefore, no chasm between the Christian belief and the results of modern science. It is rather in these grand discoveries of unity of force, throughout the ages of development, that we find higher proofs of one living mind, one divine plan. But it is with the false science, which recognizes in this order only an impersonal force, a law without a mind, that we have the real conflict of our time. Christianity is not the issue. It is between atheism and faith in God. Nor is it a small service which a bold thinker like Mill has done, in having proven that the vague theism of the last century is as untenable as Christianity to him who believes in nothing beyond the phenomena of nature. We are content, therefore, to leave the question here. If our philosopher is prepared to claim for science that it is identical with an undisguised atheism, we can fully understand the drift of his reasoning.

With this study of so remarkable a work, we are now quite prepared for the conclusion. It is with a triumphant appeal to the gathered evidence of all ages, that the author declares science the only true test of knowledge, and sets aside the authority of revelation. We were summoned, at the opening of the volume, to the death-bed of paganism; and we now have the funeral service read

anew over the remains of Christianity. It would be indeed a relief, if we could fairly understand him as only passing sentence on the false theories which have obscured Christian truth: but although he levels his bolts chiefly against the Syllabus, it is too plain from the chapters we have reviewed, that his argument is against the claims of all supernatural religion. We cannot quite determine what may be his creed, whether, as we infer from here and there a sentence, the vague theism of a former type, or the more outspoken materialism of our own day; but in either case we can fully appreciate the ground of his denial. We, too, will draw our conclusion, which we trust all our readers will acknowledge after this examination of the argument. It is, in a word, the utter misconception of the character of Revelation and of Christian history, which from first to last has led to this imaginary conflict between science and religion. He has begun with the false idea that Christianity is to be identified with the theories of Biblical interpretation and theology, fastened on it in its early age; and his attempt has been from that point of view to dwell on the mistakes and superstitions of the past, without the least admission of its growth. Such a caricature of our religion is unworthy of a scholar. It has been the empty sophism of unbelief from the first until now. Let any blind or malignant critic read the Fathers only to find in them some fanciful interpretations of Jewish history, while he passes by their noblest ideas of the divine nature or of Christian life; let him hunt among the doctors of the middle age for every absurdity in regard to the substance of soul or matter, and ignore their masterly discussion of the deepest problems of thought; let him judge the past by the measure of the present, and forget all the good it has done in the slow formation of the mind or social character, and he will find enough to gratify his doubt. Yet the author's own historic sketch is the refutation of his view. There is not a single fact of importance which he has not distorted. There is not a single point of Christian doctrine or history, which does not appear through the smoked glass of his theory. But what is it, after all, that his record of the conflicts of the past has proven? If in every age the progress of science has been impeded by religious superstition, the same history shows that the truth has risen above the dogmatism of the day. Each example, down to our own time, witnesses that the settled results of knowledge have been accepted, not only by men of science, but by the most intelligent minds among Christian believers. Our author wrote, some years ago, a work on the "Intellectual Development of Europe." We commend him to a

deeper study of that subject. If he reads the history of Christianity, as even a thinker of sceptical views but of large and generous mind may do, he will find in it the same law of development as in all branches of science. It will be clear that there has been as slow a growth, as long a conflict with traditional ideas in the study of chemistry or of medicine, as in the theological systems of any time. We might take the example of Biblical interpretation, and show how from the early allegorical methods of the Fathers it has steadily gone forward, by the more thorough study of language, by the light cast on it from historic and Oriental research, and by the influence in later days of natural discovery, until it rightly claims the rank of sacred science. And if with a deeper view than that of tracing the intellectual development alone, if with a Christian eye he will read the moral and social record of our religion, it will be to him a history which alone explains the whole civilization of the past ; in every age amid its errors he will yet trace a law of growth ; in the early time he will recognize a divine truth, transforming the world from idolatry to the faith in one God and a purer life ; in the darkest years of a despotic church, a discipline of law needed for the education of mankind.

Such is our view of Christian history ; and in this light we may briefly sum the argument, as it bears on the grave questions that weigh on the mind of our own time. If indeed the spirit of this writer were in any true sense that of modern science, we might well despair of reconciliation. But we will not confound its noble aims with those who so misrepresent it. There is not and cannot be any conflict between religion and science with those who understand the mutual relation of each. It is the province of science to study freely the facts of nature and of human history ; and whatever it verifies by its sure induction, must be admitted by all reasonable men. Any theory of Scripture, at variance with the demands of this just canon of criticism, is untenable, and must pass away before the growing convictions of Christian scholars. It is a truth to be learned, and deeply learned by the defenders of the faith, that their efforts to rear the sacred word into the oracle of scientific truth has been one of the strongest weapons in the hands of unbelief. But while we grant this to science, there is an equal, nay, a greater lesson to be learned on the other side. It is, we repeat, the province of Christianity to teach those truths which do not lie within the sphere of nature, but belong to the moral and spiritual history of mankind. The being of a personal Creator and Providence ; the fact of evil in

the conscience of the race ; the presence of a Divine Power in human history ; and the relation of this life with a personal life to come, are neither proved nor disproved by any inquiries into the structure of the globe and the origin of man. Yet this unreasonable conflict has been forced on religion by a school of naturalists, who mask their materialism under the name of science, and because nature teaches only phenomena, deny all knowledge of a God beyond force, or a life beyond that of these physical atoms. This philosophy is as untrue to the methods of science as it is to the teaching of Christianity. There can be no reconciliation in such a case. But we need not fear for the result, in behalf of religious or of intellectual truth. Although we may not hope for a speedy adjustment of such grave problems, he must have read poorly the history of philosophic opinions, who does not see in this a transition time ; nor may we doubt that the materialistic tendency has already reached its worst extravagance, and will pass away as like errors have passed. Science itself will reject the vagaries of those who have turned it into a speculation ; it will gather up the facts which a Darwin or a Huxley have found, while their theories will be forgotten. Meantime, we may be content with the wise saying of an English divine, that "patience is the true temper of our age : " we may be sure, that the only conflict Christianity can have, is with the false spirit of those who misrepresent it ; the only weapons it needs, those of sound learning and fearless study of the truth.

UNGER'S ETCHINGS.*

ALL readers who take an especial interest in the fine arts, and many who do not particularly concern themselves about art, are aware that, during the last few years, a kind of engraving on metal by the help of acid, which we call etching, has been revived in Europe, and is now followed with much industry and enthusiasm by a few eminent artists and many inferior ones. For the sake of those readers who may happen to be interested in practical art questions, we will try to explain briefly what etching is, and in what it differs from engraving with the burin, before entering upon the study of the distinguished artist whose works will shortly occupy our attention.

"Etching" comes from the German *etzen*, and means *eating*. It is engraving by eating, and some sort of acid is the eater. It is important to remember this, because people have fallen into the habit of calling pen-drawings "etchings," which they are not. The essence of an etching is that it should be corroded—corrosion and etching, by their etymology, mean the same thing. The reader will, perhaps, kindly forgive this little piece of etymological pedantry for the sake of accuracy in the use of language. It is especially desirable that such accuracy should be strictly maintained in everything relating to the arts, for without it art-criticism is full of confusion.

An artist is always either aided or impeded by the technical conditions of his art. These conditions usually render some things easy for him, at least comparatively, and other things difficult or impossible. The happiness of the artist consists in a certain harmony between his mental idiosyncrasy and the technical conditions under which he has to work. When this harmony is perfect, the mind expresses itself easily and completely; and the artist may work, as birds sing, in the pure delight of unimpeded utterance. But if, on the other hand, he wants to express something which can only be expressed very imperfectly, and at the cost of great labor, in the art which he has chosen, then the difficulty must produce in him one of two effects—either

* "Les Œuvres de William Unger, Eaux-fortes d'après les maîtres anciens." "Etchings after Franz Hals," by William Unger. Leyden, Sijthoff.

impatience or resignation, and these are equally opposed to the noble gladness of the best productive state of mind, which ought not to perceive impediments sufficiently to be either irritated by them or resigned to them. The reader who has never done any particular work in art is not unlikely to underestimate the importance of technical conditions. He may say to himself, "these conditions do not concern me, who am not a practical worker; they may concern artists, but I have nothing to do with them; what concerns me is the mind of the artist and not the matter he works in." The answer to this is, that you cannot disentangle artistic thought from the conditions which help or hinder the expression of it. When these are changed the product is changed, although the mind of the artist remains the same. No art-critic, however penetrating, could infer the qualities which Turner put into his water-color work from the very different qualities that he put into his etchings. In water-color he carried refinement of tone and color to a degree of subtlety for which there had been no precedent, working out, with exquisite skill, the finest distinction between tints and shades; in etching he thought of nothing but the strongest and clearest expression by line, leaving delicate shades to be thrown over his work afterward by the engraver in mezzotint. That wilfully ignorant kind of art-criticism which refuses technical knowledge, and will neither learn for itself nor be taught by those who know, is utterly at sea when it meets with a case of this kind, and is sure to misunderstand, not only the execution of the artist, but all that is most spiritual in his thought and feeling. In the example just given, the reason why the artist gave one side of himself in etching and another side in water-color, is a technical reason, yet it affected a mental expression. What determined Turner to etch always in line, and never to attempt delicate shade in etching, was the facility with which an etched line may be drawn, and the difficulty of getting accurate tones of light and shade by corrosion. Very likely he had tried to get full light and shade in etching, and found it too difficult and too hazardous. However this may be, it is certain that he perceived the difficulty, and as he was a very large producer, who could not endure to be stopped, or much retarded, by technical impediments, he determined to use etching within fixed limits. We may observe, too, that as his sense of light and shade was particularly exquisite, he would be less able than most artists to tolerate imperfections in his own work. But he clearly understood the value of line, and knew how much could be expressed by it, so that etching, by its technical conditions, induced him to use a strong linear expres-

sion, whereas water-color tempted him to an extraordinary delicacy of light and shade. Every intelligent reader will see at once that here the technical conditions had the most direct influence on mental expression itself, and even on what may be called the spiritual character of the work. All Turner's etched work is marked by a sort of firm and sturdy sense of fact, very grandly expressed in the strongest possible lines, but his water-colors became less and less realist as time went on, till finally they were like shadows of dreams, exquisite indeed in qualities never before attained, but as different from his etchings as a moon-illuminated exhalation from a rock of solid granite.

Here again, in the case of Unger, an artist has been led to a certain kind of production by a technical facility. Had he used the burin instead of the etching-needle, he might no doubt have interpreted the same pictures, but the one distinguishing peculiarity of his present work would have been absent from it, and would probably never have been thought of by the artist. If, by chance, the idea had occurred to him that such a quality would be desirable in burin-engraving, it would have been rejected at once as practically unattainable. The peculiar facility which etching offers to the draughtsman suggested this idea to Unger, "Would it not be possible to interpret painters, in etching, with such perfect sympathy that even what is most personal and peculiar in their styles might be transferred in its full vitality to the copper-plate?" Then came the determination to try if it could not be done—the patient, practical endeavor, and finally the brilliantly successful realization.

No engraver who ever lived has so completely identified himself with painters he had to interpret as Professor Unger in the eighty-six plates which compose his "Œuvre," and his work after Franz Hals. The faculty of throwing himself dramatically into the minds of different painters is so complete and powerful that this etcher identifies himself with one painter after another as an actor identifies himself with one character after another. We have been familiar enough with this power in actors, but very unfamiliar with it in engravers. The good old orthodox system of line-engraving was to apply set methods of execution to all painters indiscriminately, so that their qualities of touch and texture, however various, were all rendered in exactly the same way, and the engraver put his own style on the top of the painter's style, as we put an overcoat over our indoor dress, hiding it just as completely. Professor Unger's project was only possible with a tool which permitted the same manual freedom as the

brush. Nobody can use a burin with this perfect freedom; but the etching-needle permits it. The needle is held as the brush is held and the varnished copper does not impede its movements in any direction. It is not necessary that the needle should engrave lines in the plate, the acid will do that; all that the etcher has to do is to remove a very thin black ground or varnish wherever the needle passes, and this offers no appreciable resistance.

Imagine, then, an engraver armed with a tool and provided with a process which allow just as much freedom as painting itself, and determined to use this freedom for the interpretation of painting with a degree of mental and spiritual sympathy like that which a good actor bestows upon the character he personates. Suppose, farther, that the engraver possesses a skill in drawing such as is not attainable without the combination of labor and genius, and a versatility which is perfectly unique—you have Professor Unger. He can adopt at will the most opposite styles and work in each, with an ease, a fluency, such as other men can only attain in one manner—their own—and that after half a life-time.

His way of work is this. Before beginning to etch he applies himself to the critical study of the painter to be interpreted, analyzing his execution, and entering into his feeling and spirit. After a good deal of time spent in this critical gallery-study, the hour comes when the etcher feels himself tuned in unison with the painter, and then he goes to work, being now in the assured possession of a special style for the special occasion. The reader will at once perceive that half the faculty used here is the critical faculty, and indeed one would not be going far wrong to describe Professor Unger as an art-critic, of very uncommon insight, who explains the sentiment and execution of great painters with the etching-needle instead of the pen. The mimetic talent is no doubt very strong in him; but this is not all. However striking may be his fidelity, he is still an interpreter much more than a mimet—the wide difference between etching and painting compels him to interpret, and in fact his etchings are often very bold pieces of interpretation, fully preserving the spirit of the painter, yet sacrificing much to that.

It is evident that an etcher with these peculiar habits and gifts, will produce work of a kind especially interesting to critics. Rightly understood, these portfolios of Unger are a school of criticism in themselves. We all remember that beautiful praise of an admirable woman by one who had been under her influence, and who said that to have known her was a liberal education. So it might be said of

Professor Unger's etchings, that to know them in any real sense, that is, to understand them critically, would in itself be an æsthetic education, so various and so opposite are their qualities. The etcher passes quite easily from the excessive accentuation of Franz Hals to the *morbidezza* of the Italians, and so completely forgets the violent liveliness of the Dutch master, when it is necessary to forget it, that one might believe he had sat from childhood at the feet of the elder Talma. It is not simply the versatility of the etcher which makes these works so instructive, it is his fine critical understanding of the originals. The etched works, indeed, are a speaking commentary for any one who can read a drawing. They are like essays written with the finest taste and surest judgment on the qualities of illustrious artists. It has been said of engraving that it is an unintellectual occupation because it is simply copyism; but such engraving as this is not unintellectual for it proves a delicacy and keenness of understanding which are rare both among artists and critics. Unger has not the narrowness of the ordinary artist, for he can enter into the most opposite style, nor has he the technical ignorance of the ordinary critic, for he can draw—I will not say like a great master, but like twenty different great masters.

Franz Hals is the master to whom Unger appears to have hitherto dedicated most of his time in the practical work of translation. Mr. Vosmaer, the now well-known Dutch critic, who writes in English and French as well as in his own language, has much increased the interest of Unger's etchings by accompanying them with a valuable biographic essay of his own, much superior to the ordinary "letter-press" which publishers in general appear to consider as necessary companion to engravings. The following brief notes on Hals are condensed from Mr. Vosmaer's essay.

Franz Hals was the son of Master Pieter Claeszoon Hals, alderman of Haarlem. Pieter Hals removed temporarily, with his wife Lysbeth Coper, to Flanders. His son Franz was probably born at Antwerp about 1584: there was another son, named Dirk, and there were also two girls who died young. Franz was early at Haarlem, in the studio of Karel Van Mander, probably from 1600 to 1603, when Van Mander quitted Haarlem. He learned little from this master except dexterity in handling a brush. He was a stranger to all academical lore, to all literary preoccupation, and appeared first merely as a portrait-painter. He was living at Haarlem as a master painter, at the beginning of 1611, and there married Anneke Hermans. His artistic career may be divided into three periods. First, he was a

portrait-painter, as we have just said, then he found subjects for what are now called genre-pictures in the joyous popular life around him, and lastly he painted memorial pictures, including many figures, such as those of the arquebusiers and the civic governors.

No traces of works by Hals are found before 1614. He painted hundreds of portraits representing everybody who was remarkable in Haarlem—Calvinistic ministers, Roman Catholic priests, literary men and artists, old women and blooming damsels, ensigns and colonels, knaves and fools, gamesters and tipplers, Kates and pretty Alices. However various in character were the personages represented, they seem to have agreed in taking a cheerful view of life, for they invariably either laugh or smile, and no painter ever made his figures laugh so naturally as those of Franz Hals do. At that time, through all the Dutch people there ran an irresistible vein of gayety, roguish jest, and joyousness of which the memorials are numberless. Thousands of merry songs were written, set to music, and sung.

In 1616 Hals first painted the Civic Guard. He painted the same subject often afterward, and other pictures of officers and public bodies in groups. Notwithstanding his industry and his facile production, he made no provision for old age. This may be accounted for in two ways. His manner of life was joyous and careless, but besides this improvidence, it is evident that he could not have saved much had he been more careful, for his pictures brought very low prices until quite recently. They have had to wait two hundred years, to be valuable things in the pecuniary sense. If Hals could have sold his works at their present prices he would have made an immense fortune, but even in the last century they were worth very little, only a few florins, and there is a difficulty, even for the most patient, in waiting two hundred years, especially when you have seven sons and four daughters, as Franz Hals had. He seems to have kept out of serious difficulty until 1654, which is much, under the circumstances; but in that year he has to pledge his mattresses and pillows, besides a cupboard and table and five pictures. In 1661, on account of his age, he was exempted from paying six stivers to the guild. A year after, at his request, the burgomasters grant him fifty florins at once, and provisionally one hundred and fifty florins a year. In 1664, on petition, three wagon loads of peat are sent to him, besides an annuity of two hundred Carolus guilders. "In the same year," says Mr. Vosmaer, "he completed those bold paintings, those governors and governesses, and we do not wonder that their tone is so gloomy and their handling so wild and betrays the violent strife between genius and fate." He died at

the end of August, 1666, and was buried in the choir of Haarlem Cathedral. In 1675 his widow received fourteen stivers a week from the poor's box.

Hals was born twenty years, and died three years, before Rembrandt. Like Rembrandt he attained to a conception of art which, in technical matters, was too high for the general public of his time. What was really in fashion at that time was what the vulgar in every age consider to be high finish. This fashion led the popular artists, as Samuel Van Hoogstraten said, "to paint one another blind with trifling." "Broad-chipped and firmly fixed figures were as little to the taste," says Mr. Vosmaer, "as those of Rembrandt, and the high technical execution in both of them was in general admired only by a late posterity." It is very well known among painters that there is a great advantage in leaving touches undisturbed as they are laid, if only they are in the right place, and of the right color. A picture so painted has always more vivacity and freshness than one in which the tints have been muddled by hesitating corrections. There is, in fact, something delightful to our feelings in all decided action, when the decision is of the right kind. This is the technical charm of Hals. He had the decision of the greatest masters, and a sustained vivacity. It is unnecessary in this place to say much about his color, but one peculiarity in it may be noticed, the immense importance which he gave to black. Even in the pictures of his early manhood and middle life, black is of great consequence, but in those of his age it is every thing.

This brings us back to the point from which we started, the ever-recurring technical considerations, of which we can never with safety lose sight, either in the practice of the fine arts or in criticism. Nobody could interpret Franz Hals, who did not bring to the task the power of rendering the vivacity of his execution, and also the power of imitating his blacks. Etching affords the means of doing both, which is more than can be said of any other kind of engraving. This very publication gives a good opportunity for comparing etching with an art which has been infinitely more popular, namely, wood-engraving. On page 24 the publishers have inserted a wood-cut representing the "Portrait of a Young Lady" from Mr. G. R. Von Epstein's collection, and the same portrait has been etched by Unger; it is No. 18 among the etchings. In Unger's work you have the very brush-work of Hals himself, even in the decided yet delicate modeling of the face; and in the hair and dress you have the full vigor of his darks. In the wood-cut the modeling of the flesh, which belonged

to Hals as his sign-manual, is utterly neglected, and in place of it you have the ordinary professional wood-engraver's way of rounding a forehead and a pair of cheeks; while the darks of the dress are grays in comparison with Unger's darks. It may be objected that it is hardly fair to establish a comparison between an ordinary wood-cut and such exceptional work in etching as that of Unger; but my argument is, that this wood-cut, though not first-rate, is of the quality which the general public receives with perfect satisfaction, while the same general public regards incomparably superior work in etching with indifference. It is this which seems truly wonderful, the tranquil, unprotesting acceptance of what is perfectly dull and commonplace, along with an all but unconquerable indifference toward what is most excellent and most rare.

One great practical advantage of etching is that its comparative rapidity allows of every thing being done by the master's own hand, and permits him to finish a plate before he becomes weary of it. This was an essential condition of success in such enterprises as those of Unger. Had all these things been done, in a few years, with so slow an instrument as the burin, the artist would have needed a staff of assistants, so that his fine critical sense of the qualities of painting would have been in a great measure lost to us. If, on the other hand, he had condemned himself to go through the exhausting toil of engraving with his own hand, he could not have preserved the freshness and vivacity which give so lively an interest to the etchings before us, and it would have been impossible for him to enlarge his mind by the interpretation of so many different masters.

I have spoken of freshness and vivacity as characteristics of Unger's talent; and that they are really so, is proved by the admirably clever portrait of himself, on the title-page of the "*Œuvre*," and by the portrait of Franz Hals on the title page of the etchings after Hals. Nothing is more desirable in such a case as this than to know what the artist's own personal taste and talent may be, and nothing in this instance would be more difficult, if a scrap or two of original work had not been there to reveal it. The personal style of Unger is a charming example of easy handling, combined with keen observation; it is what may be called a good-humored style; it is absolutely free from pedantry, yet full of cunning and knowledge. I can scarcely remember the work of any master which contains so much at the cost of so little apparent labor. These two portraits look as if they were done in an hour for each of them; they may really have been drawn on the copper in three hours or less, though the biting must have taken

longer; and so perfect is the mastery that the artist seems to have done them as one would whistle a familiar tune. If, however, any competent judge of drawing will take the trouble to examine them seriously, he will soon discover that they are full of consummate finish; I mean that they contain a great variety of truths, which are blended together with perfect harmony of style. The modeling is as firm as in a picture, so that the heads are not mere outlines, but have solidity of bone and muscle, the light-and-shade is so thorough and *savant* that even faint reflections are given with their faintness, and stronger ones with their just degrees of illumination; the local color is so true that you have the accurate weights of color in two different complexions, with different coloring of hair and beard. All these qualities, with a strikingly animated expression, are given simultaneously. This then is the personal style of Unger, a very synthetic style, full of various truths in harmonious combination expressed with a facile liveliness. Let it not be supposed, however, that the artist is in the least impeded even by the merits of his own manner, in the interpretation of other men's work. His vivacity is allowed free play wherever it is necessary or useful, as for instance, in the interpretation of Franz Hals, but where it is not necessary, the etcher lays it aside like a mask, and becomes grave, extinguishing all his points of brilliance, as a woman takes off her jewels, or as the lights are put out after a festival. There is the landscape by Rembrandt, for example, called "Paysage Montagneux,"* which is full of a serious, quiet feeling, and has no sparkle of light or bravura of line anywhere, yet Unger has etched it just in its own temper, with the most sober truth of tone. There is the same sobriety in "L'Homme Etudiant,"† after the same master, which is really one of the best etchings in the series, though it is so quiet as to be easily overlooked. A table, covered with one of the thick and heavy table-cloths used in the sixteenth century, occupies nearly the whole breadth of the picture. Upon it are several big books, and at it sits a man absorbed in study, his brow resting on his hand. With that true taste for harmony between manner and subject which distinguishes great artists, Rembrandt perceived that a student would need quiet much more than any kind of brilliance in his surroundings, and he took care to disturb that quiet by no artistic display of any kind. We feel at once that this is really a student, and that the picture is not a scene arranged for effect, in which some model pretends to study while a painter copies the folds of his dress and the carving of his furniture. A proof

* No. 17, in the Collected Works.

† No. 52, in the Collected Works.

of this etching might be hung with advantage in any true student's room, as an example, and also to give the key-note of the genuine student-temper. Nothing can be more opposed to the dash and brilliance of those roystering blades, who were the companions and the models of Franz Hals.

It would be easy to divide Professor Unger's etching into two classes, the grave and the gay, taking the "Portrait d'un Chanoine par Antonis Mor" as an example of the first, and "Le Joyeux Trio," after Hals (in which a gentleman laughingly admires the toilet of a merry lady, and pays her some compliment which we cannot hear) as an example of the second. These indeed are the extremes of grave and gay, but there are other poles than these in the works of Unger. The question whether etching ought to be much labored, or little, was discussed some time ago, in consequence of a declaration by Mr. Ruskin that all fine etchings had been done with few lines—a declaration rather surprising to readers who were familiar with the most important plates of Rembrandt, which are certainly done, not with few, but with very many lines. On the other hand, it is certainly true that many fine etchings *have* been done with few lines. If we get out of the controversy between the barristers who discuss this question with the exclusiveness of advocacy, and put ourselves in the position of an independent jury, which examines the evidence on both sides with equal impartiality, we shall be driven, I think, to the inevitable conclusion that in etching, as in other arts, the quantity of labor given may be little or much, according to the need of the occasion. Mr. Ruskin's argument was that, owing to the difficulty of biting shades accurately with acid, it is a mistake to give labored shading to a drawing on copper which is to be bitten afterward; but we have evidence, in Unger's works, that shading may be labored, and yet bitten with great truth of tone, as it is, for example, in the landscape after Rembrandt, recently described, which is entirely dependent upon truth of tone, for it has scarcely any drawing except the shaping of its masses. On the other side of the controversy there is a school of critics and etchers, who very unjustly despise work which is not much labored, for, what they call want of finish, not perceiving that finish, in all the great and free arts, has not necessarily any connection with the quantity of labor given. A thing may be finished with little toil, and then *definished* afterward, or *unfinished* by the injudicious adding of more labor. A naked man is a finished object; the savage does not think so, tattoos him all over, files and stains his teeth, and puts a big ring in his nose. This is the labor which unfinishes. The lines of tattoo

destroy the beauty of the man's flesh, they prevent you from seeing both its shape and texture as you would have seen them without it. The stained and filed teeth, and the ring in the nose, destroy the expression of the face. From the artistic point of view, these savage improvements are labor much worse than wasted—they are the industry of destruction. So you may destroy some of the most precious qualities in drawing, by adding labor injudiciously. It is therefore a deplorably ignorant kind of criticism, which looks to the amount of toil in a work of art, and not to the knowledge and feeling which have been expressed by the labor given, be it little or much. I said at the beginning of this paper, that Professor Unger had a fine critical sense of the qualities of painting, and I may add here that his critical sense is far too highly cultivated for the mere question of labor to embarrass him, either on one side or the other. Prodigal or sparing of time, according to the artistic necessities of the occasion, he seems ever to remember that admirable answer of Alceste, in "*Le Misanthrope*," "*Voyons, monsieur, le temps ne fait rien à l'affaire.*" *

Le temps ne fait rien—either on one side or the other, as a claim to critical indulgence. "This plate took me six months," or, "this plate took me only six hours," are alike impertinences from the high artistic point of view. Some of Unger's etchings have been executed, apparently at least, with great rapidity, and others with the most painstaking deliberation, the result being equally valuable in both cases. As an example of wise economy of labor, let me mention "*Les Quatre Vaches*," after Paul Potter, a piece of first-rate work in the kind of etching which is done with few lines; and at the other extremity of the scale let me select the two etchings of guitar-players after Terburg and Metz, "*La Femme au Pot de Bière*," after Metz, and "*Succès et Jalousie*," after Van der Meer, all elaborate pieces of work which must have required infinite patience. These extremes of execution not only prove the versatility of the artist, but also the singular adaptability, to very different purposes, of the art which he has so wisely chosen. Let me only add that a higher value may be set, relatively, on the rather strongly expressive work than on that which is patiently finished, because it better exhibits those qualities in which the art of etching is without a rival. Thus I should say that in interpreting Franz Hals in his dashing way Professor Unger is much more unapproachable by the ordinary engraver than in his elaborate plates after Metz and Van der Meer, which might be engraved equally well by any highly trained master of the burin, and although Unger may have

* "See, sir, the time has nothing to do with it."

done well to prove to the world how marvelously he could enter into the temper of very different styles of painting, I would venture to suggest that in his future labors it would be the highest prudence to select the pictures which, in their translation, are now likely to show to advantage the finest qualities of the etcher. It is not easy to manage matters so that the interpretation of a picture shall be a fine etching in itself; yet it can be done, and has frequently been done both by Unger and other great living masters. It is this which the etcher of his class ought always to propose to himself as his most definite purpose. Whatever the picture may be, the etching, when done, should be a fine etching on its own account. Here is the great difficulty of the modern interpreters of pictures. They are only too likely to forget their own art in the study of a more powerful art, and to subordinate themselves so completely to the painters they interpret as to lose the qualities which distinguish etching from painting and give it an independent place. Even now the professional European etchers are subordinating their talents to painting so completely that the only question of any interest concerning them is who interprets best. They seem to have abandoned original production, and to have become, what the engravers were before them, copyists of other men's work, with the single difference in their favor that, as their art is more supple than that of the engraver, they are (at any rate the best of them) more faithful to the spirit of painting. Having acknowledged with frank approval the uncommon qualities of Professor Unger's etchings from pictures, it seems a pity, we may add, that a man of his exceptional power and accomplishment should always translate and never invent. It is difficult to believe that he has no original gifts. If he has such gifts he is in a position, after all the study that he has gone through, to use them with rare effect. However this may be, our present duty toward him is to express sincerest thanks for a service done to art in the true artistic spirit. The eighty-six etchings before us are, on the whole, the most remarkable set of studies from old masters which has been issued by the enterprise of modern publishers, and they can hardly fail to make fine work better appreciated both by artists and amateurs. We have not entered much into detail about the qualities of particular plates, because the reader who has not seen them would not follow such detailed criticism with interest, and the reader who has access to the plates themselves will find Mr. Vosmaer's valuable notes along with them. A few words of acknowledgment are due, in conclusion, to M. Sijthoff, the publisher, of Leyden, who has issued these works in a style suitable for the cabinet of

a collector, and yet at a reasonable price. This is quite the right way to increase the number of collectors. But too commonly when good etchings have been published hitherto, the price has been such as to frighten away all but the most resolute buyers. The publications of Mr. Unger have had great success on the continent of Europe, in many different countries, but have not hitherto been appreciated at their true value either in England or America. We recommend them strongly to all artists and lovers of art as a valuable means of art education and a source of enduring pleasure.



DANTE AND BEATRICE

AT PORTINARI'S EVENING PARTY.

DAUGHTER of Portinari ! thou hast met,
 This eve, the bard of Hell and Paradise ;
 By Love's own hand the very hour was set
 For thy glad greeting and his sweet surprise ;
 Though parted for awhile, his loving eye
 Has seiz'd thy fair belongings, and restrain'd
 Thy crimson gown to dress his dreams with joy,
 And flame across his lonely hours. He gain'd
 A prize in meeting thee ; and thou hast part
 Henceforth in him—to all his fame allied ;
 For thou hast past into a Poet's heart,
 To be his Beatrice, his Angel-guide.
 Hail ! little handmaid of a great renown,
 With thine eight summers and thy crimson gown !

RETROSPECTIVE LEGISLATION AND GRANGERISM.

THE questions involved in the controversy which has arisen in certain States between the Grangers and railway corporations, are of such a character as to require mature consideration. On either side the dangers to be avoided are great. On the one side, a decision that a State has no power to touch the franchises of its railroads, not merely makes these railroads sovereigns, but establishes the doctrine that institutions based in any sense on contract, are out of the power of reformatory legislation, and that therefore, whatever monopoly the past may have erected, no matter how tyrannical, shall be out of the control of the future. On the other side, a decision that a State may so reduce tolls on a railroad as to destroy the security of the bondholders, not merely confiscates the property of these bondholders, but destroys the trust of men, both in each other and in the government itself. They will not trust each other when the law says that their contracts with each other need not be enforced. They will not trust the State which holds that it can morally pass a law destroying the validity of obligations. Here are two great dangers which meet us on either side as we endeavor to reach a right decision in the difficult question before us. Can such a decision be reached? Is any distinction possible which will enable us to meet the fair obligations imposed upon us by the past, and at the same time escape the burden of its monopolies and its barbarisms?

This question we purpose at present to discuss. We must, however, hazard two preliminary remarks. The first is, that the terms "laws," "legislation," and "statutes," which we shall hereafter use, and especially the term "statutes," which the Roman law adopts in this respect as a *nomen generalissimum*, are not to be treated as we would treat the Acts of Assembly of one of our particular States. A "statute," in the sense in which the term is used in philosophical jurisprudence, is a law imposed by the sovereign; and it makes no difference whether the sovereign acts through a parliament bound only by a flexible constitution of traditions, as is the case in England; or,

as in our own country, through a State legislature, a State constitutional convention, the Federal Congress, or a Federal constitutional convention, provided the body in question be competent to enact the particular statute. When we discuss the question, for instance, whether the State of Wisconsin is competent to adopt a statute reducing to a non-remunerative standard the railroad tolls of the State, the point is not met by saying that the *legislature* of Wisconsin has no such power. If Wisconsin, by a constitutional convention, has this power, then Wisconsin has the power to lower tolls by *statute*. So with regard to the Federal Government. If the Federal Government, by the agency of a federal convention, or by passing amendments subsequently adopted by the States, can make certain organic changes, these changes, in the sense in which we here use the term, are effected by *statute*.

We propose further, to draw, in the examination of this topic, on foreign jurists rather than on our own. Our own authorities, in fact, have been already fully and closely criticised in the discussion to which public attention has been turned. Nor is this all. Not only is the foreign field as yet untouched, so far as concerns American explorers, but it is peculiarly rich. The most distinguished and most able of European jurists have devoted themselves to the elucidation of the problem before us; and they have entered upon the task with the mission and the capacity of philosophers as well as of jurists. When I say that by American explorers the field is untouched, I should make one exception. Mr. Jefferson, when in France, studied with eager delight the essays on this topic of the French encyclopedists; and the conclusions of the French encyclopedists frequently exhibit themselves in the writings of Mr. Jefferson. But the pre-revolutionary French philosophers contributed but one of the several strata of which the foreign literature on this important subject is composed. These philosophers, contented with suggesting that, as generations are distinct, no one generation should be permitted to bind another, did not pause to weigh the countervailing difficulties of one of the most tremendous problems of their times. But what they had not patience to attempt, has since been successfully performed by German writers upon jurisprudence.¹

¹ From Germany alone we have the following treatises: A. D. Weber, über die Rückanwendung positiver Gesetze, 1811; Bergman, das Verbot der rückwirkenden Kraft neuer Gesetze im Privatrecht, 1818; Savigny, System Röm. Rechts, viii. § 383-400, 1849; Scheurl, Beiträge zu Bearbeitung des Röm. Rechts, i. Nr. 6, 1853; Bornemann, Erörterungen, i. Nr. i, 1855; Schaaf, Abhandlungen, i. 2, 1860; Lassalle, das System der erworbenen Rechte, 1861; Schmid, die Herrschaft der Gesetze, 1863. In addition to this, we have from Wächter,

Of these writers I propose to draw especially upon three : Savigny, as representing the historical school, whose conclusions are based on a comprehensive induction ; Schmid, as representing that school which seeks to construct, by criticism, a jurisprudence which is philosophically and logically consistent ; and Lassalle, a political liberal of rare learning, eloquence and enthusiasm, whose office it is to maintain at once, that loyal protection of private obligations which is one of the first duties of the state, with that liberty to remodel obsolete institutions without which a sovereign must be comparatively helpless for good. I do not intend to give the distinctive theories of either of these great thinkers. My object is simply, after giving to them careful study, to present a summary in which the positions assumed by them are illustrated by the decisions of our own courts. The conclusions to which we thus arrive may remove many of the difficulties by which the Granger problem is beset. And the theory thus presented is this: *A statute which remodels public institutions may go into immediate effect, even though it recalls vested concessions made by the state to a particular social status ; but no statute is to be construed as vacating obligations which the state makes directly to individuals, or which it authorizes one of its subjects to make to another.* In vindication of this distinction, I submit the following remarks.

The term "Conflict of Laws" has been treated in our Anglo-American practice, as limited to a conflict between the laws of separate sovereignties ; and when we speak of laws contesting with each other for the control of a particular case, we usually mean the laws of separate territories contending as to which of them should possess such case as subject to its sovereignty. When, for instance, there is a question whether a debt is to bear the interest legal in Massachusetts, or the interest legal in Nevada, we are required to determine whether such debt has its seat in Massachusetts or in Nevada ; and to decide this, we have to canvass the claim of these two conflicting sovereignties for the juridical direction of this particular debt. So, when the question arises whether a particular person is taxable in Massachusetts or Nevada, we inquire in which of these States such person is domiciled, and we therefore canvass the conflicting claims of these two States for the juridical direction of this particular person. Hence it is that the title "Conflict of Laws" is regarded by us as if it were convertible with that of "Private International Law."

But to the topic before us the title "Conflict of Laws" is equally

Unger, Vangerow, and Windscheid, discussions of the topic introduced into their authoritative expositions of the Pandects.

applicable. Laws may conflict not only because they emanate from rival sovereigns, each striving to possess the particular case, but because they emanate from distinct periods of time, each of which may claim to embrace the case in question within its sanctions. This may arise under the following circumstances:

a. A new general statute may be enacted, which may alter the law in reference to a particular line of cases, as where a statute is passed establishing a right which before did not exist.

b. A revised code may be adopted, partly digesting a mass of prior independent statutes, and partly codifying rules of law established by the courts.

c. A special statute may be passed to meet a particular case; as is done by special acts of legitimation, or by acts to settle doubtful questions of title.

d. A territory, which is subject to a particular jurisprudence of its own, is annexed by another, also with a particular jurisprudence. Here comes the question how far the jurisprudence of the annexing country takes the place of that of the country annexed. This has occurred, more or less completely, in our own annexations of Louisiana, of Florida, of Texas, of California, and of Alaska.¹

These cases, distinct as they are in many respects, bring up the same common question: Can a statute have a retrospective force?

Before proceeding further, it is important to notice two cognate provisions in the constitution of the United States. The third clause of Sec., ix. provides that "no *ex post facto* law shall be passed by Congress." This has been construed to relate only to criminal jurisprudence; and to forbid any legislation which, as to a past act, either creates or aggravates criminality. By Sec. x., clause one, the same limitation has been placed on the authority of the States; and this limitation, it has been ruled by the Supreme Court of the United States, also concerns only criminal jurisprudence, and does not preclude the State from passing, in other matters, retrospective statutes, no matter how impolitic or unjust.² By a subsequent specification in the same clause the States are forbidden to pass any law "impairing the obligation of contracts." The construction of this limitation is a topic too special and important to be undertaken in the present article. Assuming that the States are here prohibited from passing statutes which affect retrospectively contracts already existing

¹ As to Texas, see *League v. De Young*, 11 Howard 185.

² *Watson v. Mercer*, 8 Pet. 110; *Satterlee v. Matthewson*, 2 Pet. 412; *Susque. R. v. Nesbit*, 10 How. 401.

and valid, we dismiss this branch of the subject from our consideration; and content ourselves with inquiring in what respects, aside from the provisions of the federal constitution just given, retrospective legislation can be effective.

RIGHTS ROOTED IN THE SOCIAL ECONOMY OF THE STATE MAY BE
MOLDED BY RETROSPECTIVE LEGISLATION.

When we analyze the rights of persons, so far as concerns the topic before us, we find that they comprise, on the one side, such generic rights as touch men in their social, political, and economical relations, and on the other side such special rights as vest the title to property in individuals. The first of these, may, as a rule, be affected by retrospective legislation; the second cannot. As instances of retrospective legislation of the former class, may be mentioned the following:

1. *Commutation of Perpetuities*.—We can conceive of a perpetuity so established that in the course of time it will absorb the entire wealth of the state. We know that entails of land have been so constructed that if they had been held sacred, they would have confined the ownership of the soil to a limited aristocracy. The English judges, however, by what Mr. Bentham calls judge-made law, broke up the perpetuity of English entails by the fiction of common recoveries; and what in this case parliament permitted the courts to do indirectly, it had the indubitable power to do directly by statute. Supposing a trust of personalty, for instance, so established as gradually to draw into its vortex the wealth of the country, I cannot doubt that the state (either by constitutional amendment or by legislative act) could intervene, and determine that the trust should cease. Of course this should only be done with proper compensation to the parties interested. But whether with or without their consent, it ought to be done; and when done, the statute will be construed to operate on interests previously legally established. On analogous reasoning a statute authorizing a sale, by a court of equity, of real estate, which is held in joint tenancy or coparcenary, whenever partition can be made in no other way, has been ruled in Connecticut to be within the legislative power, as "purely a remedial law acting upon existing rights, and providing a remedy for existing evils."¹ So in New York a statute passed in 1779, transferring the seigniorship and estate from the Crown of Great Britain to the people of New York; and the statute of Tenures, passed in 1787, abolishing military

¹ Richardson v. Muvyson, 23 Conn. 94.

tenures, and converting all manorial and other tenures into fee and common socage, took effect retrospectively, and operated on all lands and tenures held under Colonial grants.¹ These conclusions are in full accordance with the rules laid down by Savigny, Weber, and Schmid.

2. *Repose to Titles*.—Public policy requires that after the lapse of a given period, the right to institute litigation shall be denied; so that time, while on the one hand destroying the muniments of title by the effect that decay produces on evidence, shall on the other hand drop over the evidence thus defaced a shield by which hostile investigation can be repelled. Acting on this principle, there is no civilized code that does not incorporate statutes of limitation providing that, after a specific period titles shall not be disputed; and these statutes have been held by the courts to affect vested rights. Even a statute making uncontested probates final after five years, is applicable to probates granted before the passage of the act.²

3. *Modification of Police Rights*.—So when a statute, which, on police or sanitary grounds, gives certain rights of action or defense, is repealed, the rights so given fall with it.³ This has been applied to statutes on stock-jobbing and to usury statutes.⁴ The statutes last mentioned may be treated as relating to the moral health of the community, and as therefore liable to be modified on public considerations. The same may be said as to statutes relating to the physical health of the community. An ordinance establishing certain sanitary precautions may be repealed, and these precautions swept away, no matter how deleterious this may be to a particular neighborhood. And so a fever hospital may be established on a special site, though the effect may be disastrous to the population of the vicinage.

4. *Seizure of Property for Public Purposes*.—So as to property taken to carry out a great public improvement. A railroad has to be built, and the State determines to take the land of private owners for this purpose. This, under our constitution, cannot be done without compensation, but it can be done without consent. We may say we will not sell our land to the State, especially at the State's price; but this we may be compelled by the statute to do. Here, again, a statute based upon public policy is construed to affect rights previously established. The same reasoning sustains the retroactive effect of statutes

¹ De Peyster v. Michael, 2 Seld. 467.

² Kenyon v. Stewart, 44 Penns. St. 179.

³ Washburn v. Franklin, 36 Barb. 599.

⁴ Baagher v. Nelson, 9 Gill, 299 (indexed as Grinder v. Nelson); Custis v. Leavitt, 17 Barb. 311.

authorizing the explosion of buildings by which, in case of a conflagration in a great city, a fire may be stopped. I may have bought my house prior to the passage of the statute. The statute, nevertheless, applies to my house, and the municipal authorities may destroy it, if necessary to stop the flames by which the city may be consumed.

5. *Modification of Marital Rights.*—So, also, as to statutes relating to divorce, and to the status of husband and wife. A. and B. were married ten years ago; and this year a statute is passed authorizing divorces for desertion. Of this statute A. may avail himself, though his marriage took place prior to its passage, and though B., under the law in force at the time of marriage, could only be divorced for adultery. So as to the status of husband and wife in respect to property. At the time of marriage A. has the right, which the English common law gives, of control of his wife's personal estate. Subsequently, a married woman's act is passed, securing to all married women the independent control of their estates. By this statute A.'s control of his wife's property is divested, though this control had been previously established by law.¹

MORAL LIMITATIONS ON THE EXERCISE OF THIS POWER.

Is it true, as Savigny reminds us, that the power here conceded should be exercised with great reserve. When public endowments are withdrawn, (as, for instance, in cases of ecclesiastical dis-establishment) the statute is to be so construed as to reserve the life interest of the incumbent; and when rights of property are destroyed, this must be done so as to make such destruction take place only on the death of the present possessor. The leading maxim, to which we will again recur, is that estates to vest in future, are expectancies which the law can mold or divest, but that estates now vested, it cannot touch. Yet, so far as concerns the public bearing of the question, the liberty on the part of the State to reorganize its institutions, even though in such reorganization vested rights are destroyed, cannot be denied. No doubt the public rights of the church were ruthlessly and recklessly overridden at the time of Henry VIII.'s spoliation of the abbey endowments, but England would have perished had the best part of her soil been held in mortmain, and it was better that the abbeys should be destroyed than that England should perish.

¹ See Noel v. Ewing, 9 Ind. 37; Davis v. O'Ferrall, 4 Greene, (Ia.) 168; Sturtevant v. Norris, 30 Iowa, 65. It is otherwise, however, as to the wife's dower.

CONCERNING OBLIGATIONS WHICH THE STATE MAKES DIRECTLY WITH INDIVIDUALS, OR WHICH IT AUTHORIZES ONE OF ITS CITIZENS TO MAKE WITH ANOTHER.

We proceed to notice the second of the two propositions which disposes of the topic of the conflict of laws viewed in reference to time, viz.: *Statutes are not to be construed so as to vacate obligations made under prior statutes.* Before giving illustrations of this rule, it is proper to notice one or two qualifications with which it is to be received.

Expectations are not rights. A son may expect to inherit all his father's estate. The legislature, before the father's death, but while the son is living in this state of expectancy, passes a statute authorizing adoption. The father adopts a second son under the statute; and this son takes his share of the father's estate, notwithstanding this defeats the expectation of the prior son born in wedlock. Hence we may also say that unvested rights dependent upon a statute, fall when the statute is repealed.¹

Political or social immunities are not rights. General political or social rights belonging to a community are not so vested that they may not be immediately limited by law. Thus all men may be said to have a natural right to buy and sell what they please; yet no one questions that a limitation of the right to sell powder or poison can be made to operate upon living persons; nor can it be doubted that tariff laws can be properly construed so as to operate upon goods already imported, or in the course of importation.

These exceptions being removed, the following may be given as illustrations of statutes which are not to be constructed as affecting rights acquired under prior statutes.

Statutes changing modes of acquiring property cannot be construed retrospectively. As to such statutes, we may accept as indisputable the position of Savigny, that a statute prescribing as essential a particular mode of acquiring property, does not affect a title acquired in conformity with an older law. A statute, for instance, may make delivery essential to a sale of goods; but a *bona fide* sale, prior to the statute, and valid by the then law, is not invalidated by the statute, though made without delivery. So, also, as to registration laws, and the statute of frauds. So as to titles under the statute of limitations, or *usucapion*, as it is called in the Roman law.² A title which has

¹ Tivey v. People, 8 Mich. 128.

² See fully, on this topic, Savigny, viii. § 391.

been divested under an old statute, is not vested by a new statute prescribing a shorter period. So is it also as to the capacity of parties. A person who is *capax negotii* makes a sale. Subsequently, his capacity is suspended by statute. This, however, does not disturb the sale.

In one point, only, is there doubt as to the application of this rule; and this is where a statute enacts that a legal act may take place with less onerous solemnities than those previously in use. It has been argued that, as all statutes imposing forms are in restraint of liberty, a statute repealing such restraints only restores business to its natural condition of freedom, and that therefore such statutes should have retroactive force. But although this view may operate when the government, as in case of the repeal of statutes requiring stamps, simply remits a debt due to itself, we cannot go further, so as to alter, by a retroactive law, the relations of the parties. A will invalid at the testator's death, for want of due formalities, cannot be validated by a subsequent statute dispensing with such formalities. Titles which have matured in consequence of the non-recording of a prior deed, cannot be unseated by a statute repealing those requiring deeds to be recorded. The State may respect its own fiscal regulations so far as concerns itself: it cannot destroy the rights of *bona fide* holders under its own laws. So no statute can attach (except by general taxation) new burdens to relations previously established by law. Thus the legislature cannot make corporators retrospectively liable for corporate debts.¹

Valid sales and assignments cannot be invalidated by subsequent legislation.—A sale valid under the law at the time existing, is not invalidated by the passage of a new statute requiring all sales to be perfected in a mode not adopted by the sale in question.² And the converse is true, that a statute is inoperative which undertakes to validate past conveyances of real estate, which were invalid from want of proper solemnization.³

Bad liens cannot be made good by subsequent legislation.—So with regard to liens. A lien bad at the time of its creation, cannot be validated by a subsequent statute:⁴ a lien good at the time of its creation, cannot be invalidated by a subsequent statute.⁵ So a lien

¹ Coffin v. Rich, 45 Me. 507.

² Savigny, viii. § 390.

³ Good v. Zercher, 12 Ohio, 394; Russell v. Rumsey, 35 Ill. 362.

⁴ Savigny, viii. § 390; L.

⁵ See Neff's Appeal, 21 Penns. St. 243; Streubel v. Milwaukee R. R. 12, Wisc. 67; Gazelle v. Lake, 1 Oregon, 119.

not yet perfected, falls with the repeal of the law authorizing such lien.¹

Statutes cannot retrospectively affect status of parties so far as concerns liability to debt.—Nor can a statute impose on a party a debt arising from a past transaction which subjected him to no indebtedness. Thus in Massachusetts a statute declaring that a suit could be maintained by towns against paupers for expenses incurred in the removal of the latter, has been held inoperative as to past transactions, on the ground that the legislature cannot by legislative act create an indebtedness that did not previously exist.²

Obligations legally executed cannot be vacated by a statute incapacitating the obligors.—Supposing a person incapable, in consequence of minority, of executing a legal instrument, is made capable by a subsequent general statute (*e. g.*, shortening the term of minority), is such statute retrospective? The answer is this: that when a statute prolongs or shortens the term of minority, it does not touch acts performed under the prior law. If such acts were legal under the prior law, they continue legal under the new statute: if they were illegal under the prior law, they continue illegal under the new statute.³

So as to sex. A married woman under the English common law makes an assignment of which she is incapable. This assignment is not validated by the passage, a year afterward, of a married woman's act, bestowing on her capacity to make such assignments. Nor, if she should make an assignment good under the latter statute, would the assignment be invalidated by the subsequent repeal of such statute.⁴

Wills cannot be retroactively affected.—The disposition of an estate by will rests on the assumption that the will is the final expression of the testator's wishes; *suprema, ultima, voluntas*. As, however, it is impossible to make a will in the very moment of death, wills are made provisionally, subject to be altered or destroyed during the testator's life, but called into legal existence at the moment of his death. Two distinct periods of time, therefore, are to be taken into view in connection with the validity of wills. The first is the period when

¹ *Bailey v. Mason*, 4, Minn. 546; *Dunwell v. Bidwell*, 8 Minn. 34. The Mississippi statute limiting the effect of foreign judgments to three years from rendition, will not be construed retrospectively. *Boyd v. Barringer*, 23 Missis. 270, *Garrett v. Beaumont*, 24 Missis. 377; *Munroy v. Gibson*, 15 How. U. S. 421.

² Schmid, *ut supra*; Windscheid's *Pandekt* § 32; *Medford v. Learned*, 16 Mass. 216. See, however, *Guilford v. Chenango Co.* 3 Kernan, 147.

³ Savigny, viii. § 389.

⁴ Chabot, *Questions transitaires sur le Code Napoleon*, t. i. p. 29.

the will is executed. The second is the period of the testator's death. The first is designated by Savigny as the period of the practical execution: the second is that of the juridical execution. Hence he argues that as to the *form* of a will, the law in force at the time of its execution must prevail: as to its *substance*, the law in force at the time of the testator's death.¹

Contracts are to be governed by the law in force at their execution.

—The question of retrospective legislation, so far as concerns contracts, is largely affected by the clause in the constitution of the United States, forbidding the violation of contracts. It may nevertheless be not unimportant to remember, that on general juridical principles, no statutes which destroy the obligations of contracts, or of particular classes of contracts, can be held by the courts to act retrospectively. For it is a fundamental principle of jurisprudence that a contract is to be construed according to the law which was in force at the time of its execution. This rule, says Savigny,² is applicable, not merely to the form of the contract, and to the question of the capacity of the parties, but to the conditions which effect its validity, and which respect the manner and degree of its efficacy. The right to insist on the perfection of these rules, no matter what may be the course of subsequent legislation, is vested in both parties at the time of the execution of the contract. Nor, as has been seen, can the capacity of parties to contract, be affected by subsequent retrospective legislation. If there is liberty to contract, and a contract is made in accordance with such liberty, a subsequent act, restricting the liberty, does not affect contracts previously made. A person of full age under existing law, may bind himself by contracts which no subsequent statutes reducing him to minority can affect. So, as has been seen, is it with regard to acts by married women. A married woman binds her estate by a contract she is legally entitled to execute. A subsequent statute takes from her this capacity. This statute in no way touches her prior contracts. The principle is this: When a legislature authorizes a contract to be made, and the contract is subsequently made in accordance with the legislative power, no subsequent legislation can affect the validity of such contract.³

¹ Savigny, viii. § 393. But with us a legislature cannot by subsequent act validate a will which was invalid at the time of the testator's death, for want of due solemnization; *Greenough v. Greenough*, 11 Penn. 489.

² Röm. Recht, viii. § 392.

³ *Rice v. R. R.*, 1 Black, U. S. § 358. See *Graham, ex parte*, 13 Rich, L. 271; *Streubel v. R. R.* 12 Wisc. 67; *Steamship Co. v. Joliffe*, 2 Wall, 450.

APPLICATION OF PRINCIPLES JUST STATED TO GRANGER
LEGISLATION.

A contract, according to the principles which have just been given, absorbs into itself the law under which it is made. That law becomes part of the contract, as much so as if the contract created the law. One party asserts that the law enables him to make the contract, and the other party agrees to the statement; and if the assertion and acquiescence are made intelligently, such law, so far as these parties are concerned, remains unalterable. The law may be changed in other relations, but in this relation the parties are bound to act as if the law continued to be as they agreed with each other it was to be interpreted.

Hence, when a legislature authorizes a railroad corporation to borrow money, and to hypothecate its franchises for this purpose, this is an offer by the State, through its agents the corporation, to borrow money, the franchise and the property of the road being security. The State says, "Lend this money, and you shall have this security; and as part of the security is the power vested in the corporation to levy tolls to pay your debt." The law to which the contract of loan, as executed upon this statement, is subject, embraces this right on the part of the corporation to levy tolls. The contract virtually asserts this right: this right is one of the considerations of the contract; and this right is guaranteed by the State, when it charters the road, with the right to hypothecate its franchise (which includes the power to levy tolls) for the payment of the loan. The case is far stronger than the cases cited above from the Roman law. In those cases it was held that the law applicable to a contract at the time it was executed continues always to be the law by which a contract is to be governed, because such law is a part of the contract, and the parties agree with each other to accept the law as part of the contract. But bonds issued by railroad companies have an additional sanction. Not merely is the then existing law accepted as part of the contract by the corporation and the bond-holder, but it is ratified as such on the part of the State. As long as those bonds are outstanding, they bind alike the State, the corporation, and the bond-holder, to the principle that it is both the duty and the prerogative of the corporation to levy tolls to pay its indebtedness.

It may be said that this militates against the doctrine heretofore announced, that it is within the power of the State, by constitutional convention, if not by legislation, to change those of its institutions

which are rooted in the social or economical system of the State. Is not a railroad corporation, it may be asked, of such a character? May it not become as dangerous as perpetuities, which it is admitted may be liquidated by the State? No doubt it may become equally dangerous; and no doubt (apart from the delicate questions raised by the provision in this respect by the federal constitution), the State, when public polity renders it imperative, may recall the charter of such an institution. But if it does so, this can only be by paying the debts that it authorized the corporation to contract. The State says to the railroad company and to third parties: "I authorize you to borrow money on the faith of securities I lend you for the purpose." The State cannot withdraw the securities (*i. e.*, the franchises, including the right to levy tolls) without providing for the debts. No statute which does not provide for such debts will be construed as requiring the corporation to so diminish its tolls as to impair its own means of payment.

It is said that the State reserves, in the charters under discussion, the right to amend or repeal; and that this authorizes it to withdraw from the corporations the franchises which it granted to them, and on the faith of which it authorized them to issue bonds. But the right to amend or repeal does not vary the case. Statutes conferring on married women business capacity may be repealed, and the business capacity of such women taken away from them by subsequent legislation, but this does not affect retrospectively the contracts entered into by these women before the repealing acts. The charters of the railroad companies before us may be repealed, but the repeal does not affect the validity of their acts while their corporate existence continued. And the franchises the State granted to them for the purpose of making such contracts, must remain theirs as long as the contracts are outstanding. For public purposes, no doubt, the State can close the road, and extinguish the charter, but it can only do so by giving compensation to the parties whose rights it thus sacrifices to the supposed public good. In other words: Either a railroad is a private enterprise, like any ordinary undertaking for common carriage, or it is a public enterprise, acting for public purposes under the auspices of the State. If a private enterprise, then its right to fix its own prices for its work is as much outside of legislative control as is the right of the mechanic to ask what he can get for his labor or the shopkeeper to ask what he can get for his goods. But if a railroad is a public enterprise, using with permission the franchises of the State, then the State, which authorizes it to

borrow money, and lends its franchises to the company as security for the debt, subjects these franchises to the payment of the debt; and the franchises thus pledged cannot be recalled or restricted until the debt is paid.¹

The view here defended has two advantages: It recognizes the right of the State to remodel its institutions from time to time, as the welfare of the commonwealth requires; and it preserves the rights of individuals who, on the pledge of the State's franchises, lend their money on public improvements.

¹ It is remarkable that among German jurists the most liberal are those who hold that no statutes (no matter how strongly expressed) are to be construed as having a retrospective effect. See, to this purport, Böcking I. p. 317, and Lassalle, p. 55. Their argument is that free institutions will have no chance if enfranchisements worked by them can be retroactively recalled, and no free governments can stand if their enactments are not sustained in good faith.

INSECTIVOROUS PLANTS.*

SINCE some animals derive their whole supplies of food, as well as many other useful things, from the vegetable kingdom, it might be held to be fair that the animal should in its turn contribute to the support of the plant. In point of fact it does so; for by respiration, excretion, and decay, all the material obtained by the animal is returned to the air, the waters, or the earth, in a state to be again utilized by vegetable organisms. This seems, in the nature of things, quite proper; but when we learn that there are plants which capture, destroy, and devour living animals, we are somewhat startled. The fact excites the same unpleasant emotions which we feel in thinking of a fair child seized in the voracious jaws of a sluggish and ungainly crocodile; or of some bold diver, hopelessly entangled in the lithe, adhesive tentacles of a huge cuttle-fish; or of the simple and guileless, falling a prey to the arts of hardened deceivers. In these cases the low seem to have an undue advantage over the high, the evil over the good. Such things caused the elder Mill to doubt the benevolence of God, and his son to doubt His omnipotence. Exceptional facts they no doubt are, but very strange, and their significance as parts of the order of nature must be worth seeking; though we need not sympathize with that grim satisfaction with which some modern scientists gloat over and dilate on them as phenomena explicable only on the hypothesis of a heartless and ceaseless struggle for existence as the sole principle of nature. We do not say that Darwin, in the work before us, betrays such a spirit. He regards the facts from the point of view of a true naturalist, and it is only now and then that he even hints at the "advantage" in the struggle of life which the carnivorous plants may be supposed to have. The book is not even an exhaustive account of the subject to which it relates, as it omits to notice some kinds of insectivorous plants, as, for example, the common *Sarracenia*, or Indian Cup, and it is little more than a record of experiments and observations, with very few remarks on the general truths to which they lead.

* "Insectivorous Plants," by Charles Darwin, M. A., F. R. S., etc. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1875.

Insectivorous plants may be defined to be those which by some means or other capture living insects, and then profit by their digestion or decay, in aiding their own growth. These plants belong to a limited number of natural families, though they reckon numerous species, and singularly enough they are for the most part plants of small stature and uninviting aspect, and poorly provided with means of nourishment by roots; as if in compensation for their carnivorous powers and propensities. A considerable proportion of them are also inhabitants of marshy grounds, or are aquatics; and they not infrequently have peculiar odors and acrid properties, as if in consequence of their peculiar food.

Their means for capturing insects are in the main of four kinds: viscid secretions, mechanical movements of parts, cunningly constructed traps, and pitfalls with water at the bottom in which the insects are drowned. The captured insects may either be actually digested by a fluid exuded from the plant, or the products of their decay may be merely absorbed by the surface or by special organs projecting from it. Darwin's observations, as detailed in this work, relate chiefly to two natural families, the *Droseraceæ*, or Sun-dews, and the *Lentibulaceæ*, or Bladder-worts, both of which are very extensively distributed geographically, and whose means of capturing their prey are viscid secretions, irritable and moving parts, and spring traps.

Probably most observant persons have noticed the common Sun-dew, *Drosera rotundifolia*, which is common to Europe and America, and may often be seen growing in great abundance on damp flats, or by the sides of ditches. Its most conspicuous parts are the round leaves, about the size of five-cent pieces; spread out close to the ground, and covered with long, reddish hairs, each of which, if closely examined, will be found to have at its extremity a little rounded head or bulb, which is a gland exuding a clear glutinous liquid which usually forms a drop surrounding it. This has given rise to the generic name, from the Greek *droseros*—dewy, and to the English name Sun-dew, as well as to the Latin appellation, *Ros solis*, which appears in the Italian name *Rosoli*, given to a liqueur in the preparation of which this plant is said to be employed. Few observers, however, in looking at this humble plant, would suspect, any more than Darwin seems at first to have done, that it is a plant of prey, though the facts that it collects insects and that its hairs close on and detain them have been long known.

Darwin's account of the general mode of action of this curious plant as a capturer of insects, is well worthy of quotation; and we shall

present it in an abbreviated form, premising that he call the hairs of the leaf, "tentacles."

If a small organic or inorganic object be placed on the glands in the center of a leaf, these transmit a motor impulse to the marginal tentacles. The nearer ones are first affected, and slowly bend toward the center, and then those farther off, until at last all become closely inflected over the object. This takes place in from one hour to four or five or more hours. A living insect is a more efficient object than a dead one, as in struggling it presses against the glands of many tentacles. The inflection takes place indifferently in the light and darkness; and the plant is not subject to any nocturnal movements of so-called sleep.

If the glands on the disk are repeatedly touched, although no object is left on them, the marginal tentacles curve inward. So again if drops of various fluids, for instance, of saliva or of a solution of any salt of ammonia, be placed on the central gland, the same result quickly follows. The tentacles in the act of inflection sweep through a wide space. I have seen, says Mr. Darwin, the much reflected tentacles of a leaf which stood upright move through an angle of not less than 270° . The bending part is almost confined to a short space near the base; but a rather larger portion of the elongated exterior tentacles becomes slightly incurved; the distal half in all cases remaining straight. Not only the tentacles, but the blade of the leaf often, but by no means always, become much incurved, when any strongly exciting substance or fluid is placed on the disk. Drops of milk, and of a solution of nitrate of ammonia or soda, are particularly apt to produce this effect. The blade is thus converted into a little cup. The length of time during which the tentacles, as well as the blade, remain inflected over an object placed on the disk, depends on the vigor and age of the leaf and, according to Dr. Nitschke, on the temperature. But the nature of the object is by far the most important circumstance. I have repeatedly found, Mr. Darwin says, that the tentacles remain clasped for a much longer average time, over objects which yield soluble nitrogenous matter, than over those, organic or inorganic, which yield no such matter. After from one to seven days, the tentacles and blade re-expand, and are then ready to act again. The secretion from the glands is extremely viscid, so that it can be drawn out into long threads when an object, such as a bit of meat or an insect, is placed on the disk of a leaf. As soon as the surrounding tentacles become considerably inflected, their glands pour forth an increased amount of secretion.

It is a still more important fact that when the tentacles become inflected, owing to the central glands having been stimulated mechanically, or by contact with animal matter, the secretion not only increases in quantity, but changes its nature, and becomes acid. This acid is of a different nature from that contained in the tissue of the leaves. I have observed, he says, the same leaf, with the tentacles closely inflected over rather indigestible substances, such as chemically prepared caseine, pouring forth acid secretion for eight successive days. When an insect alights on the central disk, it is instantly entangled by the viscid secretion, and the surrounding tentacles after a time begin to bend, and ultimately clasp it on all sides. Insects are generally killed, according to Dr. Nitschke, in about a quarter of an hour, owing to their tracheæ being closed by the secretion.

Whether insects alight on the leaves by mere chance, as a resting place, or are attracted by the odor of the secretion, Mr. Darwin does not venture a decided opinion; but from various observations he suspects that the odor is attractive. That the glands possess the power of absorption, is shown, he says, by their almost instantaneously becoming dark colored when given a minute quantity of carbonate of ammonia. The absorption of animal matter from captured insects explains how *Drosera* can flourish in extremely poor peaty soil—in some cases where nothing but sphagnum moss grows, and mosses depend altogether on the air for their nourishment. The pedicels of the central tentacles, and the petioles, contain chlorophyl, so that, no doubt, the plant obtains and assimilates carbonic acid from the air. Nevertheless, considering the nature of the soil, he believes that the supply of nitrogen would be exceedingly limited, or quite deficient, unless the plant had the power of obtaining this important element from captured insects. We can thus, he thinks, understand how it is that the roots are so poorly developed. It appears that they serve only to imbibe water; though no doubt they would absorb nutritious matter if present in the soil. His conclusion is that a plant of *Drosera*, with the edges of its leaves curled inward, so as to form a temporary stomach; and with the glands of the closely inflected tentacles pouring forth their acid secretion, which dissolves animal matter, afterward to be absorbed; may be said to feed like an animal. But, differently from an animal, it drinks by means of its roots: and it must drink largely, so as to retain many drops of viscid fluid round the glands, sometimes as many as two hundred and sixty, exposed during the whole day to a glaring sun.

This general statement is followed by an elaborate investigation

of the structures and their action, extending over a large portion of the work. Into this we cannot enter ; but it is sufficiently apparent that an insect, or other foreign body, touching the tentacles, may adhere to their viscid secretion. The tentacles are then stimulated to bend, so as to inclose the object, and at the same time to exude a larger quantity of liquid, which becomes acid in its nature, and has the precise properties of the gastric juice of an animal. Digested by this, the animal matter is absorbed by the glands, and finally the tentacles open and spread themselves again in quest of new victims. It further appears that the irritation of one tentacle stimulates others in its vicinity to act, and that narcotics and stimulants act on these singular hairs very much as they would do on the nerves and muscles of an animal. More recent observations by Borden Sanderson and Tait, have rendered the similarity between the contractile power of *Drosera* and that of muscle, and between its digestive power and that of the animal stomach, even more striking. Various other species of Sun-dew are then examined, and other plants of the same family, as the aquatic *Aldrovanda* and the still more remarkable *Dionea Muscipula*, Venus' Fly-trap, whose insectivorous habit has long been known, and has been described by several English and American botanists. Ellis noticed this as early as 1768, and it was more fully described by Curtis in 1834, though many of its more interesting details have been worked out by Canby and others, more recently. The *Dionea*, unlike the *Drosera*, is limited to a single species, and this apparently to the eastern part of North Carolina. Why it has profited so little by its powers, while *Drosera* numbers about one hundred species scattered over all parts of the earth, does not clearly appear.¹ *Dionea* has marvelous sensitiveness, closing its leaves when its tentacles are touched even with a hair ; though, like *Drosera*, it is altogether insensible to the heaviest shower of rain, or the strongest wind. Like *Drosera*, it secretes an acid digestive liquid, by which its food is dissolved and prepared for absorption.

Leaving the Sun-dews and their allies, and passing to the Bladder-worts, the common *Pinguicula*, or Butterwort, is found to capture small insects by the viscid secretion on its leaves. It can also, in a slow and clumsy manner, roll up the edges of its leaf so as to inclose these insects, and it secretes a gastric juice for their digestion. But its ally, the *Utricularia*, or proper Bladder-wort, far excels it in its contrivances for capturing insects, and is altogether a chef-d'œuvre

¹ Darwin supposes it to be verging on extinction, but perhaps it may be only beginning its career.

in the way of a trapper. There are many species of *Utricularia*, and a number of these have been examined by Darwin, Cohn, and others, while Mrs. Treat of New Jersey has very successfully studied one of our American species. *Utriculariæ*, being aquatic, capture water insects, crustaceans, and worms, and they effect this by means of the bladder-like organs attached to their leaves, which, though at one time believed to be mere floats, are now known to be traps of most complex structure. These organs, as they occur in *U. neglecta*, may be thus described. The bladders are small hollow vesicles, each attached by a small stalk, and with a mouth or aperture at the opposite end, having a number of long hairs or bristles, arranged so as to form a funnel-shaped approach to the aperture. Immediately within the aperture is a transparent, elastic and flexible valve or door, easily opened by pressure from the outside, but closing tightly against a collar or projection of the wall of the bladder when the pressure is removed. The valve is also furnished with four bristles attached to its free margin, and has numerous absorbent glands on its surface. Structures of this kind are also abundantly dispersed over the interior of the bladder. The whole apparatus, as Darwin observes, presents an "extraordinarily complex appearance" under the microscope.

These structures being so arranged, minute aquatic creatures, by what induced we do not know, make their way into the narrow aperture of the sac, and are entrapped by the closing of the valve. They soon die, and are rapidly decomposed and dissolved in the water contained in the bladders, which is apparently absorbed with its soluble contents by the glandular processes on the inner surface of these organs. It would seem, however, that in this case there is no true digestion, but merely a rapid putrefaction of the contents of the bladders. In a species from South Africa, belonging to an allied genus, *Gentlisea*, the bladders are provided, not with an elastic valve, but with several series of bristles, pointing inward, and capturing aquatic animals on the principle of an eel-trap, but by an arrangement much more complex.

Without dwelling longer on the curious details of this singular subject, let us inquire as to its significance, if it has any, in a general way. To the mind of Darwin this presents itself in only one aspect—that of advantage in the struggle for existence. He remarks on this, that the insect-capturing powers of *Droseracæ* account for their wide diffusion and numerous species, and for their capacity to grow on very poor soil (p. 357). This is no doubt true; but when he proceeds to state that these plants must have acquired their powers

gradually, and by a modification of the ordinary powers of secretion and spontaneous motion possessed by other plants, he goes beyond that which the facts warrant. On this hypothesis, one sees no reason why any or all plants having glandular hairs might not have competed with *Drosera* in its profitable business. Nor is it possible to understand how the presumably unprofitable hairs and secretions could have been produced, before the invention of their profitable use. Nor can we explain how the equally curious *Dionea* has failed to spread itself over the earth as well as *Drosera*. On the contrary, such marvelous structures and habits suggest at once the idea of adaptation and contrivance, and this so strongly that our author himself occasionally expresses it unconsciously, though obviously more wary in this respect than in some previous works.

But we are likely to be told that the idea of design only places those who decline to follow the Darwinian hypothesis, on the other horn of the dilemma, which, according to some, all nature presents to the theist. Are we to say that this cruel capturing of insects is part of the plan of a beneficent Creator; and in any case, is it not a poor and mean idea of such a being which can allow him to be occupied in constructing mere fly-traps, however ingenious and curious: The first of these difficulties is the more serious, for, explain it as we may, we cannot fully understand why death and destruction were permitted to form a part of the scheme of nature. Yet we fail equally to understand how it would have been possible to construct a world of material organisms without their being subject to decay and removal; and all that we can expect is that their removal should be effected in the ways least painful and injurious. That this object was had in view in the construction of the insectivorous plants is plain, for they are not machines for torturing, but for rapidly killing their prey, so that they come within the general law of nature in this respect. Nay, in the case of *Dionea*, there is even, according to Darwin, a contrivance for the benefit of the small insects which would be comparatively of little service, which he compares to "the large meshes of a fishing-net allowing the small and useless fry to escape;"—so there is some care, even here, for the interests of the small and feeble.

But are we not making the Architect of the universe a mere mechanist or artificer? Nay, more, are we not reducing him to the level of the constructor of an ingenious toy, when we represent him as forming the little utricle of a *Bladderwort*, which, if a trap more complex than any the most cunning workman can construct, as

Darwin affirms, is nevertheless a mere trap, and this for very small game? The fallacy which lurks in this objection is so patent, that did not one meet with it almost every day gravely urged by apparently serious writers, it might be dismissed with contempt.

It assumes that attention to the minute in nature is in some way less elevated than attention to the great; that, for example, it might be worthy of the Creator to attend to the structure and movements of a world but not to those of an atom. Yet it is evident that, in the view of Omnipotence, the planet and the particle may be equally small; and a Creator who could construct worlds or mountain masses, but pay no attention to atoms or minute structures, would, when his work came to be carefully examined even by us, prove to be no deity but a mere rude mechanist. Mr. Darwin does not degrade himself, in the eyes of men of science, by devoting laborious days to the study of a leaf of Sun-dew; and probably even Tyndall would object to being held as infinitely contemptible, because he could condescend to inquire and reason about atoms. It is essential to practical religion to believe that the hairs of one's head are all numbered, and that not one can fall without the knowledge of our Father; and it is as essential to any conceivable form of rational theism, that God should give attention to the minutest things, even to those vastly too small for mortal ken, as that he should care for systems of worlds. Therefore the construction of a hair of *Drosera* is no more unworthy the attention of God than the creation of a sun; or the arrangements for its movement, than those for the revolution of a planet. When we find Darwin throughout this book using the words "astonishing," "surprising," to express his feeling in presence of these remarkable properties of plants, we cannot fail to perceive that, rightly viewed, they are as well fitted to excite our own wonder and reverence as those greater operations of the Almighty which are usually held to be better suited to stimulate such sentiments. Of course it is not necessary in either case to imagine the Creator sitting at his work-bench, and laboriously patching together his work like a human machinist. On the contrary, the great cause for wonder is that he makes it grow, by the mere exertion of the will expressed in his Almighty word. The lessons that we may learn from the curious plants to which Darwin has so well directed attention, we may, with the above cautions, leave to the thoughts of the reader. But when he closes his long and elaborate investigation of *Drosera* with the words, "We see how little has been made out in comparison with what remains unexplained and unknown," we have an admonition to humility and patient inquiry

which may well serve us as a closing thought. These words occur at the end of a tersely written record of experiments and observations extending over 270 pages. The whole of these experiments and observations relate to the structure and functions of a little leaf a quarter of an inch in diameter, and they are the work of one of the most accomplished naturalists of our time, extending over a period of fifteen years, and assisted by many specialists in the chemical and physiological questions involved. Yet the impression remains in his mind that, after all, little has been made out compared with what remains unexplained and unknown, even in relation to this almost inappreciable fragment of the great system of nature. There can surely be no plainer lesson than this, either to those who affect to believe any part of nature unworthy of God, or to see in the universe no evidence of design.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF MURDER.

AN error common among jurists as well as theologians, is the belief that, throughout mankind, the same notion is entertained regarding the crime of murder and its legal definition. There exists an identity in the terminology of the laws of the civilized world, all the treaties of extradition using the word "murder" with a view to denote the gravest and most abominable felony. But careful observation of juridical practice, must nevertheless lead to a conclusion that, as yet, it is almost impossible to give, at least from an international point of view, an exact description of what is to be acknowledged as representing murder. There are, of course, certain forms of willful killing, which would be esteemed murder throughout the civilized world. But there are also many special crimes, belonging to the class of felonious murder according to the legal system of some countries, that will not be acknowledged as such by others. The jurisprudence of several European states would raise legal objections, for instance, to Cain's crime being styled a case of murder, provided Abel was slain from a motive of sudden wrath. It is strange, indeed, that modern civilization should not be strong enough to wipe out such moral diversities as are still existing in the legal appreciation of willful acts destroying human life. Owing to this discrepancy, the scientific value of comparative statistics is reduced to a very low standard; no one being at present enabled to draw up any reliable comparison between the criminal tables of different countries, although it would be deeply interesting to ascertain the comparative frequency of murder.

The English Capital Punishment Commission, whose report was published in 1866, and the more recent parliamentary investigation into the present state of the law of homicide, have testified to the very imperfect and thoroughly controversial character of the common law in its bearing on cases of felonious killing. While the criminal laws of England have for many centuries remained almost stationary in maintaining the ancient common law distinction in the simple division of murder and manslaughter, American statutes have advanced their subdivisions of murder to a first and second degree,

thereby adopting to a certain extent the theory of continental Europe, embodied in our criminal codes since the time of the German emperor Charles V. Apart from justifiable homicide, all the criminal codes of continental Europe, disagreeing as they do in many other respects, have been led to adopt three degrees in awarding punishment in cases of homicide, according to a legal distinction between murder (in German *mord*), manslaughter (in German *todtschlag*), and killing by negligence, the latter not being regarded as felonious, but constituting a case of misdemeanor.

According to the German criminal code of 1871—whose almost laconic brevity may be said to be unparalleled in legislation, ancient or modern—murder is punishable with death; no distinction of different degrees being admitted, provided only, that the act of killing has been perpetrated from a deliberate or premeditated design to inflict death on a living person. All cases of voluntary killing, perpetrated either from heat of passion or without proof of premeditation, are to be punishable either with hard labor in common cases, or with imprisonment, not exceeding five years and not under six months, this diminution of punishment to take place on a declaration of the jury, that there have been mitigating circumstances in the commission of the crime, or serious provocation on the part of the killed person. Finally, involuntary manslaughter by negligence, is subject to imprisonment from one day to three years, at the discretion of the court; power being given, at the same time, to award higher terms of from three to five years' imprisonment in cases of professional negligence.

It would be difficult exactly to state whether the German law of murder be severer than the American laws actually in force. Perhaps it may be asserted that the German law is considerably less severe in some respects than the English law. In Germany there is no such thing as "constructive" murder; indeed it never existed in German jurisprudence. Nor is it a case of murder, when killing is the consequence of some other felonious act, as arson, burglary, or maiming. In order to render a verdict of guilty of murder, or of voluntary manslaughter, the jury must be fully convinced that, according to the German rules of evidence, killing has been willful, not only as to the infliction of any wound having been the cause of death; but also as to the particular intent that death *should* ensue. Hence, a great number of cases, in which English juries would be obliged to render a verdict of guilty of murder, will appear in the German criminal statistics under the head of mayhem, or intentional bodily injury, the latter forming a particular description of crime, if the death of

the injured person has been caused by intentional wounding. No doubt, cases of fatal wounding, proceeding from an intent really to give grievous bodily harm, are of almost daily occurrence in the larger towns of England as well as of Germany.

Moreover, the area covered by the German notion of murder is narrowed by legal provision in many other respects. Aiding in the commission of suicide may be immoral everywhere, but it is not at all unlawful, according to the German code. Nor are infanticide, abortion, and killing by fighting a duel, in any way subject to the law of murder. For centuries there has been in Germany an uninterrupted tradition in criminal jurisprudence and legislation to this effect: that killing ought not to be punished as other common cases of murder, if perpetrated by a mother on her illegitimate child at, or immediately after, its birth. The motives of shame and despair, combined with a state of physical weakness, were held to offer, if not a justification for impunity, at least some strong reasons for the admission of mitigation. Both the crimes of duel and infanticide, proceeding as they do from the impulse of offended honor, either sexual or social, have in Germany always been held to entirely differ from the commission of murder by a person lying in wait, or in the act of robbery. At all times, the greatest among the tragedians since the first appearance of *Æschylus* and *Sophocles*, were sure of universal applause if they could succeed in causing the deepest emotion of the human heart by drawing up the picture of some noble character driven by motives originally high and pure into the abyss of crime. The tragedy of seduction, having its beginning in the highest and purest feeling of love in "*Gretchen*," and ending in infanticidal despair, is one of the greatest achievements of *Goethe's* poetry, showing the almost insuperable conflict between the feeling of human compassion in the public mind, and the strict rule of the law, to be adhered to by the judge.

The great question therefore is, how far morality, psychologically viewed as a motive, should exercise any influence in the punishment of crime, and more especially of murder? Is there any justification for drawing up legal distinctions between certain cases of murder of almost daily occurrence? If there are certain degrees of murder in the statutory laws of American States, and some privileged cases are exempted from the general law of murder, as dueling, infanticide, and the provocation of suicide, what principle ought to be adopted as the leading one?

There is no other crime, whose very nature is so intimately con-

nected with the highest problems in morals and psychology as that of murder, although jurisprudence and legislation have each hitherto evinced their unbiased tendency toward discarding the consideration of moral motives. Almost in oblivion of the true test of jurisprudence, some American statutes declare that killing shall be murder, when perpetrated by any act imminently dangerous to others, and *evincing a depraved mind*, regardless of human life, although without any pre-meditated design to effect the death of any particular individual. The natural consequence would seem to be, that the absence of mental depravity, and the non-existence of moral motives in the convict's mind, should, as a rule, effect a mitigation of his punishment. The difference lying between the lawyer's juridical notion of malice aforethought and the juryman's feeling for the relative worth of moral motives, is such as to afford a very good reason for the fact that verdicts of *not guilty* are so often rendered in opposition to most accurate and learned charges of the judge. Accordingly, professional men in almost every civilized country will be interested in the discussion of this question: Whether it would be expedient, either to reform criminal procedure by subjecting juries to restrictive control, or to bring criminal legislation more into accord with the actual standard of popular feeling.

It is impossible not to acknowledge the importance of the legislative problem involved in this controversy. In the long run, no country will remain morally undamaged where conflicting views concerning the traditions of the law and the application they are to receive in the trial by jury, continue to prevail. Let us compare the criminal statistics of France, Germany, and Italy, to investigate the reasons which lead to this semi-warfare between the professional learning of magistrates and the unprofessional feeling of jurymen. The phenomenon, almost general as it is, will be best understood by adverting to the criminal law in its relation to the psychology of murder.

The technicalities of common law definitions, will enjoy their political authority in England, amidst the social strata of juries and quarter sessions, so long as the aristocracy are enabled to keep up their social influence at large; the Queen's Bench, the magistracy, and the whole of the legal profession partaking, to some extent at least, in the tribute of general respect offered to the ruling class. The privilege of birth, and the preference allowed to lineage and ancestry, most naturally, also, extend to customary law and its professional exponents, whose directions will be easily and without any serious contradiction received by juries subservient to social authority. As

democracy, however, becomes more powerful, and those who have formerly been precluded from any participation in government unite in the formation of the public opinion, the influence of mysterious and professional technicalities on the verdicts of jurymen, will gradually give way to practical efforts for the immediate improvement of such of the criminal laws as are generally held to be obsolete or unjust. To professional lawyers, a system of abstract rules; the concatenation of logical consequences; the uninterrupted pedigree of juridical precedents and never-changing tradition, will appear to embody the ideal worth of the law, and to supersede justice or injustice, in their particular application. On the contrary, the individual conscience of the jurymen can not acquiesce in the exhortation that punishment, decidedly unjust in a particular case, shall be inflicted because the law demands it; but will rather insist that a bad law shall be changed for a better one. He will not believe that it is his duty to aid in the accomplishment of that which he most decidedly believes to be offensive to morals. With the professional lawyer, innocence means inapplicability of logical rules in criminal trials; with the jurymen, it means the moral right of personal liberty asserted against the tyrannical power of abstract and obsolete principles.

That the moral aspect and the psychological nature of crime, and more especially of murder, should form the principal consideration in the eyes of jurymen, is by no means astonishing. The Romans, a nation more gifted than any other with reference to legislation and jurisprudence, and jealous as they were in the times of stern republicanism, had no objection to the prerogative exercised by their highest judicial magistrate in correcting, upon his own individual responsibility, the imperfections and shortcomings of such civil laws as could not, by timely legislation, be rendered inoffensive in their bearing on exceptional and single cases.

Although in traditional opposition to the spirit of the Roman law, and still governed by professional authority, the English jury has clearly betrayed its tendency to correct, under the guidance of moral considerations, those iniquities of the common law which are most shocking to modern feeling. Consequently a great many lawyers and politicians are complaining of the fact almost universally known, that it is impossible to obtain verdicts of *guilty* in cases of child-murder, the punishment of death being thus rendered inapplicable in numerous cases. On the contrary, French and German juries do not feel any decided hesitation in convicting women accused of infanticide, since the capital punishment of the crime has been legally abolished,

or practically discarded, by giving to the jury the privilege of admitting mitigating circumstances in favor of the prisoner.

From the criminal statistics of France, we are enabled to draw most valuable conclusions with regard to the probability of acquittals, convictions, and mitigations, in cases of murder and voluntary manslaughter, the latter crime also being a capital offence, according to the Code Napoléon. By a careful observation of the criminal law practice in France, and more especially of the criminal tables published in 1871, it becomes evident that a consideration of the moral character of the motives leading to the crime of homicide, in the vast majority of cases, influences convictions and acquittals. Hence the prisoner's greater immorality, lying at the bottom of grievous crimes, will secure a comparatively greater number of convictions, and the more apparent evidence of moral feeling on the prisoner's side will be echoed by a corresponding number of acquittals on the part of jurymen, the extrinsic nature of the criminal act committed remaining equally grievous in cases of murder or of manslaughter. There is no special crime of dueling in France, the same legal definitions of willful killing, or bodily injury, applying to it as in England and America. Yet, in no case of criminal prosecution could a verdict of guilty against prisoners charged with homicide by dueling be obtained. Moreover, there exists in the island of Corsica the ancient practice of *vendetta*; since times immemorial revenge being revered as a sacred duty, inherent in the sanctity of family ties. However erroneous such a view may appear in the eyes of the impeached Parisians, the consideration of these motives can not fail to produce general and almost unexceptional acquittals in cases of *vendetta*. Two girls, charged with murder, perpetrated on the persons of their lovers to revenge seduction, were equally acquitted, and so was a father, who deliberately killed his daughter's seducer. Out of eleven women, accused of having killed their husbands, most likely in order to have revenge for adultery, there were five condemnations, all, however, receiving the benefit of mitigating circumstances. Just the reverse will take place, as is clearly shown by the French statistics, in all cases of murder and manslaughter proceeding from motives of immoral gain. Out of forty-two persons accused, there were only seven acquittals, the remainder having been convicted, and seven of them actually executed because the petition for the admission of mitigating circumstances had been negatived. Unfortunately we have had little opportunity of becoming acquainted with the statistical results attending criminal prosecutions in the more prominent States of the North American Union. Still, we venture to express

the belief that, in a great many cases, the American jurymen will show themselves to be acting under the same imperative pressure of moral considerations, although not being legally empowered to do so. It would be unnatural if they did not. All attempts to dissuade juries from doing so will fail, the more decidedly and the more frequently they are made.

No one can possibly deny that the frequency of acquittals in cases of murder and manslaughter, startling as it appears in some countries, must ultimately be attended with the gravest consequences, involving serious danger to the security of the public. The question therefore arises as to the wisdom of revising the law of homicide so that the distinction of several degrees of immoralities shall be lawfully admitted under the head of mitigating circumstances.

It has been shown by the modern school of psychologists that the degrees of deliberation and premeditation in the crime of homicide are by no means coincident with the degrees of morality or immorality in the motives leading to the homicidal act. There is no contradiction in the concurrent existence of strong passion and perfect deliberation in the same act of any crime whatever.

Preliminary to any legislative act tending to harmonize the average feeling of the jury with the precepts of the law of homicide, it should be shown that there exists the possibility of clearly ascertaining the particular kind of motives because of which murders are committed. It might be questioned whether the eye of the lawyer or the psychologist would be sharp enough to detect the essence of individual motives in each case. There is, of course, some difficulty in exactly describing the prevalence of any particular motive, if there are a plurality of incentives to murder. Yet very few cases indeed are such as to preclude the formal determination of the murderer's motives, although it may be granted that it is not always so easy to trace homicide back to its psychological origin, as in the cases of infanticide or dueling.

The French criminal statistics are deserving of high praise, on account not only of their lucidity and accuracy, but also because of the attention given to the solution of some important social and psychological problems. In describing the motives for murder and manslaughter, they use no less than thirty divisions under the following five heads: I. *Motives of gain*: (a) cupidity at large; (b) dissensions caused by material interests in cases of inheritance; (c) indigency; (d) neighborhood dissensions. II. *Sexual motives*: (a) adultery; (b) jealousy; (c) refusal of love; (d) seduction; (e) despair of lovers; (f) sexual incompatibility; (g) sexual cruelty. III. *Wrath, hatred, and*

revenge: (a) political murder; (b) common murder; (c) vendetta. IV. *Murder* committed in an attempt to commit some other criminal act, or in order to escape detection. V. *Murder* committed from some other uncommon or rare motives; and VI. From motives unknown. As the motives in the fourth class above mentioned might be combined with those in the third class, the classification could be simplified by its reduction to three different heads: 1. Economical, or motives of gain; 2. Sexual, or motives of passion; and 3. Motives of wrath, hatred, and revenge. Leaving aside exceptional cases, not to be explained by psychological analysis, homicide of *regular* occurrence will be traceable to one of these divisions. Still, it must be understood, that a plurality of motives may be concurring in one case, as, for instance, a combination of cupidity and hatred. There may, perhaps, exist some difficulty in the application of these principles of division to some single cases. Generally speaking, however, the simplification of the French terminology will, at all events, lead us to some average estimate of the relative frequency of motives. Infanticide and dueling being crimes of a particular description, the motive of misguided honor has not been adverted to in our selection of different heads.

First, then, is the motive of pecuniary gain and cupidity, which must be acknowledged to be, morally considered, of the very worst. To kill some unknown human being for pay, as is the case with the Italian banditti, or for any similar motive, has at all times been held to be so atrocious a crime as to deserve punishment of exceptional severity, and there have existed different degrees of painful execution. Illegitimate gain may be obtained by simple crimes against another man's property, such as theft, larceny, or forging. To obtain it by homicide, while the victim would in the majority of cases have been quite ready to sacrifice property in order to escape death, is always a proof of deepest depravity. There are probably no other criminals to be compared, in point of moral perversion, to such monsters as Beaucarmé and Lapommerais, who made it the object of scientific study to find out such means of poisoning as were most likely to secure to them impunity in criminal undertakings against their victims with whom, by most accomplished hypocrisy, they kept up friendly intercourse to the moment of their violent death. The whole attire of modern civilization, art, science, and social refinement, a minute study of nature's laws, the chemist's experiment, the exploration of physiology, the highest amount of knowledge, were combined together to overrule any obstacle preventing the execution of their

criminal plans. Perhaps the means employed by such criminal scientists may have been less cruel than those used by barbarians delighting in the spectacle of physical torture. Yet it seems impossible to surpass their deeds in wickedness and depravity, so great an amount of intelligence and research having been wasted for the perpetration of the foulest of crimes, under the mask of personal kindness toward the murdered persons.

The elasticity, however, of psychology in its relation to morality may be shown when we turn our attention to another class of murderers, acting as they do from economical motives of a more negative kind, which perhaps might be described as motives of economical weakness. Not a few persons, of good habits and orderly behavior, deeply depressed and entirely discouraged in consequence of commercial failure or industrial overthrow—driven into despair, feeling no hope whatever of regaining their social position, apparently lost forever—determine upon destroying their families, whose assent to a proposed scheme of common destruction it is sometimes easy to obtain. Every year, the criminal statistics of European countries bear witness to a certain number of such cases, occurring in our larger cities, where economical ruin sometimes not only means suicide, but the perpetration of murder combined with suicidal attempts. Crimes of this class are often accidentally rendered ineffective, and end in the involuntary preservation of those whose firm resolution to die with their families was at work, when some sudden obstacle made its appearance in the unexpected intervention of curious people, or of the officers of the law. In reference to such cases, it is by no means easy to determine whether it was cruelty or benevolence that forcibly detained a dying man in order to deliver him up to the executioner.

The feeling generally manifested on the part of the public, formerly was one of deep compassion for the culprit, whose case was considered as almost beyond the border-land of human justice, capital punishment as well as prison life being equally disproportionate to the nature of his crime and his own penitence. There is some consolation in the fact that in many such cases, insanity can be shown to have been raging in the culprit's mind. It is sufficient to our purpose to have shown the extreme diversity existing between such crimes as those committed by Lapommerais, and the murder proceeding from a feeling of economical weakness, and to acknowledge that there are a great many intermediate degrees between the motives of active gain and of negative loss.

We have next to consider *sexual* murder, which is broadly distinguished from former class by its psychological features. Homicide for the sake of gain is always based upon secondary considerations with regard to the individual killed. Robbers have no primary reason to destroy the life of certain persons for the sake of destruction. If they felt assured that they could have obtained their end without homicide, they would have spared their victim's life. To them, killing is no object in itself. With sexual passion, however, it is otherwise. There are no considerations of utilitarianism, no struggles between conscience and lust of gain. Destruction of a certain individual, whose earthly existence appears to be intolerable, and incompatible in the murderer's eyes with his own, is aimed at, and accordingly perpetrated for the sole reason that it is felt to be a necessity. Hence, the highest ebullition of wrath, proceeding from sexual passion, may be combined with the most deliberate application of the means of destruction. The criminal intent may for a long time, for weeks or even for months, have been creeping through the murderer's mind. At first, perhaps, it was indignantly rejected. Then it reappeared, appealing against reasonable consideration to the secret recesses of passion in the human heart, to a wrong notion of justice. At length its dictates were accepted and carried into execution, no regard being had for the consequences regularly attending the execution of grievous crimes. Among this class of murderers, commonly no care is taken to escape detection or punishment. On the contrary, not a few persons belonging to this class are ready to deliver themselves up to the law. What they principally care for, is the cutting off of any chance of escape on the part of their victim. It is a common fallacy, both of criminal jurisprudence and of the older school of psychology, to believe that strong passions always die away very soon after their first appearance. Medically speaking, they are as a rule *acute*, but sometimes also *chronic*, growing the more violent the longer they have to struggle against reason. There is no blindness in them, but sagacity, when the means suitable for the execution of some criminal plan are to be considered. In proportion to the probability of success, their indifference to punishment is of constant growth. In some cases experience shows that murderers give warning to their victims, and announce beforehand their intent. We have in mind a young Bavarian lad, whose attentions had been refused by a country girl. His excitement grew to such an extent, that he directly threatened his love that he would shoot her down on her wedding day, if she should be married to another. Although a year had elapsed since

his warning, his excitement did not subside, and he actually killed the girl on her bridal way to the church. For weeks before, he had been seen preparing for shooting and trying his rifle; no one, however, presuming any criminal intent.

There are many distinctions to be admitted in the class of sexual murders. On the whole, however, they must be acknowledged to be inferior in the degree of moral guilt when compared to the first class above mentioned. In most cases, there is an excess of violence accompanying the feeling of actual injustice done to noble and faithful hearts, by the malicious desertion of those to whom they had cheerfully intrusted their honor, and for whom they would have offered themselves a ready sacrifice. Moreover, violent jealousy, even if unfounded and unjust, has its psychological foundation in the belief of existing injustice. Close analysis would establish the truth that there are few cases entirely exempt from the admissibility of mitigating circumstances. Yet the rule, we might be willing to acknowledge, must make allowance for some exceptions. Murder from sexual motives, it can not be denied, ascends to the highest degrees of criminality when deliberately perpetrated to prevent the detection of another brutal crime previously committed upon the person of the victim.

The same principle of inferior criminality, generally applicable to cases of sexual passion, does not extend to the third division at large, which has been described as including murders from such motives of wrath, hatred, and revenge, as do not have their origin in the sexual relations. At present it would be extremely difficult to suggest how many subdivisions should be admitted to establish some broad lines of comparative morality. Hatred, as the most general expression available for denoting the motive of homicide *purely malicious*, and exempt from any admixture of the feeling of honor, love, or compassion, may be traced to such a multiplicity of causes that it is almost impossible to exhaust their enumeration. For the purpose of broad discrimination, it will be justifiable to draw a line of demarcation between such causes as in any way affect the moral character of hatred. Reference ought to be made either to social customs, or to prejudice, and finally to merely personal interest, as causing the outburst of murderous hatred against human life.

As to social customs and prejudice, we can not deny that in their existence there is, to a certain extent at least, some reasonable ground for the diminution of personal guilt, provided, however, that the particular kind of murder meets a certain degree of justification.

The problem of *political murder* presents itself under the color of social customs and prejudices. The criminal codes of all the empires and kingdoms that ever existed, had, from very natural motives, a traditional tendency to aggravate the punishment of political murder under the head of high treason. On the other hand, radical republicanism has for a long time been asserting the justification of tyrannicide. It is difficult, therefore, to find any acknowledged rule whereby to establish the comparative morality of political murder. Moreover, the murder of Marat by Charlotte Corday, is by no means morally similar to the murder of Abraham Lincoln by Wilkes Booth. It is natural that party views should exercise a good deal of influence in criticising the relative morality of political murder. Hence moralists and politicians are not likely to agree, the latter acting under the necessity of affording stronger protection in proportion to the larger extent of prejudices endangering the life of the *ruling* class. The most immoral acts can not be said to be, socially considered, the most dangerous, the *enormity* of the guilt, and the abomination created, acting as a natural check against their multiplication. On the other hand, political murder, being likely to meet some approbation from certain quarters, and being, therefore, considered as less immoral, it can not be denied demands measures particularly preventive.

The fact is, that the frequency of political murder is dependent, not on the particular character of the punishment it is to meet, nor on any kind of political intimidation, but on the state of political morals, as expressed in the popular habits of constitutional life. Where personal influence is all-powerful in subduing national life, despots will at all times be more exposed to violence than the leading men in parliamentary governments. At a period when republics are to be revolutionized by high treason or a *coup d'état*, it is natural that individuals should be found ready to vindicate what they consider the inviolable right of the people. On the whole, it can not be denied that political murder has become less frequent since the more general adoption of constitutionalism by European nations, its consequence being felt in the transformation of the monarch's position into some kind of impersonal government. Moreover, theoretical justification of regicide and political murder, has almost entirely disappeared from political literature. Nevertheless, moralists must not put too much reliance on the rather favorable experience of former times; they ought to consider the very serious warning given by the French Commune of 1871, and the approbation of their doings openly expressed by some socialists. Besides, it is not at all impossible that a high degree of

religious fanaticism might revive again in the midst of such populations as are constantly called upon to defend, by violence, their sacred ecclesiastical rights against real or imaginary aggression.

As to France, political murder has, since the times of St. Bartholomew's night, continued to be more frequent than in any other country of Europe. The wholesale massacres of the great revolution, of the June insurrection in 1848, of Napoleon's *coup d'état*, and of the Commune, have given rise to a spirit of revenge and intolerance toward political antagonists. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at, that the French statistics of 1871 exhibit several cases of political murders, committed during political elections, and resulting from feuds between members of the opposing parties.

Leaving aside criminal attempts at the monarch's life, and their legal definition as constituting high treason, criminal jurisprudence has nowhere been willing to acknowledge the expediency of any distinction between political and common murder. Perhaps it would be dangerous to adopt different rules when political murderers are to be dealt with in criminal trials. Yet common experience shows that there exists a *de facto* difference in our social customs and in public morals. Political murder, viewed from an abstract point of scientific consideration, will appear equally wicked as common murder. Each individual, however, when charged with the commission of political murder, is sure to meet exceptional treatment on the side of the public, commonly excited to such a degree that average impartiality very soon disappears. Practically it is not the psychological question which engages popular attention, nor the degree of immorality, but the personal worth of him whose life has been endangered or destroyed. From our own experience we can testify to the very different impression produced by the two criminal attempts upon Bismarck's life in 1866 and 1874. When, almost by a miracle, he escaped Blind's firing in 1866, his unpopularity was so great that the crime was rather coolly disapproved, with the exhibition of a good deal of sympathy for Blind; when, however, Kullmann made his attempt against Prince Bismarck's life in 1874 the Chancellor's popularity was boundless, and public indignation raged passionately against the prisoner. The fact itself is not astonishing at all; still it should warn us against unthinking partiality and the dangerous influence of personal sympathy in criminal trials.

Sometimes there is such a mixture of common hatred and political prejudice, that it is very difficult, if not impossible, to fairly decide, in certain cases, whether there is a political motive on the prisoner's

side or not. The agrarian crimes of the Irish have, by several writers, been described as unmistakable political acts, committed to avenge national wrongs. Certainly, there may be a good deal of political hatred on the side of agrarian murderers; still they are not entitled to claim the higher privilege of being considered as suffering for their country's sake. Their intent is to gratify individual hatred, and to avenge personal wrongs. The same may be the case with many crimes of homicide, having occurred in the Southern States of the American Union, and singled out from common murders by their connection with the antagonism of races. The murder of a colored by a white man, can not be said to be a political crime, when it proceeds from a feeling of contempt for the negro race. The true characteristic of political murder will be found in the intent prevailing in the culprit's mind to benefit his country in bringing about some political change by self-sacrifice of life and the acceptance of inevitable punishment. When there is any attempt to escape detection and punishment, the prisoner can not be entitled to sympathy. His own life and honor must be directly endangered by the publicity given to his act, in order to atone for the majesty of the law. Charlotte Corday was guilty of true political murder; but the admiration felt by the most eminent moralists for her can not be offered to villany ready to kill the enemy from behind the hedge, without running any risk of martyrdom, nor to bush-rangers fighting under the color of patriotism, merely with the intent to commit pillage during civil war.

Not even the religious motive for homicide should be invoked to mitigate the prisoner's guilt. To kill in the name of God, and thus to promote Church life by murder, was held justifiable in the wars raging during the middle ages, and is still believed to be so by Oriental people in their attacks upon Christian converts or missionaries. At present, no Christian writer would go the length of asserting, that religion could possibly be promoted by criminal homicide. Yet the moral offspring of ancient errors and mediæval intolerance has not been entirely destroyed by the growth of civilization. There are certain cases of murder, whose generation might be traced back to the occasional recurrence of such superstition, as formerly was held to be religious truth. Witchcraft is even now believed in by many superstitious people in different countries of Europe. From the reappearance of such cases as are tried before our courts of justice, in order to convict the murderer of supposed witches, we may reasonably infer the degree of social pressure by which, in former centuries, criminal jurisprudence was driven to obey prejudices once general.

With regard to some periods of European civilization, therefore, it must be acknowledged that supposed witches, when spared by official justice, would in a most cruel manner have been lynched by the mob. It would not be at all astonishing to witness the more frequent repetition of popular outbursts against witches in some countries where the clergy are unusually eager to teach the presence among mankind of a personal devil. The use of exorcism in several parts of Germany, does sometimes work as a revival of miraculous superstition. To experts it will be most difficult to say whether the highest degree of superstition, acting against witches, whose existence the prisoner has officially been taught to believe, should legally have been treated like a case of insanity. It is not our purpose to give an opinion in any way. We suppose, however, there will be no contradiction in acknowledging the existence of insanity, wherever superstition has been shown to be combined with religious delusions or hallucinations. Not far from the Bavarian capital, a few weeks ago, a stout lad of eighteen years was charged with the murder of an old woman, whom he firmly believed to have practiced witchcraft damaging his property. We know similar cases to have occurred in other parts of Germany, in Switzerland, and in Mexico.

When political and religious murder ceases to be the result of merely individual motives, because it constantly receives support from social prejudice, criminal prosecution will remain powerless in its most serious efforts to suppress it. There can be no improvement of manners by appealing to the gallows; and at all events the moral responsibility of those whose acts received tacit approval from society at large, is essentially lessened. Psychology is not only a science of the individual, but also of the social, mind, as existing at certain periods in the national character of a people. Accordingly, it may be said, that progressive civilization will be shown to exist wherever murder is gradually becoming the result of exclusively individual motives. On the contrary, in describing the growth of morality in certain nations, the historian can not fail to remark that in the early ages of state life the destruction of human beings by willful homicide was, to a greater extent than afterward, justified by social prejudice. The murder of female infants, as practiced among some tribes of India, may be adverted to as giving proper illustration to this distinction between individual and social motives.

Unfortunately we need not be too confident in the strength of our civilization. As the old superstition reappears in reference to witchcraft, so barbarous ages may occasionally remind us of the law

of moral atavism, when civilization is suddenly broken up by social revolutions. At present, some districts of Northern Spain, suffering from the cruelties of civil war, and the western part of Sicily, appear to have returned to the sway of barbarism.

The recent transactions of the Italian Parliament, relating to exceptional measures to be employed for the restoration of public security in Sicily, are interesting, not only because they are deserving of the politicians' attention, but also, and perhaps in a higher degree, because they must be acknowledged as opening a new chapter in the history of social psychology. There, murder has ceased to be a crime of individuals; it has become the almost direct result of society, corrupted by the dominion of ecclesiastical and political tyranny; and a country once the treasury of the Romans is now a land of horror, productive of mischief for a long time incurable. It appears incredible to foreign observers that criminal associations of murderers and robbers, and an innumerable host of clandestine conspirators, should be stronger than all the energy of the Italian government. The fact is, that even the present administration of the island has not remained exempt from a charge of having, by its errors and its weakness, perhaps by the corrupt practices of subordinate officers, favored the conspiracy of the so-called Camorra and Maffia.

The Maffia means the armed organization of highway robbery, to whose extirpation a certain number of soldiers is annually to be sacrificed without any apparent result; piratical abductions of well-to-do people, in order to extort high ransoms; violence of every kind against the officers of the government; pilfering with the assistance of servants; a system of bribery, used to corrupt the police or the judiciary and to secure acquittals; the impunity of murder, scarcely any one being ready to give open evidence in the prospect of falling a victim to the revenge of the criminal or his associates. In this way murder and robbery may be said to have become social plagues, the criminal contagion creeping everywhere, even into the recesses of family life. The amount of mischief done in Southern Italy, and more especially in Sicily, may be best calculated by the comparative statistics, as published by the Italian government, and laid before the Parliament. While in Lombardy there was one murder to 44,674, and in Tuscany, one to 18,794 inhabitants, the proportion in the Neapolitan provinces was one to 4,692, and in Sicily, one to 3,194. The experience available for cases of wounding and bodily injury was found to correspond to the crime of homicide, there being one case to 544 Sicilians, and to 1,894 inhabitants of Lombardy. Confessedly, criminal prosecutions

have hitherto turned out as ineffectual as military executions, and it remains to be seen whether any exceptional measures whatever are to be devised in order to promote public security. Although those politicians may be best informed as to the characteristic features of the Mafia, who advise a radical change in the system of popular education, hitherto misdirected, it is almost impossible to sacrifice the living generation and its personal security to some abstract scheme of theoretical reform. In many respects there exists a close resemblance between the Sicilian Mafia and the criminal actors in Irish agrarianism in its worst periods, more especially with reference to the unwillingness of the population at large to assist in securing the conviction of criminals.

Having in view such strange phenomena as the Sicilian Mafia and the Corsican vendetta, it would be important to classify the motives of murder according to a consideration of their primary origin. They may be said to flow either from merely individual depravity, or from a more remote instigation, received from the imperfection and demoralization of society at large. To the latter class, the Mafia, the Irish agrarian crime, the vendetta, and homicide committed in civil war, might be referred. There may be, however, the possibility of applying different modes to the psychological appreciation of the same general class of murders. Political murders, for instance, may at certain times proceed from social demoralization; at certain other times, from individual depravity.

A good classification of motives would enable us to investigate the comparative progress of moral civilization among different nations. The standard to be used in the appreciation of the relative advance of modern nations, might be taken from the following rule: Supposing an equal number of gravest criminal offenses, occurring among the population of two different countries; we should say: the higher the figures of merely individual motives in the perpetration of those crimes, and the lower, on the contrary, the figures of motives socially operating, the more decidedly moral culture will have been advancing. It is important, therefore, that the number of accusations should be carefully compared with the number of the prisoners accused, the ideal standard of the highest civilization to be acknowledged in the coincidence or identity of both. If the number of prisoners were equal to that of criminal accusations, each individual criminal must have been fully aware of the general condemnation he would meet, whenever he should propose to some one else the execution of his plan.

At present, the number of prisoners is always greater in the statis-

tical tables than that of criminal accusations. But there is a very remarkable difference between the French and Italian statistics, the latter showing a very much larger excess of prisoners over the number of criminal accusations. And the same advantage of higher culture is to be inferred from the German criminal statistics. Although criminal statistics are of modern origin, we may fairly presume, that in France as well as in England and in Germany, crimes are becoming more and more individual and less social than they were a hundred years ago. Ancient legislation was entirely justified in aggravating the punishment whenever crimes had been committed by conspiracy. It was the same law of social progress instinctively felt by former generations, without the teachings of statistical experience. The tendency to form criminal combinations is in itself a very serious evil, showing as it does, the more extensive spread of bad habits; the more dangerous use of criminal means in their multiplication, and the more serious resistance to be apprehended from self-defense. For the very same reason, a single case of breach of contract by an individual workman, can never be regarded as being as grave a matter as the combination of a great number of workmen to the same effect. Criminal legislation, warned by statistical experience, ought not to forget its duty in awarding appropriate punishment to criminal conspiracies. While we are happy to state that murder and highway robberies, of professional organization, such as are still existing in Sicily, have long since disappeared from Continental Europe we must not forget that, on the other hand, by the prodigious growth of our large commercial centers, property is being more exposed than ever to criminal aggression. Late experience has developed the organization of "rings," formed with the greatest audacity by professional and skillful men, with a view to obtain other people's money under the most elegant, most alluring, and most fallacious pretenses.

As to the more individual motives, there is a certain regular recurrence in their annual appearance. We are perfectly sure that from the same individual motives of hatred, revenge, sexual passion, and cupidity, a certain number of homicides will be committed in every country; and we are not allowed to expect any essential change in the criminal statistics. Still it would be erroneous to infer from this fact the existence of a natural law, numerically expressed in the frequency of murder and manslaughter, and materially destroying the liberty of the human will. There is no natural necessity, driving a given number of individuals, by predestination, into the irresistible commission of crime. Social statistics give a fair exhibition of the

propagation of social or individual tendencies and propensities, but by this they do not reveal at all the working of any natural law, inexorable and unchangeable, as the laws of electricity, heat, or gravitation. If the regular appearance of certain motives, in cases of murder, be held to be caused by natural necessity, we must consequentially also be allowed to hold that accidental death, occurring from various causes in our larger cities, is to be considered as the effect of nature's law, causing a certain number of people to become the subjects of various unforeseen accidents. As to France, the frequency of individual motives in cases of crime, is by no means so uniform as has been generally supposed by many statisticians. The figures published for 1871 were to the following effect: There were 70 cases of murder from motives of immoral gain and cupidity, 35 from motives of sexual passion; and 132 from motives of revenge and hatred, including 19 cases which might be considered as political crimes. The proportion, therefore, of cupidity to sexual passion was exactly as 2 to 1.

I have already adverted to the fact that the motives operating in murder, are also to be found in cases of voluntary, but unpremeditated manslaughter. Without any guidance by statistical tables, we should presume that, numerically considered, some motives will be prevalent in manslaughter, and some others in murder. Indeed a comparative view, based upon French statistics, gives the following result: 1. As to the economical motives, the proportion of murder to manslaughter is 70 to 22. 2. As to sexual passion, 35 to 25. 3. As to hatred and revenge, 132 to 241. It is natural that the feelings of revenge and hatred should render manslaughter more frequent than deliberate murder, and on the other hand, that cupidity should be rather slow and cautious in selecting the proper means for the execution of criminal plans. Many people, however, will be astonished at finding the difference between the criminal operation of sexual passion as small as it really is.

As for ourselves, we do not hesitate to express the belief, that the same motives of cupidity, of sexual passion, and of revenge, will, to a certain extent at least, be found operating in every civilized country. Still it may be that motives which we have described as individual, are really under the tacit and invisible influence of national propensities. Without any possibility of affording statistical evidence, we presume that the proportion which individual motives in cases of murder bear to each other, are not the same in France as in Italy. Taking an equal number of homicides, say one hundred, the percentage of mur-

der from sexual passion is likely to be higher in France than in Italy or in Germany. On the other hand, all reliable information goes to establish the fact, that killing from a motive of hatred and revenge is comparatively less frequent in France than in Italy. Among northern nations, as in Germany and England, murder from motives of immoral gain is likely to yield a larger percentage than in France.

Even the means used for the perpetration of criminal homicide, and the manner of its execution, are of some psychological value in attempting to describe national customs, as expressed by the criminal activity of individuals. From the French statistics hitherto made use of, it appears, that murder was committed by shooting 134 times, by striking 12 times, by stabbing 33 times; the corresponding figures applied to manslaughter being 141, 10, and 84. As to poison, there were 13 cases in France, all of them being naturally cases of murder.

In the Italian statistics the proportional frequency of weapons used with criminal intent is not the same as in France. Owing to national custom, stabbing is more common in Italy than elsewhere, daggers and knives being resorted to in preference to other means. There were 707 cases of shooting, 784 cases of stabbing by use of daggers, and 475 cases of stabbing by the use of knives. Setting aside the well-armed robbers in Sicily and the Neapolitan provinces, shooting would perhaps be still less frequent. At all events, the distribution of fire-arms among the population at large is not so widely extended in Italy as in France. In America, we presume, the use of revolvers being much more general than in Europe, homicide by shooting is likely to be comparatively more frequent than in European countries.

At present, the study of criminal psychology is in its infancy, having been almost entirely neglected by legislators and lawyers. It is owing to the progress of medicine and anthropology, that we are now endeavoring to acquire a more thorough knowledge of the prisoner's mind. Moreover, it has become evident, that the reform of prisons and penitentiaries can not be effected by the merely mechanical means of improved prison architecture, but requires individual treatment, and a thorough understanding of the convict's vicious character and his motives. Besides the lessons of statistical tables, the modern methods of penitentiary administration have contributed very much to destroying traditional prejudices formerly affecting the treatment of criminals. All those who are entitled to claim any authority in speaking of prison matters, are entirely agreed in stating, on well-founded experience, that as a rule, murderers under life-sen-

tence are by no means morally worse than other convicts under shorter sentences. On the contrary, murderers have often been found more willing to obey the prison rules, than the more depraved class of habitual thieves, more open to penitence, and more ready to acknowledge the justice of their punishment. It is strange, but quite in accordance with that experience, to learn from Prussian criminal statistics that, in their trial, murderers are more inclined frankly to plead guilty than prisoners accused of manslaughter. We do not know whether the same kind of judicial experience has been found true elsewhere; if so, there would be some proof that the moral nature of murderers is not so thoroughly perverted, nor so hopelessly depraved, as the mere name of murder has hitherto been believed to indicate.

Even after justice has given her sentence, it is well, sometimes, to reconsider the individual, psychological, and moral nature of our greatest criminals. The summits of personal merit, and the depth of personal guilt, are appearing as the antipodes in the moral life of nations.

It would be of the greatest value if the Statistical Congress would consider the expediency of improving the statistical tables relating to murder, and the other graver offenses, in order to facilitate the comparative study of morals and criminal psychology. The greatest defect we have to amend, is the universal want of any accepted definition of murder, available for the purpose of statistical comparison; each country having, as stated, its own definition, sufficiently explicit to harmonize with the statute book, but utterly useless for the purposes to which we have adverted.

The comparative study of criminal psychology, in its individual as well as in its social bearing, will be productive of many good results. The registers of trade and industry have at all times contributed to raise the spirit of emulation and enterprise, by affording the most trustworthy information concerning the economical status of different nations. Comparative criminal statistics would, I believe, to a certain extent hold up a mirror to public morality, and increase that noble spirit of moral emulation which would form a powerful incentive to international progress.

BOOK REVIEWS.

THE SHIP IN THE DESERT.¹

IT is about five years since Mr. Joaquin Miller first made his appearance as the author of a volume of verse, which, published in England, produced a certain sensation in literary circles, an echo whereof, less distinct and general, was heard on our side of the Atlantic. An interest in his special field of song, however, had already been won by Mr. Bret Harte, and it was Mr. Miller's good fortune that he purveyed to that interest while it was keenest. Whether he possessed enough of the true fire to melt and separate the extravagance and crudity of his first work from whatever pure ore he might possess, was hardly evident to the American reader, who mistrusted the English delight in scenes and characters of which English critics were notably ignorant. On the other hand, it was possible that Mr. Miller's flagrant violations of truth might, by awakening quick prejudices, have led us to overlook or underestimate some genuine merit.

The second volume, more subdued in tone, yet less original—assuming that dash and recklessness may be called originality—gave little aid toward the solution of this doubt. But Mr. Miller's third volume, which now lies before us, furnishes sufficient evidence, we think, for a tolerably correct estimate of his place in literature. At his age, five years are certainly enough to enable him to test and apply the criticism he has received, to correct his deficiencies, separate the echoes, conscious or unconscious, from the individual voice, and to offer the evidence of his poetical value, intelligently and deliberately. If he has not done this, in the present case, the probability is that he will never do it. We are justified, therefore, in taking "The Ship of the Desert" as a test volume, by which he must stand or fall.

The poem, written in octosyllabic measure, with a free, varying order of rhyme, contains between three and four thousand lines, and is divided into forty-four chapters. There is all the space here that a poet could desire—space for abundant action, passion, description, reflection, and the elaboration of a skillful plot. How has the author filled it? We know no better—certainly no fairer way of answering

¹ "The Ship in the Desert." By Joaquin Miller. 205 pages. Boston: Roberts' Brothers. 1875.

the question, than by opening the volume at the first page, and asking the reader to follow us in a rapid survey of the story.

"A man in middle Aridzone" (Arizona?) stands by the edge of the Desert: he leans and looks, but—says the author—"the tale is not of that." Then a trapper, "toe-a-tip" (on tip-toe, or with one toe lifted in the air?) also looks long and eagerly at the sands of "*Arazit*" (Arizona?) but, cries the author: "Avaunt! the tale is not of it." Then a Shoshone chief, of an Oregon tribe, rides across the sands with ghosts at his side, "and at his right a *grizzled grim*"—but the tale is not of him. Then we have an Indian warrior, clad in *tiger* skins; a chieftain; a mountaineer; an Indian hunter, and finally "some bearded miners," described in passages, each of which ends with "Arrête!" or "Tut! tut! the tale is not of this!" Five of the characters "leaned," and three of them "leaned and looked:" they take up eight pages, for no purpose but to declare that we have nothing to do with them, and then the real story begins.

We see a boat on the Missouri river: the oarsmen are negro slaves, and in the *prows* sits a "grim old sea-king" and his "bride." The latter suggests to the author a lady whom he met in Rome, who possessed "Egypt's mouth of old," and whose soul "overflowed with *Runic* bliss." The bride, however, in spite of the promise of her ample mouth, maintains an unbroken silence day and night, while the boat moves on. Another boat follows, in pursuit: the captain is named Vasquez; his crew are adventurers, and

"Zoned about the belt of each
There swung a girt of steel, till all
Did seem a walking arsenal."

The sea-king is called Morgan, and his bride Ina. They manage to elude the pursuing Spaniards; they reach the site of Omaha, and there "beside a fringe of mailed wood," the old man builds a cabin and lives ten years with Ina, to whom we are suddenly introduced as his *daughter*. His daughter, instead of his bride, from this time onward, she remains. During the whole ten years ("a decade," Mr. Miller says) she never once spoke, but stood in front of the door of the cabin, night and day, clad in "a loose, ungathered gown," with her hair hanging down her back, "forever watching down the wood!" This seems incredible: let us look again! Yes—"By tawny night, by fair-faced day,"—and for ten years! But neither did old Morgan speak: he either roamed the woods alone, or stood for days, gazing "awest"—*westward*, we suppose—"and no man crossed or questioned him." The negro slaves were also "silent and obedient."

After ten years of such preternatural stillness, the first settlers

reached Omaha, and one day Vasquez appeared. Why he did not at once claim Ina, is not explained; but, after showing his face in the distance, he considerably waited until Morgan, without speaking a word, had time to point "awest," to collect his slaves, dig up his buried treasures, remove Ina from her silent, motionless position before the cabin-door, and start for the Rocky Mountains. Then he followed, with his adventurous Spaniards. Day after day, week after week, month after month, year after year, the pursued and the pursuers were always in sight of each other, yet the latter never overtook the former. During this remarkable journey, not one of the characters ever spake a word; Morgan and Vasquez gave their commands by silent gestures, and Ina never once opened her large Egyptian mouth. After they had passed over many "leveled distances *set round by room*" (!) they reached the desert of "Aridzone" or "Arazit," and then we first hear a sound. The black slaves cry out: "The sea!"

"They laughed, and broke
The silence of an age, and spoke
Of rest at last."

Morgan plunged into this sea of sand, and Vasquez followed him. The retainers of both fall and die, slain by heat and thirst, day after day, yet the chase and pursuit still go on. In the middle of the desert they reach a ship, left from the days, before the settlement of Egypt, when the sands were an ocean bed. Morgan walks around this ship several times, which at last gives Vasquez a chance to overtake him. They meet: Morgan opens his treasure-chest, and hurls a number of golden goblets and handfuls of gold coin in the face of Vasquez.—

"Yea, strewed them out upon the sands,
As men upon a frosty morn,
In Mississippi's fertile lands,
Hurl out great, yellow ears of corn
To hungry swine with hurried hands."

But Vasquez cares much less for the goblets than the "swine with hurried hands" care for the corn. He still advances, and thereupon the last of Morgan's black slaves engages him. The two fight until both fall dead, and then Morgan and Ina, the sole survivors of both parties, walk on (in utter silence, of course), until they reach an oasis, where they are living, without the slightest need of language, at the present day. This oasis is described as an Eden; it is full of wild turkeys, antelopes, singing birds, and squirrels

"As cunning-faced as you can think."

But, as a contrast to all this beauty, Ina

"Sits upon the water's brink,
As mournful-soul'd as you can think."

We are informed, *nine* several times, that "she has a thousand birds," and three times that they "would build nests in her hair,"—which, as she neither stirs nor speaks, and her hair hangs loose, we should think quite possible.

Is it necessary that we should make any comment upon such a plot? We have extracted it, as faithfully as the rambling and somewhat incoherent thread of the narrative permits, from the author's pages. Chapters concerning Africa and the Sphinx, Venice and Torcello are interpolated, without any apparent necessity; and the last of these is perhaps the best thing in the volume. Mr. Miller evidently relies for his most striking effects upon his descriptive passages; but these are largely made up of ever-repeated epithets, such as "white," "silent," "bare," "leveled," etc., and rarely show any clearness of outline. The title of the poem misleads, for the ship in the desert has no connection whatever with the story—if story we may call it. The author's purpose in writing the poem is very frankly given by himself (p. 77):

"And why did these same sunburnt men
Let Morgan gain the plain, and then
Pursue him to the utter sea?
You ask me here impatiently.
And I as pertly must reply,
My task is but to tell a tale,
To give a wide sail to the gale,
To paint the boundless plain, the sky;
To rhyme, nor give a reason why."

We grant all this except "to tell a tale!" Fluent movement of rhyme, an impetus inherent in the words, apart from their meaning, Mr. Miller certainly possesses; and this talent combined with a reckless imagination, enables him occasionally to strike out vigorous lines and couplets. If he possessed also a literary conscience, he would do far better work, but then he would probably cease *to surprise*. He is not the inspired savage of whom our English brethren are so tender, considering his fame, rightly enough, as mainly of their own creation. This volume gives abundant evidence that its grossest faults are perpetrated with open eyes, that the almost idiotic grotesqueness of the characters is deliberately designed—in short, that it was written to keep up an impression artificially produced by his preceding volumes. We can not avoid the suspicion that Mr. Miller is a most skillful actor, who has caught the secret of enthusiasm in a considerable class of readers, and constantly turns aside to smile while he plays upon it. The characteristics of his verse are precisely those which many English critics have been loudly requiring from American authors, for the

last fifteen years—rude fierceness and lawlessness; the “flavor of a virgin soil;” “buffaloes and buffalo-grass, the grizzly bear, the Indian, the Sierras;” the strife of border-life, and all the barbaric machinery, which may be used to titillate an intellectual palate, *blasé* with superficial cleverness.

Mr. Miller has been shrewd enough to perceive this craving, and lucky enough to satisfy it. His poems are written for the English market, where their monstrous perversions of truth are accepted as realism, and their *purposed* violations of every genuine poetic law are condoned because the author has his home in the bright setting sun! Let him write “Arazit,” “Manzinetta,” and “Azteckee,”—who in England is the wiser? Let him bring an Oregon tribe down to Arizona—who knows the difference there? Let him represent grizzly bears playing with goats, Indians wearing tiger skins, boa-constrictors, baobabs, boomerangs and what not all, as being found on the Pacific coast, and what English critic shall say him nay?

From this point of view, the “Ship of the Desert” must be pronounced a great success. It will require several generations to correct the impressions of American life, scenery, botany and zoölogy, which will undoubtedly be drawn from its pages. English tourists (male) will visit us for years to come, expecting to find our old men looking “awest,” and “throwing” their beards “backward along the track;” or (female) wondering that our women are not distinguished by large lips, “pushed out so pitiful,” and eternal silence. The English agriculturist will make a special journey hither to find that breed of cattle “whose *sable briskets swept the ground*;” the landscape gardeners of Osborne and Chatsworth will spend large sums in their search for our “mailed trees,” (which Mr. Miller twice mentions, as if to assure the world that such actually *are*); and Mr. Hind and Sir George Airy will call upon our astronomers for a chart of the new American constellation—for has not Mr. Miller said, “No star fell out of Ethiope?” What new theory the antiquarian or the philosopher may derive from the following passage we cannot guess:

“Who shall say:

My father rear'd a pyramid;
My brother clipp'd the dragon's wings;
My mother was Semiramis?
Yea, harps strike idly out of place;
Men sing of savage Saxon kings
New-born and known but yesterday,
And Norman blood presume to say”

To say *what*? Ah, there is the terrible mystery? But, let our English friends take heart: it will doubtless be revealed to them in some

later poem. Having tamed and made their Norman blood responsive to his wild Arizonian (or *Arazitian*) will, he thus mysteriously intimates the possession of still more potent spells. After this, what one of them will dare to say that his mother was Semiramis? The same critics of whom we have spoken accuse our older and more civilized poets of imitating English authors, when they sing of clover, robins, oaks, and elms in America: now let them for the first time look "awest," behold the "grizzled grim," and enjoy the men who "lean and look," but speak not! They have, at last, the impossible landscapes and the impossible characters for which they have so long yearned: it is not for us to disturb their sweet illusions!

THE LIFE OF THE GREEKS AND ROMANS.¹

THE work of which this is a translation, is the most recent, and one of the most useful, of the many manuals of its class which German scholarship has produced. The special student, indeed, who must examine the vouchers for every assertion, will turn to books which give ancient authorities for all their facts and which fully present the conflicting evidence on all sides of disputed questions. But to reach a wider circle, to animate the classical studies of young men preparing for active life, to fill with humanity and varied meaning the pages of ancient history before the eyes of the mass of intelligent readers, we need just such a book as that of Guhl and Koner—a clear, comprehensive summary of the daily life of the cultivated nations of antiquity, unencumbered with learned apparatus, and illustrated as well by a liberal use of the graphic art as by an easy, readable style. The highest praise to which such a work can aspire, is that it makes its picture of the ancients attractive, without forfeiting its accuracy; and this praise the German authors in question have fairly earned. Skillfully throwing into the background doubtful questions, and drawing in clear, strong outlines what is certainly known, they enable us to live again, in thought, the life of the classic nations, and renew in us, as the most perfect acquaintance with their languages alone would fail to renew them, the views and sentiments with which they created their wonderful works—and achieved, alike in words and in marble, their immortal supremacy. Indeed, the study of ancient history, as commonly conducted, without previous familiarity with some such book as this, is nearly meaningless. On the other hand,

¹ "The Life of the Greeks and Romans." Described from Antique Monuments. By E. Guhl and W. Koner. Translated from the third German Edition, by F. Hueffer. With 543 wood-cuts. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1875.

some knowledge of the architecture and sculpture, of the manners and customs, dress, houses, household goods, worship, weapons, food, ornaments and games of the nations from whom our civilization is mainly an inheritance, ought to be far more generally diffused than a thorough acquaintance with classical philology can be, and it is to be hoped that such works will distribute this knowledge widely. We would not discourage the study of the ancient languages—a study which, properly conducted, is of a higher value to-day than for centuries past—but it is no heresy to say that, rather than spend two or three years of feeble mental effort in acquiring a smattering of Latin and Greek, to be forgotten ever after—a student might in one-fourth of the time, become familiar with an account, in his own tongue, of the history and antiquities of Greece and Rome, which, whether as an intellectual possession, or as an educational instrument, would be worth incomparably more to him.

A translation of a valuable work must be treated with caution by a conscientious critic. It is a sore disappointment to find clearness of statement, precision in terms, an accurate style, rendered with negligence and looseness; awkward idioms in place of idiomatic grace; in short, excellent German replaced by very poor English. Of these faults, "The Life of the Ancients" has enough to destroy all claims of the translation to be regarded or read as a literary work—a reproduction in our language of the original. We can not but regret, too, that it has been made from the third German edition, instead of the fourth, which appeared some months before the translation, and contains many valuable additions. A little more delay would have been a small sacrifice, compared with the gain by representing the final form of the original; nor does the usually handsome dress in which the publishers have set forth the English edition, fully compensate, in our judgment, for the abridgment to which the text has been subjected. This has been done openly, being plainly avowed by the translator, who says, "the letter-press has been considerably shortened, partly by means of condensation, such as the more concise character of our language, in comparison with the German, permits of, partly by the occasional omission of details which seemed to lie somewhat beyond the scope of the work." It has been done honestly, too, in another respect; a sincere effort being obvious throughout, to represent accurately the sense of the authors, though in fewer words. But it requires a master of English prose to succeed in condensing the easy and graceful style even of a diffuse German writer, without loss both of ease and of accuracy—and in this case, Messrs. Guhl and Koner are not diffuse, nor is the translator a master of his instrument.

A passage well worth quoting for its own sake, and fairly illustra-

ting the translator's style of work, relates to the "literati," who manufactured books in imperial Rome. We translate as follows:

These copyists multiplied with surprising rapidity the manuscripts confided to them; making use of shortened forms in writing, which—from the name of the inventor, Tiro, Cicero's freedman—were called the Tironian characters (notæ Tironianæ). These copies, which, for want of careful revision by the originals, were often imperfect, formed the stock in the shops of the booksellers (bibliopolæ); except that the bookseller himself often kept a copying office, as well as a sales-room; and through these dealers, editions, consisting sometimes of many thousands of copies, were distributed through all the circles of the reading world. Thus Ovid, Propertius and Martial say that their writings have been circulated throughout the Empire; and, indeed, under the repression which literature suffered from the imperial tyranny, severe and licentious satire found but a too willing audience. We know also that the epics of Homer and Virgil were in the hands of all educated men; and that Horace's poems and Cicero's orations had become part of the common intellectual wealth of the nation; a fact which explains how, in the schools, abridgments, books of extracts and selections, and grammatical exercises, were placed in the hands of the children, who were taught, after reading, to rise to their feet and repeat off-hand what they had read. Thus the circulation of books in ancient times approached that which it has attained among us through the printing-press; and thus we can understand how, for instance, Augustus, in Rome alone, could confiscate two thousand copies of the pseudo-Sibylline books, after they had been for years in everybody's hands (Guhl and Koner, p. 680).

The whole of the context, like this extract, is fresh and stimulating to the reader. It is a little exaggerated; and it fails, while making general assertions about what was done in ancient times, to distinguish accurately between epochs and nations; so that the reader may be in danger of referring to the Greece of Homer or of Pericles, customs only known to the Rome of Augustus or of the Antonines. Both of these faults are frequent in the work, and go far to unfit it for a class-book, yet they are not so serious as to destroy its usefulness; and all who read it with care will be led by it to further studies which will correct its incidental imperfections. But the English "condensation" of the passage in question does not seem to improve it.

"By these slaves manuscripts were copied with astounding celerity, with the aid of abbreviations called, from their inventor, Tiro, a freedman of Cicero, Tironian notes. These copies, sometimes full of mistakes, went to the shops of the booksellers (bibliopolæ), unless these kept copyists in their own shops. Numerous copies were thus produced in little time. The satirical writings of Ovidius, Propertius, and Martialis were in everybody's hands, as were also the works of Homer and Virgil, the odes of Horace, and the speeches of Cicero; grammars, anthologies, etc., for schools, were reproduced in the same manner; indeed the antique book-trade was carried on on a scale hardly surpassed by modern times. Augustus confiscated, for instance, in Rome alone, two thousand copies of the pseudo-Sibylline books—by no means a recent work" (p. 529).

It will be observed that, while preserving the general sense, the translator makes no effort to improve his original; and that he introduces a number of trifling inaccuracies, especially of style, which are irritating to the critical reader. There is no department of literary activity which so imperatively calls for reform as that of the current translations of foreign books. The standard of excellence in this class of work must be vastly raised, or a great part of all the benefit which might be derived by the importation of intellectual fruits will be lost. And we see no way of raising it, unless faithful and industrious criticism will apply itself to the humble task of testing and judging the merits of translators.

An illustration of the want of that extreme care which a conscientious translator will take, or ought to be required to take, will be found on page 289, where Mr. Hueffer writes:

"In early times the Attic burial-rites are said to have been very simple. The grave was dug by the nearest relatives, and the corpse buried in it; whereupon the mound was sown with corn, by the means of which *the decaying body was supposed to be pacified.*"

The meaning of the original is more clearly expressed in the literal rendering: "for it was the faith of the ancients that the fostering earth, with which the dead were covered, and into whose furrows grains of corn were thrown, would soothe the decaying body" (p. 352). This is loosely expressed and easily misunderstood. To be clear, the authors ought to have quoted, or at least referred to, the well-known passage of Cicero,¹ the sense of which they have evidently tried to render.² It ought to be instructive to all translators to observe how two of them in succession, by cumulative carelessness, have elevated a Roman rhetorician's beautiful and touching figure of speech into an article of faith for the ancient Athenians.

With all its imperfections, we most heartily commend "The Life of the Greeks and Romans" as the best book of its class accessible to the English reader; and wish for it a wide circulation. The student of classical antiquity, or of general history, will find it an indispensable companion, perhaps, until that day—would we could hope for it soon—when American scholarship will provide us with a more scientific, truthful, and popular description of ancient society than now exists in any language.

¹ "De Legibus, 2, 25, 63."

² "Nam et Athenis jam ille mos a Cecrope, ut aiunt, permansit, corpus terra humandi, quod cum proximi fecerant obductaque terra erat, frugibus obserebatur, ut sinus et gremium quasi matris morbo tribueretur, solum autem frugibus expiatum ut vivis redderetur."

SHERMAN'S HISTORICAL RAID.¹

THE author of this work was colonel of the 35th regiment of Ohio Volunteers, and took an active part in all of the campaigns of the Army of the Cumberland up to the end of his three years' term of service. He was badly wounded at the battle of Missionary Ridge, and was breveted Brigadier-General for gallant and meritorious conduct, upon the special recommendation of General Geo. H. Thomas. After he was mustered out, he rejoined the army under Sherman's command, at Savannah, and accompanied it through the campaign of the Carolinas, as the correspondent of the "Cincinnati Gazette." It will thus be seen that his warrant for writing is ample, and fully justifies him in criticising the recollections as well as the generalship of General Sherman. He has written freely and forcibly, and to use his own words, for the purpose of showing wherein the Memoirs "fall short of presenting the correct history of many great events of which they treat; . . . how far the author's recollection, even when corrected by his own memoranda, is at fault; and to furnish the future historian with facts which will guard him against perpetuating the error and the injustice which pervade both volumes of the work." He does not criticise Sherman as a general, farther than the statement of the bare facts is such a criticism, but it must be confessed, that in some instances no severer criticism could possibly be made. He shows beyond a reasonable doubt, by the quotation of original letters, telegrams, and reports, as well as by the testimony of other historians, that Grant is entitled not only to the credit of executing the campaign of Forts Henry and Donelson, but also of devising it, and that Sherman assigned the credit therefor to Halleck on grounds entirely insufficient. He also shows by a careful analysis of Sherman's own narrative, and by documents omitted therefrom, that General Grant, and not General Sherman, originated the general plan of the Atlanta campaign, and was the first to suggest the "march to the sea." Where the memoirs deny the surprise of the Union army at Shiloh, General Boynton shows that the surprise "was complete and due mainly" to Sherman's "own blindness and neglect;" and that the Army of the Cumberland under Buell rendered most important service in retrieving the disaster which seemed about to overwhelm the Army of the Tennessee. He shows that Sherman censured General Sooy Smith unduly; that, in certain contingencies,

¹ "Sherman's Historical Raid. The Memoirs in the Light of the Record. Based upon Compilations from the files of the War-Office." By H. V. Boynton, Washington Correspondent of the Cincinnati Gazette. Cincinnati: Wiltach, Baldwin & Co.

General Grant and the country expected the Meridian raid to result in the capture of Mobile and Selma; that Sherman "was seven weeks behind the time set for his arrival at Chattanooga, and exhibited no special activity in his advance till Rosecrans was removed, when under Grant's request to come on, the energy of his movement surpassed praise;" and finally, that in the battle of Missionary Ridge, "he alone of the three army commanders, failed to perform the part assigned to him. He vindicates the memory of General McPherson from the charge of timidity, and makes it clear "that the officer acted exactly in accordance with Sherman's own orders" at Resaca; he throws a broad flood of light on the battles of Kenesaw and Atlanta, claiming with strong show of reason that the latter "was a great surprise, and well-nigh serious disaster" to the Union army. He censures Sherman severely for permitting Hardee and the garrison of Savannah to escape; and points out with warmth and particularity his injustice to Thomas, Schofield, Logan, Blair, and Stanton. Referring to the final campaign, he praises "the magnificent and really wonderful march through the Carolinas," but does not fail to expose Sherman's violation of the rules of war in permitting his columns to become so widely separated as to invite Johnston to attack them singly, with every hope of beating them in detail.

One of the most curious and interesting chapters of the work before us is that relating to the negotiation with General Johnston for the surrender of his army, and the "re-establishment of peace from the Potomac to the Rio Grande." The original Confederate documents drawn from the government archives and from other trustworthy sources, are given to the public herein in full, for the first time, and are of the highest value, in connection with the controversy which has grown out of the events to which they relate. They leave no room to doubt that the first draft of the terms granted was made by John H. Regan, the Confederate Postmaster-General. A fac-simile of this draft is given in the text before us, together with the articles of agreement, as finally written out by Sherman, and the two are connected by references showing their substantial identity, paragraph by paragraph.

General Boynton's review is published in a volume uniform with the Memoirs, and considers the latter more as a raid than a serious conscientious invasion of the domain of history. It is written throughout with quite as much clearness, vigor, and independence, as the work of which it treats, and can not fail to secure a place alongside of it in every library. We have rarely seen a more logical or closely reasoned review, or one which carries with it a greater sense of conviction that the documents are correctly quoted and the

conclusions fairly drawn. It confirms the criticism of Sherman and his Memoirs, published in the November-December number of the INTERNATIONAL REVIEW, in every essential particular, and leaves no room to doubt that the general of the army has written hurriedly, and published without due deliberation. The result is highly interesting, but the review under consideration, in the words of the author, ought to fortify the country, if not General Sherman, "in the claim that his book is not history," or, what is still better, it ought to induce him, without delay, to correct his recollections by the light of the official records.

CHRIST AND HUMANITY.¹

THE purpose of this book is commendable. It is another attempt to answer the question, Who and what was Christ? The author expresses his dissatisfaction "with the ordinary interpretations of Christ's person, as inconsistent both with reason and Scripture," and declares that the prevailing orthodox belief "of two natures and one person," involving two wills and yet but one personal consciousness, is clumsy and unsatisfactory, and presents "a confusion too great and insurmountable for a rational faith."

He seeks a less contradictory conception of the person of Christ, one that "may preserve inviolate the truth of Scripture and afford a resting-place for the heart and reason in their approaches to Him." The truth of Scripture he holds to be that Christ is both God and man in the truest and most real sense: and he distinctly declares that "no faith can be Christian or Scriptural which leaves out really and practically these two elements of his being."

Unquestionably the author would keep himself moored to the Word of God: and he approaches the discussion with a reverent spirit. He also exalts the nature of man, lifting it utterly away from the animal and natural world, and separating it from that world by "an immeasurable and impassable gulf."

The fundamental position of the book is "the identity of the divine and human in the person of Christ. . . . Christ is not God and man *united*, each nature retaining its own separate individuality and functions; nor yet a fusion of the two, forming an intermediate or compound nature; but their *identity* in a person who is *both Divine and human in all His attributes*. . . . The Divine in Christ is the human, and the human in Him is *Divine*."

¹ "Christ and Humanity; with a View, Historical and Critical, of the Doctrine of Christ's Person." By Henry M. Goodwin. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1875.

This doctrine of Christ's person is based on three principles: 1. The essential unity of the Divine and human. 2. The divine or heavenly humanity of Christ. 3. The Kenosis, or self-limitation of the Logos in the incarnation.

This is not Pantheism, for it limits divine and human identity to the person of Christ. It is not Apollinarianism; for while Apollinaris held to the unity of the divine and human, and also to the divine or heavenly humanity of the Logos, as that "His deity was in itself humanity from the very beginning," and "His humanity was of one substance with God prior to the birth on earth," he allowed only a partial and seeming limitation of the Logos in the incarnation; denying a true human development. This is not Eutychianism, for Eutyches did not hold to the eternal humanity of the Logos, contending that the two natures were merged into one at the incarnation.

It is the doctrine that has been developed in the modern theistical speculation on Christology, especially in Germany, and of which Gess presents the essential features. It is founded on the principle of the essential unity of God and man.

Dr. Goodwin's citations from Scripture in support of the divine or heavenly humanity of Christ certainly will not go unquestioned. They are sweepingly assertive, and without accompanying proof. The fact "that Jesus was born of only one human parent" is cited as *all-significant of His eternal humanity!* "Ye are from beneath, I am from above," "I came forth from the Father and am come into the world;" "The first man is of the earth, earthly. The second man is the Lord from heaven," are quoted as Scriptural evidence that Christ had no created human soul! that his *humanity* was eternal! Few will question that they make profound claim of divinity. They show indeed a lofty consciousness of superior nature and origin; but what shadow of a shade of proof do they furnish that Christ's divinity was *eternally human?*

The author declares in regard to the divine or essential form of the Logos, that "it can be no other than the human," while the Scriptures speak of the eternal Logos as subsisting in the *form of God!* Is the form of God the human form?

Moreover, is not humanity essentially *conditioned*, in any true conception of it? Does not the humanity that is uncreated, unlimited, unconditioned, infinite, omniscient, omnipotent, omnipresent, cease to be humanity? Wherein does it differ from divinity? What and where is the quality or characteristic, or essence if you please, constituting the difference? And if there is no difference, how does the mere name without the thing, "furnish a basis for a clear and rational faith?" Or how is it helpful in forming a conception of his person?

The eternal Logos is the complete expression of the essence of the Father, but how does this make him "potentially man?" If there was "an essential humanity in the bosom of Deity," what were its conditions? If "a divine *man* descended and inserted himself into the race" (p. 32), what did he become? A human man? If, as the author says (p. 215), "No view of Christ's humanity can be true which fails to recognize in Him all that really belongs to humanity, *all its true and essential conditions*; not what is accidental or peculiar to our fallen and depraved nature, but what belongs to the true and *Divine idea*;" and if, as he says again (p. 216), the *essential* conditions of a *true* humanity are "a real *growth* and *development*," and "*moral freedom*, involving temptability, and a possibility of sinning;" then that humanity which Christ had before his incarnation was not a "*true* humanity."

But leaving the heavenly humanity of the Logos, let us see if the author's views of the Kenosis, or limitation of the Logos, do not divest the eternal Son of his true and proper divinity. He makes the Incarnation an entire subjection of the Divine, a reduction and limitation of the infinite and absolute, to all the normal conditions and limitations of a true humanity. "The Logos, when once made flesh, disappears in the man Christ Jesus, and *henceforth appears and acts like a man*" (p. 366). "He divested himself of His outward and inward condition as God, His divine supremacy, omnipresence, omniscience, omnipotence, etc." (p. 347). Here is a God, then, who has lost his deific consciousness; who has forgotten what he knew; who is not aware that he is God, or that he was God, divine in essence; but who is ignorant, helpless, growing in wisdom. By an act of self-determination, the eternal Logos forgets that he ever was; and the second person of the adorable Trinity learns what he did not know, finds out that he was mistaken, and grows wiser as he grows older. "The essential nature of Deity," Dr. Goodwin urges, "is unchanged." Omnipotence, omnipresence, etc., are "physical conditions," and the Logos is simply emptied of these. "God is *love*." And love is so eminently personal God can not empty himself of that.

But is there any thing more intensely personal than *consciousness*, and the Logos, as God, has lost consciousness. How can he love as God, and think and reason and desire and plan as man? Must not his *love* be humanly conditioned, just as his power or his knowledge, in order to give him a *true humanity*?

The author asks, "Of what did Christ empty or divest himself when He became Incarnate?" and as if there was no answer to the question but the sweeping one he gives, replies "of all that distin-

guished him as God," "the whole condition and attributes of Deity," omnipotence, omniscience, consciousness, every thing. Surely the Logos himself gives a better answer than this, in his reference to "the *glory* he had with the Father, before the world was." This he laid aside, this form of God, this mode of divine manifestation, this glory.

The author makes much of the point that "Christ nowhere speaks of the Logos as the ruling or actuating spirit within him," and quotes Martensens to the effect that "Christ never says, I and the Logos are one." With good reason. It is the Logos that speaks, always. How could Christ speak of the Logos apart from himself, when *he is the Logos*?

Surely the difficulties attending the doctrine of the Incarnation, are not diminished by the conception of the person of Christ given us in this book.

LETTERS TO A SCEPTIC ON RELIGIOUS MATTERS.¹

THIS work repays perusal. The author, who died a young man, was an original thinker; and above all a philosopher. There was no system, from Thales to Cousin, with which he was not conversant. There was no phase of the human intellect which he had not contemplated, and no aspect of society with which he was not familiar. Revolutionary periods, periods of apparent retrogression, periods of progress, stationary periods—one and all he seemed to have studied, not simply in their history, but in their underlying ideas. He was therefore well qualified to speak—and effectively so—to the sceptic. Being devoted to the church of which he was an honored minister, and loving and living for that church, he identifies it with Christianity. This explains some passages in the book that the reader might not otherwise understand. But it does not invalidate his reasoning; for he is still defending revelation, and the supernatural order, against the sceptic. We are told in the introduction that "the sceptical opponent whom he addresses, is a real man, and the struggle between them a real struggle" (p. viii.). This adds to the interest of the book and explains the desultory character of the letters.

The book is opportune. The age of sceptics has not passed. From our universities in America, as well as in England and on the European Continent, young men issue forth affecting disbelief in revelation and the supernatural order. What Canon Liddon said,

¹ "Letters to a Sceptic on Religious Matters, by Rev. James Balmes." Translated from the Spanish by Rev. William M'Donald, A. B., S. T. D. Dublin: William B. Kelly. 1875

about six years ago, of Oxford, is equally true of nearly all the secular universities in existence. "Cases have come," he says, "within my own experience, of men who have come up from school as Christians, and have been earnest Christians up to the time of beginning to read philosophy for the Final School, but who, during the year and a half or two years employed in this study have surrendered, first their Christianity, and next their belief in God, and have left the university not believing in a Supreme Being."¹ We do not lay the blame upon the young men. We lay it rather at the doors of their professors. Some of them are avowedly the inculcators of naturalism. Others, and they are the greater number, are inadequate for their position. They are unable to cope with any system of philosophy. Their students take the insufficient explanations they make of objections as the best that can be given, and conclude that a cause with no better arguments in its favor deserves to fall; and thus, what they were disposed to reverence they are led to despise. We once visited a college largely patronized by the State, and were introduced to the professor of philosophy. We spoke with him of Herbert Spencer's system; but all we could get him to say was that it was "a strange system;" it was "hard to determine its scope," and other such generalities. Yet that professor had been lecturing during the year to a graduating class at whose disposal were the works of Herbert Spencer.

Philosophy, when properly taught, is not calculated to make sceptics. It is only superficial knowledge that leads to scepticism. The remark of Francis Bacon still holds true: It is very certain, and proved by experience, that a little philosophy can lead to atheism, but more copious draughts lead back to religion. Indeed, when we come to examine these young sceptics, we find that they know only names; that they have no real acquaintance with the systems they parade as superseding their earlier beliefs; that they are dazzled by somebody's rhetoric, and have not learned how to sift truth from error. In this respect the book under review is admirable. It was the special merit of Balmes' genius that he knew how to strike home at the heart of the system. In his masterly refutation of Hegel and Cousin, in the ninth and tenth letters, that power of analysis is beautifully exemplified.

Altogether, the sceptic's is an unenviable position. To withdraw him from it is a great charity. But it is difficult to reach him. We grope in vain for a common ground on which to enter into contest with him. We imagine him to be closely following our footsteps in

¹ Two Reports from the Committee of the House of Lords on University Tests. London, 1870-71. Second Report, pp. 69, 70.

reasoning; we look back, and find him out of sight. He is neither here nor there. We talk to him of God. He is not sure that there is a God. The Divinity may or may not be a metaphysical abstraction; or it may have no more real existence than the imaginary beings with which nurses frighten children. If we point out to him the beauties and harmonies of the universe, he knows not if they are what they seem. He believes with Kant that "we know but the phenomenon; the nomenon is beyond our knowing;" or with Fichte, that "the outward world is but self, projected into space, and that the Ego and the non-Ego are identical; or with the poet who says all

"Dreams are true while they last, and do we not live in dreams?"

We seek first principles which his reason is bound to admit. With a shrug of the shoulder, he repeats the provoking *que sais-je*. How knows he but that they are impressions which have grown with his growth and strengthened with his strength? He knows not, and he cares not to know. He seems no longer capable of exercising his reason with energy sufficient to arrive at a logical conclusion. Indeed, scepticism is a mental and moral lethargy. It paralyzes the faculties of the mind for all exertion on spiritual subjects. "The intellect," says Balmes (p. 13), "falls into a weariness and indescribable prostration the moment it rises up against heaven; as history tells us of that arm which, on the instant it was extended to a sacred object, was struck with paralysis." In this comatose state the mind smothers all its yearnings to know and search after the truth; the heart stifles the voice of conscience and ignores the sense of right and wrong; reason seems to have become distorted; the man stands aloof from his fellow-men in all their instincts and aspirations; he becomes, so to speak, dehumanized. "Every thing," says Balmes, "that struggles with the cry of common sense and the voice of nature, for the purpose of indulging in vain cavillations, is foreign to the prudence, as it is contrary to the principles, of sound sense."

We are struck with the moderation with which he treats this inconsistent and unreasonable sceptic. If he complains of the intolerance of the clergy, he shows him that by that fact he is not himself tolerant, "and that a man is never perfectly tolerant until he tolerates intolerance itself" (p. 132). If he launches into a tirade on the weakness of human reason, Balmes agrees with him; thence deducing the necessity of an authority superior to reason; and he adds: "far from feeling inclined to separate from the belief and convictions with which I had been inspired in my infancy, I became convinced of their necessity, and even of the interest I had in preserving them; for I began to regard them as the only plank of salvation in

this boisterous sea of human *cavillations*" (pp. 9, 10). The sceptic finds the present to be a transition period, which being ended, "new times will decipher the enigma." Balmes shows that all present times are transition periods, and holds it "as demonstrated that humanity has always progressed, that its state was better in the Middle Ages than during the ancient civilization, and that at present it has many advantages over what it had in all former times" (p. 118). But he also shows that progress does not affect religion in her essential traits. And in another letter on The Philosophy of the Future he ridicules with truly Socratic irony that constant appeal to the future for the solution of all difficulties that the constructors of our new-fangled systems do not understand.

"Do not ask them," he says, "how they have discovered so many prodigies, who has revealed to them such wonderful secrets: above all, do not demand from them proofs for what they lay down as certain, nor require them, as if they were vulgar thinkers, to demonstrate what they assert. These are things of which one has a *presentiment* rather than a *knowledge*; they have about them something poetical, something aerial; they are provisions involved in symbolic figures; and whoever is not satisfied with this is unworthy of philosophy; the flame of genius has not touched his brow, creative inspiration has budded not in his mind" (pp. 59, 60, 61).

While the book is effectively written, it still leaves much unsaid. The sceptic with whom Balmes had to deal was not a hostile one. He still believed in a God, and this made the road easy. Some of the letters barely touch upon important points, and the one on the Miraculous is very weak. They answer only minor objections, and leave unrefuted the real difficulties. In its entirety, we commend the work to young men as one of the best of late works on the subject of scepticism.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE, ART, AND SCIENCE.

RECENT AMERICAN BOOKS.

THE POETICAL WORKS OF RAY PALMER.¹—The Congregational ministers of this land are no idlers, and for forty years Dr. Palmer has been one of the busiest among them. More than thirty years he has given to important and exacting pastoral charges, in Bath, Maine, and Albany, New York, and

¹ "The Poetical Works of Ray Palmer." Complete Edition. 372 pages. Price \$4.00. New York and Chicago: A. S. Barnes & Co. 1876.

about ten to the prosaic work of the Congregational Union, in building houses of worship. That he should have found time for any thing outside of his professional work, speaks well for his industry and careful economy of minutes. Yet to various magazines he has been a frequent and valued contributor of critical and philosophical articles; he has published several volumes on practical religious subjects, that have been widely read at home and abroad.

And now comes this sumptuous volume of his Poems, the offspring of his leisure, the solace of his weariness, the play-work of his evening hours, when rest by change of occupation has prepared him for the prosaic duties of the morrow.

We have first about one hundred hymns and sacred lyrics, including several translations, at once scholarly and poetic, from such early hymn-writers as St. Ambrose, St. Bernard, Gregory the Great, and Thomas Aquinas. Among them is that most exquisite lyric, by King Robert the Second, of France: "Come, Holy Ghost, in love," and St. Bernard's "Jesus, thou Joy of Loving Hearts"—both of which so many thousands have delighted to sing, few, perhaps, knowing to whom they were indebted for their pleasure and profit.

About one-third of the poems in this division of the book were intended for closet reading. A considerable number are now first printed. Of the rest, given to the world year by year as they were written, at least fifty found their way at once into the hymn-books of all evangelical denominations in this country and Great Britain, often without the author's name, sometimes credited to another. The hymn, "My faith looks up to thee"—of the history of which Dr. Palmer gives an interesting account in a note—was written in 1830, and at once attained such a remarkable popularity in this country and in Europe, that the author's name soon became a household word in Christian families, that may never have thought of him as the writer of many other sacred lyrics equally creditable to his poetic skill and Christian feeling. "Jesus, these eyes have never seen," "Lord, my weak thought in vain would climb," "Away from earth my spirit turns," "Thine holy day's returning," "And is there, Lord, a rest," "My Father's house, thine own bright home," are among those which all will recognize as universal favorites. These, and others in this volume, are not inferior to the hymn that has become so famous.

"Home, or the Unlost Paradise," is a poem of some two thousand lines, already favorably known through its publication in one of Mr. Randolph's beautiful holiday volumes. It has been justly characterized as "one of the most exquisite idyls in our language." In expressive lines and choicest colors it pictures an ideal Christian home—ideal, yet drawn from observation of the actual homes of New England. It can hardly be read without effecting the writer's timely purpose, "to deepen in the heart a conviction of the sacredness and beauty of a pure domestic life, and the peril to every interest of humanity involved in the desecration of household sanctities."

The Miscellaneous Poems, about seventy-five in number, are on a pleasing variety of themes pertaining to religious, social, and domestic life. To several of them as, "Eternity," "The Unknown Known," "Mount Washington," "Thrice Born," and "Sonnets on Christ's Sacrifice"—of the latter particularly the poem on "Mary at the Sepulchre"—the severest criticism will assign a worthy place in the highest class of poetical compositions. Of the miscellaneous poems, as indeed of the whole volume, the inspiration seems to be threefold: the religious affections, the social affections, and the love of nature.

Over all he writes, Dr. Palmer throws the charm of the refined taste of a cultured scholar, the delicate touch of a trained artist, the healthful flush of a true lover of nature, and the sacred aroma of an experienced Christian. The style is lucid as crystal and chaste as snow.

Printers and binders have done their very best to shrine the poems in a fitting casket, and a more elegant volume has rarely come from an American press. It will carry down to posterity the name of an author already enshrined in the hearts of Christian believers in many lands, millions of whom will sing with him in heaven the hymns by which he here expressed and uplifted their adoration of the Redeemer of men. To have honestly won such a place in the love and memory of the good and pure, is to have lived to purpose. May Dr. Palmer be spared to give the Christian world yet other fruits of his ripened and mellowed experience.

THE BIRD AND THE BELL, WITH OTHER POEMS.¹—It is at least thirty years since Edgar A. Poe called attention to Mr. Cranch's qualities as a poet. He then wrote: "It will be seen that there is much gentleness and melody in his nature, and that most of what he writes has its origin in his 'heart-deeps.' The mystical sadness diffused through many of his poems is not without its charm. The delicacy of his mind, though it sometimes leads him into prettiness, is often displayed to fine effect in subtle fancies. We should estimate him as a man who had lived much with books and nature, who had 'experienced' poetry, who felt his 'heart leap up' when he beheld beauty and excellence, and who, with original tendencies to the tender and thoughtful, had not escaped being occasionally betrayed by them into daintiness and effeminate egotism." At the time, this judgment was neither unkind nor unfair. It indicates the better qualities of the poet which have since then grown ripe through study and a large experience of life, and the faults which have been either corrected or mitigated by the same agencies.

The present volume contains Mr. Cranch's best poetical work for a number of years past, and in its varieties of theme and manner, probably gives very nearly the entire range of his capacity. We have not to deal with early promise, nor any later phase of transition. Whatever individuality the author possesses is here given to the world. Seeking, first, for the more general

¹ "The Bird and the Bell, with other Poems." By Christopher Pearse Cranch. 327 pages. Boston: Jas. R. Osgood & Co. 1875.

characteristics, we are struck by the natural, unforced ease of his verse. His conceptions are evidently as spontaneous as they are simply and frankly expressed. Where a cooler self-criticism would have given the idea greater symmetry, it seems to have been withheld through the author's reluctance to lessen his own enjoyment. Poetry is with him a delight, rather than a serious passion, and there is a subtle spirit in his lines which assumes the reader to be a sympathetic friend. When we are impelled to say: "A little more labor would have greatly improved this poem," we seem to hear the answer: "If you like it, is not that enough?" Thus, with much sweetness and grace of fancy, with airy wit and earnest and varied reflection, there are only a few poems in the volume which represent the finish and completeness of which the author is capable.

The leading poem, "The Bird and the Bell," opens with a description of a spring morning in Florence, none the less sweet and harmonious for being painted in a low key of color. The song of the bird represents the free aspiration of the soul; but when the bell—the Church of Rome—strikes in with its brazen clang, the tune of the verse changes, and what was poetical, becomes instantly polemical. Many of the succeeding stanzas are remarkably compact, vigorous and resonant—indeed, we do not think that Mr. Cranch has anywhere surpassed them in these qualities—and for those to whom poetry is a vehicle, not a separate intellectual entity, they will be welcome. But we greatly prefer the unmixed imagination and clinging music of a poem like "The Old Days and the New." Such verses as these are very nearly perfect:

"The queens of beauty whose smile was life,—
Ah, well-a-day for the rare old days !—
With love and despair in their golden hair,
By the flowing River of Aise,—

"They have flitted away from hall and bower ;
Ah, well-a-day for the rich old days !—
Like the sun they shone, like the sun they have gone,
By the flowing River of Aise.

"And buried beneath the pall of the past,—
Ah, well-a-day for the proud old days !—
Lie valor and worth, and the beauty of earth,
By the flowing River of Aise.

"And I sit and sigh by the idle stream ;
Ah, well-a-day for the bright old days ;—
For naught remains for the poet's strains
But the flowing River of Aise."

Each of the poems entitled "Veils," "To a Half-Friend," and "On Re-reading Tennyson's Princess" is admirable in its way, and the "Chinese Story" is a bit of exquisite satire. We think Mr. Cranch does most justice

to his poetical genius in sportive, playfully-grave, or purely imaginative themes. His earnest poems manifest a ripe, liberal, and honest intelligence, but at the cost of that light, spontaneous music, which is his greatest charm. We find his blank verse, to our surprise, less flexible and harmonious than in his translation of the *Æneid*. It is a proof of the genuineness of his gift, that he has been led into so few echoes of the popular poets of his day. He evidently writes for the sake of expressing himself—his own thoughts, aspirations, dreams—and we thus constantly feel his personality without the possibility of interpreting it as egotism. We close the book with the impression that we have been communing with a true, manly, and very lovable nature, more ambitious of sympathy than admiration. What Mr. Cranch might have achieved, had he devoted himself to poetry with the passion of one who grasps at her highest honors, it is not for us to conjecture; but he deserves, at least, an equal recognition with Story and Rosetti, who, like him, pursue two kindred arts.

CARTOONS.¹—We have only lately begun to hear the name of Mrs. Preston, although we believe she has achieved a considerable reputation within the limits of her native State, for some time past. The boundless hospitality which Mr. Prentice displayed toward all female aspirants for literary honors has made us, perhaps, unnecessarily suspicious in regard to new names. Even his most justifiable welcome—that given to Mrs. Amelia B. Welby—was not the herald of a permanent renown; while nearly all of the multitude whom he ushered into notice with such warm (and undoubtedly genuine) effusion of feeling, are now either forgotten or sadly trying to repair the fast-withering green of their cheap laurels. We are not aware that Mrs. Preston ever belonged to that multitude; it is scarcely likely; but the suspicion of which we speak may to some extent have delayed the fair appreciation of her poetry.

There is so much unity of design in the separate pieces which make up the first and second divisions of the volume, that the latter almost produce the impressions of being single poems. However the metrical form may vary, the style and spirit are always the same. A suggestion (not an imitation) of Browning, meets us on the first page, and repeatedly returns to us throughout the volume. The themes, at least, are such as the English poet loves and has made popular. But there is no monopoly in song, and we can not detect that Mrs. Preston's enthusiasm for mediæval art, artists, or saints is any less warm and sincere than his. Two voices may sound alike, yet be equally natural.

We have read these brief narrative poems with a pleasure which was not measured by our estimate of the importance of the subjects chosen. Some of the latter are poetic and suggestive; others picturesque in details, but of doubtful ethical value,—yet all are presented in free, flowing verse, and with a spirit and movement which keep the reader's interest alive. Mrs. Preston's natural poetical faculty has been refined by knowledge, taste, and study, without losing the freedom of its early inspiration. We notice, now and then,

¹ "Cartoons." By Margaret J. Preston. 240 pages. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1875.

the unnecessary use of an obsolete word, but none of those "tricks" of meter and phrase which certain poets have of late employed to so much advantage. The manner, in her verse, is always subordinated to the matter, and the latter bears the stamp of her own individual taste or aspiration. She deserves a far wider recognition than she has yet received. When we contrast her poems with those of the New England poetesses who are at present most popular, we find an equal presence of that moral and devotional element which seems a necessary consecration of the strains of the woman-minstrel, combined with sweeter and more gracious melodies of verse.

The "Cartoons from the Life of To-Day," exhibit less imagination than feeling. Their colors pulsate with the warmth of a full, intense nature: the mellow sky of Virginia bends over and illumines them. The poems on Agassiz, Stonewall Jackson, Kingsley, and John R. Thompson show the breadth of the author's sympathies and the delicate quality of her appreciation. These poems may possibly be less popular than the others, but they give us a deeper insight of the author's character—a more convincing impression of the self-forgetting sincerity of her talent.

We regret that we have not space to quote her fine and subtle poem, "Unawares," or the pleasant "Rabbi Simeon's Parable," or the frank and true proem to the volume: but we are sure that all who procure and read the book for themselves will join us in welcoming another genuine and worthy American singer.

THE MASQUE OF PANDORA, AND OTHER POEMS.¹—The value of gems is not to be measured by their size. The same may be said of this, and some other volumes of Mr. Longfellow. It has been his habit to publish his poems in small installments. There are obvious advantages in this. The reader is not repelled by seeing before him a formidable task, and so goes through it with patience, lays down the volume with a keen appetite for more, and is therefore ready to buy and read the next one.

"The Masque of Pandora" is substantially the old classic story reproduced in a new and charming dress. Brief as the piece is, it contains passages of remarkable beauty. The characters are distinctly outlined, and the finish is after the author's best fashion. Pandora, in her irrepressible curiosity and its disastrous consequences, repeats the story of Eve. One of the chief lessons of the myth is embodied in the following striking stanzas:

" Never by lapse of time
The soul defaced by crime
Into its former self returns again;
For every guilty deed
Holds in itself the seed
Of retribution and undying pain.

¹ "The Masque of Pandora, and other Poems." By Henry Wadsworth Longfellow
Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1875.

"Never shall be the loss
 Restored, till Helios
 Hath purified them with his heavenly fires ;
 Then what was lost is won,
 And the new life begun,
 Kindled with noble passions and desires."

This is sound Christian truth beneath a slight mythological veil. It could not well be put more forcibly.

The "Hanging of the Crane" presents a succession of bird's-eye views of domestic life, in its beginning, progress, and culmination in the golden wedding. The whole is too brief to make a deep impression ; but it contains brilliant passages, and produces a pleasing effect by what it suggests. The "Morituri Salutamus," delivered before the author's classmates at Bowdoin College fifty years after graduation, is seriously thoughtful, and has been justly regarded as at once eminently appropriate to the occasion, and worthy of the pen that wrote *Evangeline*, the *Golden Legend*, and *Christus*. The minor pieces contained in the volume strike us as differing considerably in merit. They all, however, bear Mr. Longfellow's impress, and some of them are of marked excellence. We may cite, for example, the piece on Charles Sumner, the last two stanzas of which we quote.

"Were a star quenched on high,
 For ages would its light,
 Still traveling downward from the sky,
 Shine on our mortal sight.

 "So when a great man dies,
 For years beyond our ken,
 The light he leaves behind him lies
 Upon the paths of men."

Some of the sonnets with which the volume concludes have the peculiar interest of personal feeling tenderly and felicitously expressed. They reveal a heart warm and constant in its affections. On the whole, the book seems to us worthy of the author and as indicating no decline of poetic power.

SWALLOW FLIGHTS OF SONG.¹—Miss Kimball never attempts elaborate work, and excels in those brief lyrics which come to the ear like the sudden swelling hum of summer insects, and then die as sweetly away. She knows her limits, and writes from genuine feeling and impulse. Not an unmeaning poem is found in the volume, and if she often seems more familiar with the flowers and outward nature, than with the tragic issues of life, she makes up in her religious pieces, which are always in accord with Christian experience and breathe deep piety and earnest devotion. If she mingled more in the rush and stir of life, and communed less with her own thoughts, she might touch a

¹ "Swallow Flights of Song." By Harriet McEwan Kimball. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1875.

deeper chord, and the volume has many proofs of a cordial sympathy with the bright side of life. "The Little Christmas Sermon" is a gem. "Mary Mother" is a devout tribute to the Blessed Virgin. "Woman" passionately interprets the feelings of the wives and mothers in our late war.

The simplicity and humility of the following—named "As Thou Wilt"—could not be improved :

"It is so sweet to live
 My little life to-day,
 That I would never leave it, if
 I might forever stay !—
 I sometimes say.

"I am so weary, Lord,
 I would lie down for aye,
 Could I but hear Thee speak the word ;
 'Thy sins are washed away !'
 I sometimes say."

NOOKS AND CORNERS OF THE NEW ENGLAND COAST.¹—This is a pleasant, chatty, entertaining series of sketches of the sea-coast of New England, from Mount Desert to Old Saybrook. It is partly a history of the early settlements, partly the story of personal adventure, partly the description of natural scenery. The illustrations are faithful pictures, and are exceedingly well made. The volume fills an unoccupied niche in our literature ; and, while one could wish that the author had made a better literary use of his stories and facts, it is cause for gratitude that the work has been done at all. The illustrated magazines, notably Harper's, have done very much to set forth the interesting features of our country, both on the sea-board and in the interior, and Mr. Drake has promptly met the very urgent demand, now that the New England coast is so largely visited for summer homes, for the history, sequels, and facts, about these old towns, which are our best specimens of American antiquity. Had he given his pages the delicate touch of Mr. Parkman's pen and worked his ample materials into the more permanent forms of literature, even as the artist has caught the life and glow of sea and shore and transferred it to the permanent impressions of excellent art, his book might have been made more permanently valuable.

New England has been the foster-mother of the great ideas which rule America, and, because these old towns by the sea caught the first rays of European civilization, they are now the venerated shrines and Meccas of the whole country. They bore the brunt of colonial privations ; they met the fierce assaults of the British in the Revolution ; they taught and trained the men who have made the nation what it is, and the great excellence of Mr. Drake's book is, that it shows just how this has been done. He begins with Mount Desert Island, and the earliest landing of Europeans in Maine ; rehearses the antiquities of old Castine on the Penobscot, the still earlier

¹ "Nooks and Corners of the New England Coast." By Samuel Adams Drake. Illustrated. Large 8vo., pp. 459. New York : Harper & Brothers. 1875.

ruins of Pemaquid ; describes the settlements along the coast, from Wells to old York ; gives ample space to the fascinating Isles of Shoals ; dwells delightfully upon the quaint history of Newcastle and its neighborhood ; pays his respects to the Salem witches ; lingers lovingly among the rocks and venerable homes of Marblehead, the most antique town in the United States ; explores the first home of the Pilgrims, and tells in gossiping style the story of their early struggles ; visits the extremity of Cape Cod ; visits also the primitive islanders of Nantucket ; pictures the old-time life of Aquidneck, and the modern changes of gay Newport ; dwells delightfully among the revolutionary memories of Groton and New London ; and finally finishes off with sleepy old Saybrook, which once gave a platform to New-England orthodoxy, and has now subsided into nothingness. There are some conspicuous omissions. One can hardly understand why Eastport, and Portland, and Newburyport, and Gloucester, and Boston—not to mention other points—have been overlooked ; and these ought properly, to be noticed in subsequent editions.

TALES OF THE ARGONAUTS.¹—As a character painter, using the pen instead of the brush, Mr. Harte often infuses into his pictures those qualities of genre paintings in which the characters not only illustrate a story, but also live it. The artist or writer who produces such results, may be said, in certain respects, to have achieved great success. Nevertheless, the bold and vivid limning which enables him to succeed thus far, is not the only essential to his highest success in art. It is equally necessary that in the presentation of his characters, there shall be due regard for those proprieties which have become established as matters of custom and taste, no less than of morals. Whether favorable or unfavorable to art, these restrictions exist ; and existing, cannot be defied. Whatever may have been, and whatever may be, it is not possible at present, for the canvas *immodeste*, however marvellous the artistic excellence of its treatment, to find equal favor in the club-room and the drawing-room.

Some artists, indeed, possess the rare ability to attire questionable subjects in a dress which enables them to go unquestioned into all circles : but these artists are few in number, and Mr. Harte is *not one of them*. It is evident—now that the glamour of newness and originality no longer diverts attention from other qualities—that his pictures are characterized by too much of vulgarity to be altogether pleasing to refined readers, and by not enough of it to entirely satisfy the prurient. This fact explains recent statements of superficial critics, who declare that “Mr. Harte is not sustaining his reputation.” In truth, Mr. Harte’s writings were never more worthy of praise, than now. The change is not in him, but in those who are beginning to apply to his productions that calmer judgment in the light of which faults are made conspicuous.

These faults are of two kinds—artistic and moral. Success, artistically considered, ordinarily demands that the artist shall give due heed to the tastes,

¹ “Tales of the Argonauts, and other Sketches.” By Bret Harte. Boston : James R. Osgood & Co. 1875.

or if he pleases, the prejudices, of society. In the matter of morals, which involves considerations higher than taste or prejudice, there is also a code of ethics, if not of law, which it is not wise for an author to disregard. Mr. Harte's sins in all of these respects, are evident and frequent. These faults, if he aspires to more than a second place among authors, he will find it necessary to correct. He must choose between catering to a taste essentially vulgar, or to one that is comparatively refined. As to which of these objects is the worthier, and will lead to the best result, there can be no question. As to which of the two Mr. Harte will choose—if he possess the power to choose—is another question.

RECENT ENGLISH BOOKS.

BLENDING LIGHTS.¹—This is rather a poetical title, for so grave and prosaic a work. Certainly, nothing could be farther from poetry than the author's topics and style. It is simply a methodical and comprehensive survey, by a Scotch clergyman of some note in scholarly circles, of the whole wide field of conflict between Christianity and *unchristian* science. The writer is an industrious compiler of authorities. We notice in the course of discussion, almost every name of mark, on either side of the question. While the writer is not remarkable for any special charm of style, like a safe and careful captain he has set his ideas and authorities in good line of battle, and by drill and discipline has accomplished results which more brilliant qualities might have missed. As a manual of the latest opinions on existing issues between religion and science, the antiquity of man, the Mosaic days, and kindred topics, it will admirably serve the purpose of the busy and over-worked pastor.

SERMONS OUT OF CHURCH.²—The title of this volume is not merely the name of the book. It may fairly be taken as having a certain significance of wider reach. It fitly expresses what has been the general spirit and purpose of the author—the end for which she has written—in her various works already known to the public. She has called these essays “Sermons,” because she would have it understood that they have been written not merely to entertain, but with the desire of doing good, of making her readers better. If there was any danger that the word “Sermons” might repel some readers, or at least might fail to awaken in them any sharp appetite, this peril is skillfully averted by the qualifying phrase—“Out of Church.” By this it is clearly intimated to one who may take up the book,

¹ “Blending Lights, or the Relations of Natural Science, Archæology, and History, to the Bible.” By Rev. Wm. Frazer, D.D., Paisley, Scotland. New York: R. Carter & Bros. 1875.

² “Sermons out of Church.” By the author of John Halifax, Gentleman. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1875.

that it is not precisely to a Sabbath-day exercise, or an ordinary homily, that he is invited; but to something unique, fresh, racy; the aim of which nevertheless, is to teach lessons that may be useful in the ordering of life. Certainly no one who begins to read it will lay it down as dull. Miss Mulock, in her writings generally, has exhibited the power of communicating valuable lessons in a way to interest and please. We have read no work of hers that wearied us, and none that had not manifestly a right moral purpose and a pure and healthful tone.

These "Sermons out of Church" are on the following topics: 1. "What is Self-sacrifice?" 2. "Our often infirmities." 3. "How to train up a parent in the way he should go." 4. "Benevolence—or Beneficence?" 5. "My Brother's Keeper." 6. "Gather up the Fragments." There is nothing hackneyed in the handling of these themes. The discussions are written in a style eminently piquant and lively. They hold attention almost as closely as "John Halifax." Their power to interest, however, lies quite as much in the matter as in the style. They deal in no speculative abstractions, but with the practical experiences, the mistakes, the difficulties, and the duties, of ordinary, every-day life. They exhibit remarkable knowledge of human nature, such as is gained only by careful observation, and go into the very heart of things. In the effort to say forcibly what she wishes to say, Miss Mulock will seem to some to have fallen into a certain extravagance of expression and representation. Some startling things are said, and some to which, perhaps justly, exception might be taken; yet while this might be the impression at times in the progress of the "Sermons," the conclusions reached very generally carry conviction, and the applications are pungent and command the approbation of conscience. The faults, follies, and mistakes of well-disposed people who fail of their ends for the want of practical wisdom, are analyzed with acuteness and painted in strong colors. On the whole, the treatment of the several subjects is vigorous and effective, and the general impression of the book must be salutary.

A COMMENTARY ON ECCLESIASTES.¹—Mr. Dale's notes are almost exclusively critical. They are based on the Hebrew, though the printed text is English. They are concise, almost to obscurity; the entire volume is less than a hundred pages. They are mainly valuable as an accompaniment to, and an interpreter of, the new translation, which the author gives in connection with the English version. The new and the old are printed in opposite pages. We like this new translation. We are not prepared to say that it is absolutely better than the King James' version; but it is fresher, which is a gain, and it certainly brings out all the poetic character of the original with no inconsiderable beauty and force.

In the introduction, the author shows a candid spirit, and a scholar's appreciation of the linguistic argument for and against the received hypothesis that

¹ "A Commentary on Ecclesiastes." By the Rev. Thomas Pelham Dale, M. A. London: Rivingtons. 1875.

Solomon is the author of the poem. He does not, however, give sufficient weight to the psychological argument in favor of that opinion, derived from the consideration that the poem is the natural expression of a repentant man of the world, who has measured all that it has to give, and found it all dust and ashes. In his analysis, too, and to some extent even in his translation, he falls into the common error of Anglo-Saxon scholars, who are prone to throw all thoughts into a logical form foreign to the thought of the Oriental writers, especially their poets.

THE LIFE OF ST. VINCENT DE PAUL.¹—Mr. Wilson has well portrayed the life and character of the simple-hearted, saintly man, who gave to society at the time when it most needed it, eloquent proof of the fact that an intelligent and active interest in the affairs of every-day life, political and social, was not incompatible with the highest attainment in piety. In his experience as a teacher of the young, as a parish priest, court chaplain, minister of state, and as friend and counselor to his king, we find St. Vincent de Paul ever intent upon the accomplishment of the single purpose of doing himself, and inspiring others to the doing of, the utmost possible good. Thus, while men more versatile and more gifted than he, wasted splendid talents in a seclusion, where they sought the way to a deeper spiritual experience exclusively through mortification of the flesh and the abstract meditations of an ascetic life, he mingled with men in such a way as to learn their needs; and in noble and tireless efforts to supply these needs, attained to a saintliness of character never developed in the essentially selfish life of the cloister.

Few religious characters of the sixteenth century are entitled to so enviable a prominence, and few can be studied with equal profit. In addressing his introductory words solely to the members of the Church of England, the author indicates for his book a narrower field than it merits.

Men of all creeds and countries, no less than "the English churchman," may learn useful lessons in holy living from its pages.

FLOWERS AND FESTIVALS.²—The use of flowers in the decorating of the sanctuary is in perfect harmony with the teachings of Him who used the lilies to illustrate His lessons. It is a custom which has prevailed in all ages, and especially among the rural parishes in England. The antiquity of the custom, as well as the extent to which it was carried, which are the subjects of interesting statements, may be inferred from the following quaint lines, evidently of early origin:

"From out the steeple high, is hanged a crosse and banner fayre;
The pavement of the temple strowde with hearbes of pleasant ayre;
The pulpits and the aulters, all that in the church are seene,
And every pew and pillar grete, are decked with boughs of greene."

¹ "The Life of St. Vincent de Paul." By the Rev. R. F. Wilson, M. A. London. Oxford, Cambridge: Rivingtons. 1875.

² "Flowers and Festivals." Or directions for the Floral Decorations of Churches. By W. A. Barrett, of St. Paul's Cathedral. Oxford and Cambridge: Rivingtons. 1875.

Those who have once witnessed the marvellous change wrought in the appearance of the rude interiors of some old and otherwise unattractive English chapel, by tasteful floral decoration, may be tempted to try its transforming effect upon the interiors of churches elsewhere. All such, with the many others more or less interested in the sacred uses of flowers, will find Mr. Barrett's book exceedingly suggestive.

ENGLISH GYPSY SONGS.¹—Since Rudiger's discovery of the fact that the Gypsy tongue is of Hindoo origin,² there has been a growing interest in the language, whose peculiarities have been brought to public notice wherever the nomadic instincts of the race have chanced to carry its members. It has remained, however, for later researches to give a practical direction to the results of Rudiger's discovery, and this has led to a series of books mostly published in London, Germany, and Austria,³ and calculated to initiate the public, more or less thoroughly, into the mysteries of "Rommany," the generic name of the language.

The present volume is designed to illustrate still further the character of this, to many, "unknown tongue," by making a collection of its songs. The difficulties encountered in this undertaking may be inferred from Mr. Leland's statement that in his search for such songs, he "could obtain none possessed of interest, except as indifferent illustrations of the tongue." The singing in Rommany, he describes as being like that of the American Indians, "without form and void, wanting in metre and rhyme, and chanted to what only a very impressive disciple of Suggestive Art could recognize as a tune." Finding no material of the character desired, he says :

"I had given up the intention of forming such a collection, when the perusal of a few excellent Rommany ballads by a friend, . . . as well as others by Professor Palmer and Miss Janet Tuckey, suggested to me the idea that poetry, impressed with true Gypsy spirit, and perfectly idiomatic, might be written, and honestly classed as Rommany, even though not composed by dwellers in tents or caravans."

"The experiment," he says, "was made ;" and the results are embodied in the book before us.

An interesting question might be raised as to the intrinsic value of such experiments, as a means of affording any trustworthy information regarding the poetry of a language ; such a question as would arise, were the language treated any other than Rommany. Whether one familiar with a language only by external study, can acquire that subtle mastery of it which must be carried into the construction of its poetry, and thus be

¹ "English Gypsy Songs." In Rommany. With Metrical English Translations. By Charles G. Leland, Professor E. H. Palmer, and Janet Tuckey. London: Trübner & Co. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1875.

² *Neuester Zuwachs der Sprackkunde.* Halle. 1782.

³ Vide, "Ueber die Wanderungen der Zigenner," Pott und Miklosich, Wien, 1873; "Romano Lavo Lil," George Borrow, London, Murray, 1874; and Smart's "English Gypsy Language," London, Asher & Co., 1875.

enabled to express its "true spirit," in a "perfectly idiomatic" manner, is obviously a matter of great doubt. This must be especially true in the present instance, since, in the absence of genuine Rommany ballads after which to model their verses, we are left to infer that the authors have been obliged to adopt a prosody of their own devising. Under such circumstances, the verses of this book can not, in truth, be regarded as fair examples of Rommany poetry, or as casting any real light upon the prosody of the language.

The Gypsy tongue in itself, however, presents a curious study, and the authors' names are an assurance that, as used in their verses, it is a fair representation of the Rommany dialect. The subjects of which the verses treat are well chosen, and exceedingly interesting as affording an insight into the peculiarities of Gypsy life and character. We speak now of the English version in which the songs are rendered in a style of English which may be said to vie with the original Rommany in quaintness and oddity.

THE WHITE CONQUEST.¹—This description of the existing relations of different races on American soil, is perhaps less offensive than the majority of Mr. Dixon's works, but it is marked by the defect that characterizes nearly all of them. It is written in a hurry, with more fluency than solidity, and more facility than thought. He has very little to tell us that is new, and has not acquired a sufficient basis of facts to form the foundation of distinct or independent judgments. But this very deficiency enhances the merit which gives this work what value it possesses. It is much easier to collect the ideas and information of others, and report them without revision or digestion, than to digest them into material for a consistent and coherent statement of your own; and to a man like Mr. Dixon, it costs little or no trouble to relate in effective style what others have told him. The interesting parts of his works are those in which he simply records the result of his interviews with men of different opinions and positions, regarding the same question from different points of view; or sets down the facts he has gathered in the course of hasty visits to some of the most exceptionally situated districts in the United States. His is the first work in which we have seen anything approaching to a depreciation of the absolute perfection of that terrestrial paradise, California; almost the first in which we have found the existence of drawbacks to its unalloyed excellence and happiness admitted. His description of the Mexican half-breed banditti of Los Angeles, of their crimes and outrages, and of the simple methods by which a very small number of daring brigands have contrived to commit robbery after robbery with impunity, to overpower armed travelers far superior to themselves in number, to plunder towns and *ranches*, to murder men and ravage and terrorize a whole country with small gangs which one company of soldiers or a score or two of American settlers could easily overpower, is striking and graphic, if it be not strictly accurate; it at any rate serves to remind the reader who has been fascinated by

¹ "The White Conquest." By Hephworth Dixon. London: Lhatto & Windus. 1875.

accounts of the delightful climate and unlimited variety of resources where-with the Golden State is blessed, and of the complete reduction of the wild and lawless outcasts who formed her earliest society to order and quiet ; that there are still to be found in some of her most fertile districts worse plagues than drought or locusts, and places in which the revolver and the rifle have still a legitimate purpose and obvious use. His account of the troubles in Louisiana, derived from the leaders on both sides, leans nevertheless very strongly to that of the Democrats ; and if we may suppose him to have reported fairly what he learned, it would seem that Kellogg must have been guilty of an usurpation which would find little tolerance in any English community, and that Sheridan's violent proposals were simply the extravagances of a lawless partisan. Of the Indians, Mr. Dixon does not speak very kindly or hopefully. Of the Chinese, he writes with all the bitterness of a Californian Trades-Unionist ; but, writing for English readers, he can hardly denounce competition or cheap labor, and therefore rests his case on the danger lest a Mongolian community, under Chinese laws, should be formed on the Pacific coast, and by sheer dint of superior numbers make itself master, through the ballot-box, of the laws and legislature of California. We do not know that to English minds a Chinese State seems more intolerable than a Negro one ; nor does it appear to Englishmen at all probable that an Anglo-Saxon people will push their theory of universal suffrage so far as to allow any portion of its empire to fall under the dominion of the "heathen Chinee," under the laws of Confutzu or the tyranny of the Five Companies, even if the Mongolians should outnumber their Aryan neighbors by three or four to one. The necessity of dispensing with Chinese servants, or accepting them as masters, is not apparent to a nation which holds in subjection, without the shadow of trouble and with the aid of two or three thousand soldiers, a larger Chinese population than is likely to be found in California even in the year 1900. Probably Mr. Dixon has only heard, or reported, one American view and that a very exaggerated view, of the Chinese question.

THE UNSEEN UNIVERSE.¹—The main purpose of this book is to demonstrate, on scientific grounds, the existence of a spiritual universe. Its author is a vigorous writer, and his argument is ably presented. Its science is perhaps too metaphysical for the acceptance of many readers, and others will object that its deductions are based on the practical assumption of that difference between mind (or spirit) and matter, the denial of which lies at the root of modern skepticism. It is, nevertheless, a book of no ordinary merit, and deserves, as it will doubtless receive, wide attention.

LIFE OF NAPOLEON III.²—The two volumes of this work which are already published bring down the story of Prince Napoleon's life as far as his second election to the National Assembly, and his assumption of his seat therein, in the fortieth year of his age. It includes, therefore, his two unsuccessful and

¹ "The Unseen Universe." Macmillan. London & New York.

² "Life of Napoleon III." By Blanchard Jerrold. London : Longmans. 1875.

as almost universally regarded, ridiculous attempts to effect a Bonapartist rising under the Orleans dynasty, and his imprisonment at Ham, upon which the world will not be unwilling to hear what a friend and apologist has to say. Mr. Jerrold claims to have enjoyed the intimate acquaintance of many of the future Emperor's earliest friends and adherents, and to have derived from them much reliable information concerning the less generally known and less well remembered portion of his career, and also to have been assisted and authorized by the Imperial family in his task—a claim which gives peculiar significance and value to his work, as representing the view which Napoleon's own adherents and most intimate associates take, or wish the world to take, of his character and actions. But this claim obliges us to regard the book with the caution inseparable from a careful study of an avowedly partisan narrative. In that light there can be no doubt that readers who bear its character constantly in mind, will learn much from perusing the defense of a man whose history has hitherto been generally studied in the writings of his enemies; and no one can doubt that Mr. Jerrold is more likely to be right than a fanatic like Victor Hugo, who has never dreamt of sacrificing bitterness and brilliancy to truth, and at least as fair as Mr. Kinglake, whose account of the *coup d'état* is that of an able and intelligent man of the world, but equally that of a partisan.

MENDELSSOHN'S LIFE AND LETTERS.¹—Undoubtedly no one should be better able to write a graphic account of Mendelssohn than Dr. Hiller, who, to the appreciation of a musician, adds the intimate acquaintance of a friend; and he has gone to his work *con amore*, giving us a thoroughly interesting book, bright, genial, and full of life, a fair picture of Mendelssohn himself, as he lives still in the memory of those among us who knew him personally.

Many of the letters Dr. Hiller gives us have been published before, but several appear for the first time, notably those from the Hague, where Mendelssohn spent some weeks just before his engagement to Miss Jeanrenaud, "for the benefit of his health, and also Devrient tells us, on good authority, to test his love by distance;" with what result may be gathered from his letters thence, written with all the quaint humor with which he would invest his surroundings, but showing his irritation more plainly than could the most pathetic complaints. Perhaps among the most interesting of Dr. Hiller's reminiscences are those which speak of Mendelssohn's life in Paris, in which Rossini, Liszt, Cherubini, and Chopin have their share. It was when surrounded by his fellow-musicians that we find Mendelssohn's sympathetic and generous nature so charmingly apparent,—always ready to admire the genius of others, and to further their interests,—always willing to take a subordinate place, although, or rather because, so eminently fitted to take the highest.

¹ "Mendelssohn's Life and Letters," by Ferdinand Hiller. McMillan, London and New York. 1875.

RECENT GERMAN BOOKS.

ETHNOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS.¹—THE prolific pen of Dr. Adolf Bastian adds at least one volume yearly to our library of Ethnology and Anthropology, and every book he writes is worth reading for its stores of information and its generous enthusiasm for science and humanity, however one may dispose of the author's theories and deductions. His greatest work, "Ethnologische Forschungen," is a perfect transcript of his own mind and method. He dedicated it to the Royal Library of Berlin as the treasury of all knowledge; but the Library might, with as good reason, be dedicated to Dr. Bastian as its most fruitful user and expounder, bringing to light its hidden stores and converting them to practical ends. Hardly any fact or authority of moment in Ethnology is wanting in these two well-packed octavos; everything is stated fairly and adjusted to its proper place,—one is even burdened with the vastness of the author's researches—but, when he comes to the task of deduction and statement, one feels how much more he is a teacher imparting knowledge, than a philosopher evolving principles, formulating laws and constructing systems. Dr. Bastian appears to special advantage in his office as Curator of the Ethnological Museum at Berlin, which he has brought to its admirable order, and has enriched with valuable contributions from his own travels, and by skillful selection and negotiation. Here, as Professor of Ethnology and Anthropology in the Berlin University, he lays before his pupils the best possible materials for a comparison of races in structure and development. When Dr. Bastian lectures before the Berlin Geographical Society—of which he was sometime President—he attracts a large audience of scientific and cultivated men, who listen by the hour to his rapid flow of extemporaneous talk, in which the facts of his favorite science on the results of some recent exploration, are given with inexhaustible fullness and vivacity of detail, enlivened with humor, and with graphic sketches of places and manners. If interrupted by questions he is never at fault, but like an overflowing reservoir may be tapped at any point without diminishing the volume of supply.

Thus much it seems worth while to say of the personality of an author, the voluminousness of whose writings might awaken the suspicion of superficiality. Nothing could be farther than this from the tone of Dr. Bastian's mind or his books. He is thoroughly a man of science. His latest publication, "Aphorisms on the Evolution of Organic Life,"² demands a fuller notice than we have room for in the present number, and may lead us into controversy with the author touching the origin of life.

THE INHABITANTS OF EASTERN ASIA.³—We can promise our readers the best of companionship, if they will accompany Dr. Bastian in his tour along

¹ "Ethnologische Forschungen, üebst Sammlung von Material für dieselben," von Dr. Adolf Bastian. Jena, Hermann Costenoble. 2 vols, oct. price 21 Marks.

² "Schöpfung oder Entstehung: Aphorismen zur Entwicklung des organischen Lebens," von Adolf Bastian. Jena, Hermann Costenoble, 1875.

³ "Die Völker des östlichen Asien." Studien und Reisen von Dr. Adolf Bastian. 6 vols, oct.

the coast of Loango, as the pioneer of the Germany Exploring Expedition in western Africa. Those who have made the acquaintance of the author as a traveler in Siam, Cambojia, Cochinchina, China, and the Indian Archipelago,¹ will need no urging to take up his new volumes of African travel. If he sees most, and learns most, who already knows most of what he should see and learn, then certainly Dr. Bastian is one of the most ready and accomplished of travelers. With man for his constant study, and knowing all that others have seen or said concerning a given people, he goes through a country with his eyes open to everything that can interest the student, his memory stored with facts for comparison, his tongue skilled in many languages, and his judgment trained by experience to note that which is characteristic and true in faces, manners, customs, beliefs.

Having conceived the project of completing the conquest of Africa to science, by an expedition from the western coast, that should trace the Congo to its source, and master the region on either side of the equator not yet reached by explorers from the East and North, Dr. Bastian organized the "African Society," in which all the geographical societies of Germany were represented, and by his enthusiasm and perseverance, equipped the expedition of 1873, under the lead of Dr. Güssfeldt. The expedition began in disaster, through a shipwreck causing the loss of stores and instruments, and has lately come to a fruitless end, through the return of Dr. Güssfeldt, baffled and discouraged. Perhaps it is reserved for Stanley to push his way across the continent from the West, and by dash and bravado, to succeed where the elaborate preparations of science have failed. But whatever the hap of the expedition, Dr. Bastian is no failure, and in no way responsible for the failure of others. To prepare the way for the expedition, and to set everything in working order on the spot, Dr. Bastian went in advance to the Loango coast, and visited the whole coast from the mouth of the Congo, to the northern boundary of Loango, making also excursions to the interior. It is of the peoples of this district that these volumes give an account—their manners and customs, their political and commercial relations, their traditions and beliefs, all are depicted with accuracy and perspicacity. Of special interest is the author's account of the religious customs of the interior tribes, and the essay upon Fetich worship, which occupies a hundred pages of the second volume, and is really a contribution to the study of comparative religion. Dr. Bastian shows little respect for the work of missions upon the Loango coast, and is of opinion that a clever native, well up in the history of Christendom in the middle ages, might retort the superstition and credulity of the Church, upon missionaries who seek to turn him from his own. It is of Roman Catholic missionaries, to be sure, that the author speaks, but he seems to regard Christianity itself, as only a higher development of the disposition of inferior races to believe in the mysterious and supernatural. The principal Fetich

¹ "Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango Küste, uebst alteren Nachrichten über die zu erforschen den Lander." Nach persönlichen Erlebnissen, von Dr. Adolph Bastian. 2 vols. oct. pages 374 and 353, price 23 Marks.

figures—of which he brought back a large number for the Berlin Museum, are sketched in plates that accompany the volumes. There is a valuable chapter on the languages of Southern Africa.

STUDIES ON WOMAN.¹—The position of Woman has hardly yet become a political question in Germany, but it is more and more studied from a scientific and social point of view. In his recent work, "Studies on Woman," Dr. Reich exhibits a wide acquaintance with the literature of the subject, and gives nearly 300 lengthy quotations from German, English, American and French authors. This book has an entirely different aim from the famous "*La Femme*" of the brilliant Parisian academician Michelet. Woman is treated of in all her relations; the proportions of the female body, the length of life, comparative statistics of diseases and of suicide, the relative tendency of women to vice and crime; their necessities as to nourishment, clothing, dwelling, coition; love in its moral and physical bearings; the mental functions and temperament, emotions and passions—finally, the great question of woman's work and woman's rights, in one word, emancipation. In conclusion, the author gives counsels upon education and the whole hygiene of the female sex. The theme is handled at every point without one trace of prepossession or prejudice, one might say in a dry business way, so that it seems as if the author were an incurable old bachelor, who had never approached the feeling of love or hatred toward any woman, and on that account was more competent to pronounce an impartial judgment upon the whole sex; while in every line of Michelet's book one recognizes the genuine French adorer, and at the same time detractor of Woman. As a specimen of the indiscriminate range and variety of the quotations in which Reich's book abounds, we cite the following: "Mankind as a whole stand under the twofold sign of Venus and Bacchus. Minerva exerts her power only upon a select few. Hence, Man is, so to speak, an animal compounded of Venus and Bacchus; but since men worship chiefly the belly, and women worship chiefly love, men are assigned to Bacchus, women to Venus!" The book may be consulted more as a rich and curious collection of what has been said upon its theme, than for a scientific solution of the question itself.

VON SCHÖN'S DIARY AND CORRESPONDENCE.²—Hero-worship is now the order of the day in Germany, but happily the heroes of the pen are coming to be even more honored than the heroes of the sword. Now that Prussia is the foremost state of Germany, and Germany the foremost nation of Europe, men are asking to whom are these results to be ascribed. Sadowa, Gravelotte, Sedan, were not causes, but results; and these results were due to a social, political and military organization, or rather reconstruction, planned by certain ministers of Frederic William III., whom he used long enough to have

¹ "Studien über die Frauen," von Dr. Edward Reich. Jena, H. Costenoble. Pp. 415. Price 12 Marks.

² "Aus den Papieren des Ministers und Burggrafen von Marienburg." Theodor von Schön. Berlin: Verlag von Franz Duncker.

the nation profit by their counsels, and then discarded or dropped through political vacillation or conservative reaction. Foremost among these was the Baron von Stein, whose statue was lately unveiled at Berlin with much royal and civic pomp. One of Stein's best coadjutors—though sometimes accused of jealousy and rivalry—was Theodor von Schön, Minister and Burgrave of Marienburg. The Prussians of to-day, conquerors of Austria and France, and dictators of peace or war to Europe, do not care to be reminded of the days of national humiliation at the beginning of the century, when the Prussia of Frederic the Great was reduced to a beggarly dependency of Napoleon. Yet such reminiscences are salutary both in a moral and political point of view, as showing the causes of national decline and the means of recovery. Nothing could be more serviceable to this end than the papers of Von Schön, his correspondence and his diary—letters exchanged with Niebuhr, Stein, W. von Humboldt, Pozzo di Borgo, Barnhagen von Ense, Gervinus, and memoranda of cabinet secrets at the most critical period of recent Prussian history. Schön pierced to the heart of things, saw the evil that was in the nation, and the sharp and thorough remedy that must be applied. In 1808, after Stein was thrust from the cabinet, he wrote: "Fate seems to think necessary the still greater humiliation of Prussia. . . . My way of thinking is far wide of the generation that now has the word. Ten years must pass before my time can come. . . . God stand by us! since our really upright and well meaning king has no true friend to tell him the truth." It is well for Prussia that to-day she is strong and happy enough to bear the unveiling of those evil days, and it is well for those who worship kingship that such disclosures are made.

IM PARADIES.—Paul Heyse's last novel, "Im Paradies" ranks among the most prominent products of German literature. It is written not only with that skill and brilliancy which may be expected from the author, but it even surpasses those of his works which have hitherto established his world-wide fame. The really absorbing plot introduces us into the life of the Munich artists, and pictures the aspirations, disappointments, and results of their career, as well as the social and moral conflicts in their private lives. It would be impossible to give in a short extract an idea of the story and its highly complicated dispositions; suffice it to say, that the most varied characters are put before us, awakening by their actions and destinies the reader's interest in the great ethical and social questions of the day. The well-drawn background throws into relief all these figures, and makes the book attractive even to those who are strangers to this sphere of life.

The author has not avoided strong emotions, nor excluded the dark sides of human nature; on the contrary, he treats in this book many questions which some critics would perhaps consider unfit to be made the leading motives in a novel. However, there is nothing in the whole book that could in any way be repulsive to the feelings of those readers whose minds are elevated and unprejudiced enough to understand the importance of these

matters, the ruling influence of the relation of the sexes, and their duties to each other.

STUDIES OF THE COPTIC LANGUAGE.¹—Americans are apt to fancy a German scholar as steeped in his own specialty in utter obliviousness of affairs generally, and even of other departments of knowledge. This typical Professor still exists, but is fast receding before the new order of political life in Germany. Mommsen, Gneist, Virchow, the late Ewald, and other professors eminent for learning, have shown considerable aptitude for parliamentary business and practical affairs. A remarkable example of the union of general information and practical sagacity with dry and exact scholarship is Dr. Carl Abel, of Berlin. One who reads attentively the Prussian correspondence of the London *Times* is struck with the fine idiomatic English of the writer, with his wide and circumstantial knowledge of public affairs, and his discriminating analysis of political movements and complications; yet this "Prussian Correspondent," may be found at home in his large and well-appointed philological library, pursuing researches in his favorite Coptic—in which he is an acknowledged master—and preparing what may be styled a grammar of the Thought and Feeling of the language, of its inner life as representing the very soul of the people. Dr. Abel defines speech as "the representation" of those thoughts which are common to a whole people or to great masses of them, and which have recurred with sufficient frequency and precision to obtain expression in the most compressed form." This form consists of the single word, which embodies a conception in itself, and the relation of one conception to other conceptions. The dissertation in which Dr. Abel presents these views, as an introduction to his "*Koptische Untersuchungen*," is so condensed and consecutive that it is impossible to make an abstract of it, but a bare outline of the work itself will attract the reader to a more intimate communion with an author who seeks in human speech those manifestations of spiritual life that are perpetual in the race. Dr. Abel's main purpose is, by etymological and synonymical research, to fix the meaning of a certain category of words indicative of moral notions, such as Right, Truth, Bad, Evil, Good, Holy, Pure, Impure, Just, etc. By a minute analysis of such words wherever found in Coptic literature, he brings out the original fundamental conception of the thing itself in the mind of the Egyptians, and thus brings us into contact with the moral life of that remarkable people. The first book, for instance, is devoted to the conception of Truth and Right; this is traced through all modifications, from the oldest hieroglyphic monuments down to the Coptic literature of Christian times, and at the close of the book is a summary of the results reached as to the moral notions conveyed by these terms. But inasmuch as the signification of a word can not be fully appreciated independently of its grammatical form and force, the etymo-

¹ "*Koptische Untersuchungen*," u. f. w. von Carl Abel. Jena, Hermann Constenoble. 1875.

² Darsbellung; a life-like representation.

logical and synonymical researches of the author are interspersed with grammatical researches, the latter occupying about one-third of his work. These have reference chiefly to the verb and the vocalization of roots. Dr. Abel's view is that the primitive roots had indistinct vowels, and that definite and different vocalization arose gradually from the conversion of suffixes into infixes. By this process a primitive root was enabled to branch out into several roots, each representing a special shade of some notion common to all. Take, for instance, to beat, to crush, to enfeeble—these three notions expressed in English by three roots, in Egyptian were given by three variations of the same root. The author gives particular attention to the development of the Intransitive, Instructive and Passive forms, and regards the two latter as originally identical with the former, which itself was only a variation of the primitive unvocalized verb. The distribution of the roots over the various parts of speech, the formative and syntactical construction of verbs, adjectives, adverbs, etc., are also treated in the grammatical portions of the work, and on all etymological and phonetic points, the author has consulted the Hieroglyphics.

The grammatical investigation has been made subsidiary to etymological and synonymical research, because in the view of the author, grammar treats the abstract notions of time, number, individuality, dependence, relationship, etc., as expressed by forms and the connection of forms in the sentence. The lexicon and the doctrine of synonyms, on the other hand, explain the meaning of words, taken individually, and without reference to their grammatical formation or construction with each other. Now although the rudiments of grammar have to be acquired as an indispensable preliminary to the translation of a single sentence, to appreciate the abstract notions it conveys is incomparably more difficult than to realize the significations explained by the dictionary. All grammatical questions being logical and metaphysical are intricate in themselves; and the philosophical difficulty attending them is increased by the fact, that the means used by grammar for the expression of abstract notions are such as to render the discovery of their original signification peculiarly hard, if not altogether impracticable. The purport of inflections, suffixes, etc., is certainly known from use; but as no part of human speech has been more thoroughly altered from its original form and shape than the tiny syllables, indicative of abstract relationship, they are frequently so corrupt as to differ from what was originally identical, or to coincide with what was primarily different—alterations which can not but lead us astray as to the meaning they seem to convey. A better insight into their sense can be gained only by the gradual extension of etymological research over vast families of speech.

Meanwhile lexicons and synonyms are more expeditious in producing results. Independent roots and stems being more durable than the fragile inflections and forms subservient to them, their etymology has already attained a comparatively high degree of development. Even when obscure, it is more easily dispensed with. The meaning of independent roots having undergone

a more considerable change in process of time, than the signification of forms, this is a much more different and distinct thing in the various periods of the history of a language, than its grammar. Concrete notions being altered, as the nations progress, the words expressing them have repeatedly changed, and will continue to change their original meaning ; but a special type of abstract thought, once adopted, is perpetuated forever, and can not be satisfactorily comprehended, except by the discovery of the original meaning of grammatical forms. In view of such lessons derived from the growth of modern etymological science, Dr. Abel argues that we should devote a deliberate and systematic research to the dictionary, while continuing our arduous labors in the grammar. If language is a reflex of national thought, then that department of philology which promises the earliest fruits, and includes the greater and more easily accessible portion of all human speech, should no longer lack methodical research. As to grammar, while etymological grammar is in its infancy, the chief interest attaching to this particular branch of linguistic studies lies in its influence upon the meaning and use of independent words, rather than in the exploration of the distinct metaphysical and logical system underlying each grammatical type.

Dr. Abel is about to publish an inquiry into Egyptian phonology, intended to prove the connection of Egyptian with other languages nearer home. These *Koptische Untersuchungen* are a prelude to that ; and it is the author's belief that his Chapter on Verbs will furnish additional helps for the deciphering of ancient writings, and that his grammatical results in the Coptic field will apply to the wider sphere of comparative philology.

RECENT ITALIAN BOOKS.

THE LETTERS OF MICHAEL ANGELO BUONAROTTI.¹—This splendid volume was published under the auspices of the Florentine Committee, who arranged the festival in honor of Michael Angelo ;—beneficent auspices which permitted the collection in so luxurious a dress, of the familiar correspondence of the greatest of Italian artists. In these letters, so diligently harvested by Signor Milanesi, Buonarotti is revealed to us in his most simple, domestic, and popular phase ; and it is no small glory to him that he can still appear grand and pure, when viewed from this most intimate and confidential point of view. Frank and honest soul that he was, his reason and his affection went hand in hand ; as he could use proud and lofty language with the great men of the earth, so too he could be familiar, quiet, and tender with the lowly. The most vivid impression derived from this superb volume of letters, is that caused by the sight of a grand and simple man, opposing

¹ "The Letters of Michael Angelo Buonarotti," with Reminiscences and Artistic Contracts. Edited by Gaetano Milanesi. Florence : Le Mounier. 1875. 720 pages.

a bold front to every form of tyranny and vice, affectionate and helpful to those who were unhappy or oppressed by fate. The whole nation has a proud consciousness that Michael Angelo belongs to it. Of the letters contained in the present volume, 45 are addressed to his father Ludovico, 78 to his brother Buonarrotti, 10 to his brother Giansimone, 2 to his brother Gismondo, 205 to his nephew Leonardo, and 153 to various others. These are followed by Michael Angelo's Reminiscences, extending from 1505 to 1563 and his artistic contracts from 1498 to 1548.

MICHAEL ANGELO BUONAROTTI.¹—As Signor Gotti, in his life of Michael Angelo, drew for us a picture of the man, Signor Magherini has presented, in like manner, a view of the artist. The author's profound study of his subject is evinced by his frequent reference to Angelo's works. He communicates his own sympathy to us, without really telling us any thing new; he duly elaborates somewhat difficult matter, and we can the less readily differ from his judgments of the master, because many of them have been since expressed in the abundant, perhaps superabundant, discourses delivered in Florence at the Michael Angelo festival; not indeed that we mean to hint that the various orators imitated him, but that the statements being true and forcible, naturally occurred to many minds.

DIPLOMATIC HISTORY OF THE COURT OF SAVOY.²—The diplomatic history of the house of Savoy is of a prominent and stable nature, which renders it especially adapted for narration; and it is fortunate that the task should have been undertaken by so diligent an historian as Signor Domenico Carrutti, once minister plenipotentiary to Holland from the kingdom of Italy, and now member of the Council of State, the most praiseworthy author of two fine historical monographs upon Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, surnamed the Great, and Victor Amadeus, first king of Sardinia. The historian of the house of Savoy has proved himself an impartial judge; he simply tells its story, having lived amid it for many years, and rehearses the diplomatic intrigues and ever-varying relations of the illustrious royal family, with that conscious security which can only be felt by one who has been an actor in, or at least a spectator of, the drama. Some parts of the work are worthy, not of a great historian alone, but of a great artist. Among other examples we may cite the two brief pages containing the portrait of Emanuel Philibertis, engraved for us in so masterly a style.

UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF CARLO BOTTA.³—The name of Botta is dear to America. The history of American Independence is the "Piedmontese his-

¹ "Michael Angelo Buonarrotti." By Giovanni Magherini. 304 pages; price five francs. Florence. 1875.

² "Diplomatic History of the Court of Savoy." By Domenico Carrutti. First Volume (1494-1601). 562 pages. Price six francs. Turin: Bocca Brothers. 1875.

³ "Unpublished Letters of Carlo Botta," edited by Paolo Pavesio. 96 pages, price three francs. Turin. 1875.

torian's" best work; the sojourn for several years in the United States, of his son Paolo Emilio, the archæologist, has only served to knit closer the bond of sympathy between the Botta family and the American nation; and at the present day, Professor Vincenzo Botta is the most noble friend and helper whom Italy owns in America, ever striving to cement the friendly relation between the United States and the kingdom of Victor Emanuel. The readers of the *INTERNATIONAL REVIEW* accordingly can not fail to welcome the announcement of a book concerning their and our great historian, whose mortal remains were borne in solemn state from Paris, where he died, to the church of Santa Croce in Florence, only last September. Professor Paolo Pavesio published a lengthy critico-biographical sketch of Carlo Botta, the historian, in the "*Rivista Europea*" in 1874, for the most part following in the footsteps of an excellent biography of Botta, written by a lawyer of Turin, named Dionisotti. This same Professor Pavesio, having now succeeded in collecting some one hundred and thirty-four of Carlo Botta's unpublished letters, has formed them into a volume, preceded by a new and careful biographical sketch. The letters are both curious and important; curious, as bearing a strong impress of Botta's youthful studies in rhetoric from the text of Cicero's, Pliny's, and Seneca's epistles; important, because written at the close of the eighteenth century and enriched by many historical notes, and as shedding fresh light upon the last years of the French Republic and upon General Bonaparte's early career in Italy. They are none the less interesting because the figure of the true and generous gentleman who wrote them always stands pre-eminent.

FAMILIAR ARTISTIC AND POLITICAL SKETCHES. 1750-1850.¹—Signora Luigia Codemo is a distinguished Venetian poetess, painter, and romance-writer, the daughter of Professor Codemo, a far from ordinary novelist, and the Marchesa Cornelia Sale-Mocanigo, a poetess of merit. That she is heiress of her parents' genius, is shown by this semi-autobiography, in which she evidences a lively intellect with a singular ability to color and animate the scenes through which she passes; to arrange the living dramas which she witnesses, and to transform them with rapid strokes into characteristic Venetian sketches. Signora Codemo's book is full of fine, lifelike portraits; when she can not give us a photograph from real life, with a bold stroke of her pen she gives us an outline, and the reader can complete it at leisure; in this way she presents several distinguished Italian authors of the school with which she is best acquainted. Mario Pieri, Massimo D'Azeglio, Guiseppe Montanelli, Guiseppe Giusti, Pietro Giordani, Giovanni Prati, Lorenzo Costa, Maria Guacci Nobile, Antonio Caccianiga, and other illustrious people, are drawn to the life. The book is a miniature picture-gallery of the century; replete with anecdotes which serve to give light and character to some period of the political and literary history of Italy.

¹ "Familiar Artistic and Political Sketches." 1750-1850. By Luigia Codemo di Gerstenbrand. 614 pages; price four francs. Venice, Visentini. 1875.

Signora Codemo, with rare grace, has given us an entire volume, aided solely by her own memory, in which she has mentioned herself but rarely, and then only in so far as she is an actress in the drama or romance which she is writing.

STUDIES IN HISTORY AND POLITICS.¹—In these pages, we have the ideal history of the political, civil, and economic resurrection of Italy. The splendid episode of this great national poem here takes the form of a profound study of Roumania and her people, to which Signor Massarani has lent an attention strengthened by that love for the weak, which he justly feels to be the better part of his noble nature. When Italy was weak and oppressed, the money and the pen of Tullo Massarani of Lombardy were alike effective in promoting her resurrection, which was no sooner accomplished, than her people seem to enjoy it as a matter of course, notwithstanding the fact that, to prepare for it, was in reality a titanic undertaking. With his present acquaintance with Italian power, Signor Massarani turns his benevolent thoughts to the youngest of the sister nations of Latin race, and would hasten for her that day of perfect liberty which Italy has already won. The book opens with a juvenile essay, entitled, "The Italian Idea throughout the Ages ;" the work of a philosopher of barely twenty years, but amazing in its wonderful mastery of historic lore, its vigor of thought, and its phraseology, as well as in a certain redundancy, always powerful and efficacious. In the second article, called "Precursors of Modern Liberty," he adverts to the idea of an International Senate for the maintenance of peace, perhaps Utopian at present ; but the Utopias of to-day are the realities of to-morrow. Massarani himself knows that when he wrote his eloquent and generous articles on Germany and Italy, in 1859, he might well have been called Utopian, though he proved to be a wise and blessed prophet regarding the future of two great countries. As he anticipated Italy's resurrection, so he has faithfully followed it out ; his essays on the Italians in the East, on the political condition of Italy to-day, and on the social question, not only prove his deep love for, but his knowledge of, his country, and that he is really worthy of the affection and reverent esteem with which his name is uttered wherever it is known. Democratic as his spirit may be, Massarani's genius is aristocratic. He loves the most select and exquisite forms, and can neither say nor do any thing in a vulgar way. He always extracts the most noble and poetic essence of things, and easily elevates his reader to that ideal region in which he is always lord.

ADOLFO'S SECRET.²—An unhappy secret, which leads a wretched father to become, through jealousy, the cause of his only and idolized son's death. Bersezio drags us irresistibly on to the catastrophe with which this secret

¹ "Studies in History and Politics," by Tullo Massarani. 358 pages ; price four francs. Florence : Le Mounier. 1875.

² "Adolfo's Secret." A Novel by Vittorio Bersezio. 288 pages ; price three francs. Milan : 1875 Tipografia Lombarda.

bursts upon the public, and although he does not say it in so many words, he leaves the reader to conclude that, in this and similar cases, a like catastrophe would not have occurred, had there been a proper degree of confidence between father and son. Bersezio has been particularly successful as a novelist; no one in Italy possesses greater talents in this direction. Unlike most writers, who begin in a spirited manner and then faint by the way, he almost always begins in the minor key, but leads the reader rapidly on, entangling him in a net, whose meshes he alone in Italy seems privileged to weave. The reader is caught in the snare, nor is he set free till the tale is told—that is to say, when his heart swells with the vivid emotions which the skillful romancer (a keen judge not only of the men whom he paints, but also of those for whom he paints them) has forced him to experience. We recommend the book to the English translator.

A TYRANT AT THE SEA-SHORE.¹—Whosoever would spend a delightful hour, let him take in hand this little book; it is full of good humor and affection, simplicity and elegance, nature and grace. Mansueto, Bartolomeo, mine host, the barber, the old uncle and the young nephew, the lively Cornelia and the spoiled child, all seem like old acquaintances; Signor Farina, in thus gathering together his reminiscences (and the reminiscences of so fine an observer can not fail to be many and exquisite) has given us a living picture of a speaking reality. He has proven to us that there are still fine subjects in Italy for a Dickens or an Erckmann-Chatrian, and we advise some one to translate his book into English.

ART IN EUROPE

THE NEW FRENCH ART-JOURNAL, 'L'ART.'²—Whatever may be the learning or the beauties of this new art-publication, the first thing about it which will strike every one is its size. The page measures slightly more than seventeen inches by twelve, and there are 1248 such pages in a year's issue of the periodical. The numbers appear weekly, and each of them contains at least one etching printed outside the text, as well as two or three wood-cuts, also printed outside the text, on stout paper of their own. Besides these important illustrations there are many others of minor importance in the text itself, consisting chiefly of wood-cuts and photographic fac-similes of drawings. A year's issue may thus contain about 60 etchings, 120 large wood-cuts printed separately, and 500 minor illustrations.

Passing now to the composition of the double staff, literary and artistic, we

¹ "A Tyrant at the Sea-Shore." Three Scenes from Real Life. By Salvatore Farina. 108 pages; price one franc. Milan: Brigola. 1875.

² "The New French Art-Journal, L'Art." *Revue Hebdomadaire illustrée*. Annual subscription, ord. ed. 120 frs. Ed. de luxe, 400 fr. Ed. de grand luxe, 1200 fr. Proofs from 2 to 30 fr. 3 Chaussee d'Antin, Paris.

may observe that the *collaborateurs* are very numerous. There are about 100 writers and 40 designers or engravers. Nearly all the artists are Frenchmen, but some of the writers belong to other countries. We recognize three English names in the list, one American, seven Italians, and three Austrians. Among the Frenchmen a few are celebrated, a few more have reputations in certain circles, and the rest are comparatively unknown to fame. The name of MM. Taine, Renan, Viollet-le-Duc will be recognized the world over; MM. Paul de Saint-Victor, Charles Yriarte, and Charles Vosmaer will be recognized by many as writers already deservedly distinguished, and several others in the list are perfectly well known in Paris. We find no fault with the proprietors of *L'Art* for having admitted several unknown men; on the contrary, a liberal hospitality toward unknown writers, if they have knowledge and talent, is a great source of strength and safety to a young periodical. Many of the artists who work for *L'Art* were well known to the public before the new periodical was founded. Among these we may mention Flameny, Hedouin, Jacquemart, Lalanne, Rajon, and Waltner. It may be well, however, to remind the reader that the artistic field open to the periodical is much more extensive than the list of its engravers would seem, at first sight, to indicate, for the engravers have thousands of painters to copy from and interpret at their choice; indeed their field of labor is not even limited to painters, since they often engrave works in sculpture and architecture also.

Of all periodicals, art-periodicals are the most difficult to establish satisfactorily. It is very difficult indeed to get really good contributors for them. A really good contributor is a man who has a knowledge of art, who can express his knowledge, and who is at the same time good-tempered enough to bear a little gentle editorial direction, and sufficiently forgetful of self to accept the doctrine that the interests of the periodical go before the interests of any one of its contributors. You may easily meet with these qualities separately, but you very rarely find them in combination. And if, by the rarest of chances, you find all these qualities in one man, it is probable that he will be so much appreciated by the public as to be famous, and a writer of books, and when he is deeply engaged in what he considers a remarkable volume, likely to increase his fame, he will not stop to write articles. Again, you have to consider the susceptibilities of writers about what other writers think and say, and these susceptibilities are particularly great in matters connected with the fine arts. For instance, A. will perhaps leave your periodical if B. contributes, because B. has praised, in some other place, an artist of whom A. disapproves.

To all these difficulties, which are only too familiar to the founders of artistic periodicals, is added the utter absence of any generally acknowledged criterion of right and wrong in the fine arts. One eminent critic admires what another eminent critic can not endure to look at, and neither of the two has any standard to judge by, outside of his own personal likings. The differences of opinion among artists are just as great, so that it is useless to

refer to *them*. It is therefore extremely difficult for a periodical to follow any thing like a consistent line in criticism. So far as this new periodical, *L'Art* has been able to follow a line in criticism, we can explain in a few words what it is. The course chiefly pursued is to advocate life and liberty in art, in opposition to the narrow and tyrannical pseudo-classicism which was so near to smothering art in France in the generation which preceded ours. This advocacy of life and liberty goes sometimes to such an extent as to sin against good taste, but it insures a much greater variety than would have been possible under a narrow formalism, and therefore it makes such a thing as a periodical, which imperatively needs variety, a great deal more interesting than narrow formalism, however correct in taste, could ever make it. *L'Art* began in its earlist numbers by open rebellion against the pseudo-classical tyranny in the form of an attack on the memory of Ingres. We thought this attack rather excessive at the time, and said so to a French critic, but he replied that the French tendency to Cæsarism, even in the fine arts, made energetic rebellion a necessity. The fact is that in England and America we can have, from our own experience, scarcely any conception of the sort of artistic Cæsarism which Ingres, (who had a despotic temper, as any body may see by his countenance,) not only tried to establish but really almost succeeded in establishing. His notion of art was authority, the authority of sound classical tradition, and he believed, himself, and led many other Frenchmen to believe, that he, Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres, was the living representative of this authority. M. Paul Leroi, one of the most frequent contributors to *L'Art*, began the attack on Ingres in the first number, and returned to the subject in the fourth. He said that the reputation of Ingres had been an usurpation; that he did not draw, except in portraits done directly from nature, and could not color at all, while he accused him of "a radical ignorance of the most elementary laws of composition." In the fourth number M. Paul Leroi quoted with approbation a criticism written by Theodore Pelloquet seventeen years ago—a very severe and telling piece of criticism, often hitting hard and in the right place, noting the artist's mediocrity of imagination, his feeble yet labored composition, his obstinacy when mistaken, his dearth of invention and *nerve*, the want of unity in his work, which makes it easy to distinguish between what was copied from nature and what was drawn from memory or imagination, and his frequent want of taste. It is significant that the same articles which condemned Ingres, praised two young artists of the present day, MM. Paul Gavarni and Auguste Lançon, whose merits consist chiefly in a lively observation of men and animals in their ordinary groupings and movements, and in the faculty of sketching from memory in a truthful manner. This marks the general direction of the new periodical very accurately. It is encouraging to young artists, and those whom it most encourages are men who show signs of life and originality even when they are not fastidious in their artistic taste and culture. There is great good in this, no doubt; it is an excellent thing that the qualities which make living work should be appreci-

ated, but it is very probable that when this new periodical has been for some time established, it will exercise rather more severity of taste. There are indeed, already very evident signs of a change in this direction, for the later numbers are a great improvement upon the earlier ones, especially in the illustrations. The new photographic processes which permit of printing along with type, proved at first rather a dangerous temptation to the editors, who used them for the reproduction of rough pen sketches on a large scale, which though generally artistic, were often too coarse and hasty to be worth such an extent of paper. Of late they have reserved this phototype process for smaller things, and given well-finished wood-engravings in place of the large phototypes from pen sketches. This change is most judicious. It is not that the larger sketches were less ably drawn than the smaller ones, but with increase of size the eye expects more finish. For example, in No. 24 there is a pen sketch of a farm called "La Ferme Groult," by M. Paul Colin, from his own picture. This is really a very clever sketch, quite harmonious in treatment, and giving a good idea of the picture to anybody who knows M. Colin's way of painting, and can so supply what is wanting here, but unfortunately it is so big that it looks coarse and empty, and we feel that, for a thing of that size, it is too soon exhausted.

L'Art employs the best etchers, who work from pictures, and also some who are not among the best. We hear with the greatest pleasure that this periodical now intends to encourage original etching, but there is a great practical difficulty. An editor who orders a plate from a picture, has a pretty accurate idea beforehand of what the plate is likely to be, but when he orders an original one, not yet conceived or composed, he exposes himself to a great risk of disappointment. It is perhaps for this reason that etching has been so much encouraged of late as a means of copying pictures, and so little encouraged, comparatively, as an original art. For a French periodical *L'Art* is wonderfully cosmopolitan. It gives news of art in foreign countries, and reviews foreign exhibitions. If it enjoys the long life which we very sincerely wish it, the consequence may be some diminution of French ignorance about the doings of other nations.

P. G. HAMERTON.

SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS.

AMONG THE interesting events in astronomical science must be mentioned the discovery of an unusual number of new asteroids, no less than fifteen having been added to the list between the beginning of 1875 and the end of November last. This is a larger number than has ever been added in any one year, though in 1868 twelve new ones were found. The whole number up to the time of writing is one hundred and fifty-five.

A VERY LARGE refractor has been ordered for the Vienna Observatory, and

is in process of construction by Mr. Grubb, of Dublin. It is expected that the aperture of the objective will be over twenty-six inches, possibly twenty-seven inches. The objective of the great telescope at Washington, made by Messrs. Clark, has a clear aperture of twenty-six inches, and has not been surpassed hitherto.

PROFESSOR NEWCOMB, of the U. S. Naval Observatory, has just published, as an appendix to the Washington Observations of 1873, an important memoir giving an account of observations, made with this admirable instrument, upon the planets Uranus and Neptune, and their satellites. His researches enable him to make corrections for the masses of these planets, and lead to the remarkable conclusion that the orbits of all the satellites of the two outer planets are less eccentric than those of the planets of our system, and that, so far as observations have yet shown, they may be perfect circles. He also concludes that the outer satellites supposed by Sir W. Herschel to belong to Uranus, have no existence. No trace of a second satellite of Neptune was found, though sought for under the finest atmospheric conditions.

IT HAS LONG been believed that the amount of heat radiated from the sun is not absolutely uniform. This belief is completely confirmed by the results of observations made in Bengal during the six years ending with 1874, of which an account has recently been published by Mr. Blandford, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* of Bengal, and also in *Nature*. The observations were made with a thermometer having a blackened bulb in a vacuum, and at eleven different stations. "They agree in showing," says the author, "a very decided variation of the incident solar heat: a variation which, in the epoch of its maximum approximately, its rapid rise before that maximum and slower decline after it, agrees with the variation curve of the solar spots." It is interesting to note that a similar connection has been made out between the sun-spot periods and storms in the Indian Ocean, and quite recently Professor W. S. Jevons has pointed out that the price of wheat in Europe shows corresponding variations. An attempt has also been made to show that financial disturbances are subject to a similar periodicity, possibly influenced, however remotely, by the same cause.

MANY ATTEMPTS have been made to utilize the heat of the sun as a source of power for industrial purposes. One of the most successful is that of M. Mouchot, which is likely to prove of practical value in places where fuel is costly or not easily obtainable. M. Mouchot's apparatus, described in a recent number of the *Comptes Rendus*, consists of a frustum of a cone, the sides of which are inclined 45° to the axis, and are covered interiorly with polished metal. The wider end of the frustum is directed to the sun by suitable mechanism, so that the solar rays are reflected to the axis, where they form a linear focus whose length is equal to the height of the frustum. Here is placed a copper cylinder, blackened outside, and serving as the boiler of a steam-engine or distilling apparatus. The cylinder is covered with a glass hood or bell, to prevent loss of heat. The diameter of the mirror at the top is about nine feet two inches, at the bottom about three feet four inches, the

surface exposed to the sun being some forty-three square feet. The copper cylinder has double walls between which the liquid is contained. In one of his experiments M. Mouchot placed 5.25 gallons of water (20 litres) in the cylinder, and on exposing this to the sun a pressure of two atmospheres was reached in forty minutes, and was rapidly raised to five atmospheres, at which point the experiment was discontinued from fear of injury to the machine. In another trial 1.3 gallons of water were evaporated in one hour, which corresponds to a performance of nearly the fifth part of a horse-power. From larger machines more carefully constructed much greater effects might be obtained, and the device promises to have a considerable economic value.

IN DISCUSSING the question as to the solidity or fluidity of the interior of the earth, Sir William Thomson assumed, as the basis of his calculations and as the result of various observations, that the increase of temperature at equal successive intervals from the earth's surface downward, was not uniform, but decreased constantly with a tendency to become nothing at a certain depth. This supposition is confirmed in a very important paper, by Professor Mohr of Bonn, in the *Neues Jahrbuch für Mineralogie*. A boring has recently been made at Sperenberg, near Berlin, through rock salt, to a depth of nearly 4000 feet. Discussing the temperatures observed at different depths, Professor Mohr concludes that the increment of temperature for every 200 feet diminishes by about one-ninth of a degree Fahrenheit. As a consequence of this there would be no further increase after reaching a point somewhat less than one mile beneath the surface of the earth, and the stationary temperature at and beyond that point would be below that of boiling water. This remarkable result is evidently incompatible with the assumption of a fluid condition of the interior of the globe.

M. G. TISSANDIER communicates to the *Comptes Rendus* a description of certain minute bodies found in dust deposited by the air in elevated localities. Portions of such dust carefully collected in a number of different places were all observed to contain a great number of minute corpuscles of a spherical shape, sometimes provided with a short stem or neck, and attracted by the magnet. They prove to be composed of oxide of iron, and he finds them to be exactly similar to the small globules produced by burning fine iron filings in a flame of hydrogen, or an iron wire in oxygen. As they were not found in ordinary terrestrial ores and compounds of iron examined, he concludes that they are the product of combustion of meteorites which enter the air in great numbers every day and are consumed, the fine dust which is thus formed subsiding slowly through the air and accumulating in sheltered places. Iron is almost invariably found in such meteorites as have actually fallen to the earth, and its presence satisfactorily explains the occurrence of these singular bodies in atmospheric dust, which are thus shown to have a cosmical origin.

THE PERSEIDS, or meteors of August 10 and 11, were observed this year in France in great numbers, and M. Wolff thinks that the display increases from year to year as if approaching a maximum. At Courtenay, M. Cornu observed a luminous arc with indistinct contours, having an extent of more

than 120° , and which passed among the stars with a motion opposite to that of the earth's rotation. It is thought that it may have had some connection with the star-shower.

M. LECOCQ DE BOISBAUDRAN, the well-known spectroscopist, announces the discovery, on the 27th of August, 1875, of a new metal, in blende from the mines of Pierrefitte. The new element, which the discoverer has named Gallium, in honor of France, was detected by two lines in its spectrum, one a violet ray, easily seen and having a wave-length of about 417, the other a fainter line of wave-length 404. The chloride and sulphide of the metal were obtained, but the amount of the material was too small to admit of a full determination of its properties. If really new, this is the fifth element discovered by means of the spectroscope.

By A NEW MODE of experimentation, Bloch has determined the rate at which sensory impressions travel in the spinal cord and nerves. He finds it to be greater in the former, than in the latter; the velocities observed being 194 and 132 metres, or 636.5, and 433 feet respectively. These values are considerably greater than those previously obtained, but the author claims that the earlier estimates rested upon methods which included in the result the time required to form, and act upon, a conscious volition.

ARTHUR W. WRIGHT.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Ancient Pagan and Modern Christian Symbolism. Thomas Inman, M. D. New York: J. W. Bouton. 1875.

The Way We Live Now. By Anthony Trollope. Illustrated. New York: Harper Brothers & Co. 1875.

Rocks Ahead. By W. R. Greg. Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co. 1875.

Stories from the Lips of the Teacher. By O. B. Frothingham. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Money and the Mechanism of Exchange. W. Stanley Jevons, M. A., F.R.S. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1875.

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All books received will be duly acknowledged, and as many as possible reviewed.

THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW.

MARCH, 1876.

CAIRNES ON AMERICAN AND IRISH QUESTIONS.¹

IN reviewing the necrology of the last year, we find that no one has died in England, whose life and labors have a better claim to extended notice in an American periodical, than those of John Elliott Cairnes. Many notices of him from the English press, testify to the conspicuous position which he had attained, among English thinkers and writers, on economical and political subjects. The article by his friend Professor Fawcett, in the *Fortnightly Review*, reveals, more intimately than any other, the features of his private life, and the noble triumphs of the intellect and will over bodily infirmity and suffering. It would be difficult to picture a more impressive scene than the meeting of these two friends—the one blind, and the other a helpless cripple—to discuss, in the home of their common master, John Stuart Mill, the great passing questions of legislation and reform. Mr. Fawcett has testified to the valuable assistance which he derived from these interviews, in his practical duties as a member of Parliament.

It has seemed to us, however, that something remains to be said of Professor Cairnes, beyond what has been said by the press of his own country; and that he has claims upon the respect and grati-

¹ "The Slave Power: Its Character, Career and Probable Designs: Being an Attempt to explain the Real Issues involved in the American Contest." By J. E. Cairnes, M.A. London: Parker. 1862. 8vo., pp. xviii. and 304.

² "Political Essays." By J. E. Cairnes, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co. 1873. 8vo., pp. xiii. and 350. (II. The Revolution in America. VI. Thoughts on University Reform. VII. The Present Position of the Irish University Question—1873).

tude of Americans, which have not been, heretofore, sufficiently recognized.

The incidents of his life are few, and may be briefly stated. He was the son of a brewer of Drogheda, a town on the south coast of Ireland, and was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, where he distinguished himself for his devotion to the study of Political Economy. At the early age of thirty-two, he was appointed to the Whately professorship of that science, in his college. While holding that position he published his first text-books on Political Economy, and his Essays on the Gold Question, since republished in the volume of Political Essays. In 1861, when the term of his professorship at Dublin was about to expire, he was appointed Professor of Jurisprudence and Political Economy, in Queen's College, Galway. He afterward resigned that chair, and accepted a similar one in University College, London. It was there that he rendered his last service as an instructor, being borne down by the disease which recently terminated his life after years of acute suffering.

THE SLAVE POWER IN AMERICA.

The conspicuous service which Professor Cairnes rendered to this country, was the publication, early in the second year of the late civil war, of his book on the "Slave Power." It embodied the substance of lectures delivered a year earlier, in the University of Dublin. The London *Times* has lately said of this work, that "it was recognized as the contribution of a statesman-student, in whose consideration of the aims of the men attempting to set up the Slave Power, no grain of fanaticism could be detected." The date at which the lectures were delivered, attests their thoroughly original and dispassionate character. So far as we have been able to learn, the author had not, at that time, any personal friends in America, so that his judgment was unbiased, either by sympathy or prejudice, and his conclusions, with respect to the war, were the result of careful study and severe logical deduction. In his exposure and condemnation of the slave system, he took smaller account of the wrong done to the enslaved race, than of the injury which it inflicted on all human society. He looked upon slavery as a principal obstacle not to the progress of America merely, but to civilization in general.

The only other book, published at that time in Europe, which can compare with it in importance and usefulness to the cause of the Union, was Count Gasparin's "Uprising of a Great People." But to the audience addressed, the book of Professor Cairnes was the more

valuable, although, in this country, owing to its popular and impassioned character, that of Count Gasparin has probably been more widely read. The question before us at that time, was how to stem the tide of hostile feeling running against us in Europe, and particularly in England. The interest in our war, both sentimental and real, was far greater, at all times, in England than in France, being the interest of a common race, with kindred political aims, and intimate commercial relations. This interest pervaded all classes of society, though it excited among them very conflicting feelings. In France, on the contrary, there was no popular sympathy for, or against, us. A small body of philanthropists, and of social and political reformers, took the northern side; but it was as much out of hostility to the Empire at home, as from sympathy for Republican institutions, assailed by barbarism, abroad. The emperor desired to have the Union divided, in order to render it powerless to prevent the consummation of his ambitious schemes against Mexico. But to the average Frenchman, the struggle was altogether remote and foreign, and only interesting as it touched the pockets of the classes who live upon the American traveler, and whose yearly autumnal harvests were diminished by his absence.

In England it was far otherwise. On the one side, was the unconcealed hostility of the government and upper classes, the springs of which were to be found in national jealousy and social torism. Nothing in modern times has brought out in such strong relief the intense class feeling which still exists in England, and which has survived the political changes which have made the government of that country almost as popular as our own. On the other hand, the workers and thinkers of England, from whom have come all the great reforms which have remodeled the British constitution, and elevated the masses of the people, while adding vastly to the wealth and material power of the nation, warmly espoused the northern side as soon as they understood its real purposes. The sincerity of this friendship, is attested by the fact that the manufacturing classes were the chief sufferers from interrupted trade, and had the best excuse for wishing to see the war ended, at whatever sacrifice to liberty or civilization.

In view of the influence which trade has, for many years, exerted over the foreign policy of Great Britain, the danger which menaced the peace of the two countries can hardly be exaggerated. The England of to-day is not the England which plunged into the great European war at the end of the last century, in order to curb the

revolutionary spirit of France, and to prevent its contagion from spreading to its own islands; nor even the England of Canning's time, which called republics into being in the New World, to redress the balance of the Old. It is rather the England which sends its ships into every sea, laden with the products of its furnaces and looms, and which has its merchant representatives in every considerable seaport of the globe; which, to enlarge its markets, maintains a vast and expensive colonial system, and has built up an empire, in India, upon the foundations laid by a trading company. The encroachments of Russia upon Asia, and the fate of Turkey, are only interesting to Great Britain, as they may affect the commerce of the East. All Europe is now ringing with the brilliant piece of mercantile diplomacy by which Mr. Disraeli has acquired the largest government interest in the Suez canal—an interest which points to the possible protectorate of Egypt at no distant day. The money expended, and the responsibility assumed, are still for the same object—to protect the commerce of the East.

That in the face of this national disposition, to look at all questions of foreign policy as they directly bear upon the material interests of Great Britain, leading manufacturers in public life,—such as Cobden, Bright, Foster, Potter, and others not less earnest, but whose names are less familiar,—should have stood bravely by us in the darkest hours of the war, proves that the great party of Reform, in England, acts on higher principles than those of immediate self-interest; that the Cobden Club, in selecting for its motto, not only "Free Trade," but also "Peace—good-will among nations," is true to the example of the noble statesman whose name it bears. Cobden had established his claim to a humanity far above the limits of patriotism, when, in 1857, he denounced, in Parliament, the war on China in defense of smuggling, and lost his seat by so doing. His less distinguished, but not less generous successor, Mr. Potter, in a very recent address to his constituents at Rochdale, said, in a similar spirit, in relation to the hostilities lately threatened against the same country, "I hope and trust that we are going to have no Chinese war; but, in reference to such a possibility, I, for one, am not in favor of forcing our calicoes on nations, at the point of the bayonet. I do not think it a right system of trade."

At the time when Professor Cairnes' book appeared, however, the true issues of the war in America, had not come to be understood in Great Britain, and the prevailing sentiment was one of distrust and hostility. We had counted, securely, on English anti-slavery sympa-

thy ; but we failed, at first, to get it, because we did not at once proclaim emancipation as the object of the war. The constitutional obligations, to which we had sacrificed so much in the past, and which still held such power over the public conscience, was wholly unappreciated in European countries, where constitutions, written or unwritten, have never outlived the public sentiment which gave them birth. There is no European example of respect for organic law, such as was shown by the Northern States, for a quarter of a century, in their obedience to the repulsive obligations of the Federal Constitution in respect to slavery. Wholly insensible to the force of these obligations, it was not, therefore, difficult to persuade the anti-slavery people of England, that the avowed hostility of the North, to slavery, was a hollow pretense, and that sectional rivalries were at the bottom of the quarrel. In such a quarrel, the sympathies of Great Britain might fairly follow her dependent interests. Though the breadstuffs of the North were important to her in a short harvest, like supplies could, at most times, be obtained in sufficient abundance from the Baltic and the Black Sea ; while in all seasons alike, as the event has proved, a sufficient supply of good cotton could only come from the Southern States of America.

Under Democratic administrations, the ministers of the United States at European courts, had, of late years, been chiefly Southerners, or Southern sympathizers, so that the field was well prepared for the distinguished and able representatives of that section, who were dispatched to Europe to advocate its cause as soon as the war began. They pressed home the argument that England was dependent on the South for the principal staple of its manufacture, and claimed that the choice lay between free trade, and abundant cotton, on the one side ; and protection, under the Morrill tariff, on the other. They boldly denied that slavery had anything to do with the quarrel, at the very moment when Vice President Stephens was declaring, at Montgomery, that "it was the immediate cause of the late rupture and present revolution ;" and when the Charleston *Mercury* was advocating a revival of the slave trade, "as the test of the integrity of their institution," which could not be defended if the trade in slaves was immoral. The audacity of these statements, is only paralleled by the credulity with which they were listened to.

Professor Cairnes' book did much to remove these early false impressions. A professor of political economy in one of the most respectable universities, he was a free trader "*pur sang*." In his hostility to protection he went even farther than Mill, and was accus-

tomed to protest against that author's well-known exception to the doctrine of free-trade, in favor of new countries and rising industries. No Englishman more thoroughly believed in the applicability of free-trade to all countries, and no one could, with more zeal and consistency, have pressed its adoption by the United States. But he saw clearly that this was not the pending issue; that the cry of "Morrill tariff" was a pretense and a sham, and that the war was concerning slavery, and not about rival systems of trade or taxation. He studied, very carefully, the antecedents of the war, in their social and political, as well as commercial, aspects. He applied to this investigation the same severely logical method, which placed him at the head of recent writers on political economy in England. In respect to tariffs, he found that the course of legislation in America, up to the war, had steadily tended in the direction of free trade; that the manufacturers of New England, once the stronghold of protection, had passed out of the category of high protectionists; and that the iron masters of Pennsylvania, stood almost alone in that position. He observed that, although the South had long been avowedly in favor of free-trade, it was, nevertheless, from that section that the progress of liberal legislation received its check.

"If free trade," said he, "be the real object of the South, how does it happen that, having submitted to the tariffs of 1832, 1842, and 1846, it should have resorted to the extreme measure of secession while under the tariff of 1857, a comparatively free trade law?" "The most liberal tariff which the Union ever enjoyed since 1816, was the tariff of 1857, and it was while this tariff was in force, that the plot of secession was hatched, matured, and carried into operation."

As to the Morrill tariff, he pointed out the fact that it was passed after the Southern senators had left their seats to carry out the secession programme, and that there were many circumstances to indicate that they actually promoted its passage, for the sake of the capital they might make out of it in England. The fact that Mr. Toombs, of Georgia, voted for the bill, which he could hardly have done from any friendly motive, was one of those circumstances.

"The real and sufficient cause of the present position of affairs in North America," wrote Professor Cairnes, "appears to the writer to lie in the character of the Slave Power—that system of interests, industrial, social, and political, which has, for the greater part of half a century, directed the career of the American Union, and which, now embodied in the Southern Confederation, seeks admission, as an equal member, into the community of nations. If I do not greatly mistake the import of the considerations which will be adduced in the following pages, their effect will be to show that this Slave Power constitutes the most formidable antagonist to civilized progress which has appeared for many centuries; representing a

system of society at once retrograde and aggressive; a system which, containing within it no germs from which improvement can spring, gravitates inevitably toward barbarism, while it is impelled by exigencies inherent in its position and circumstances, to a constant extension of its territorial domain. The vastness of the interests at stake in the American contest, regarded under this aspect, appear to me to be very inadequately conceived in this country; and the purpose of the present work is to bring forward this aspect of the case more prominently than has yet been done."

In a lecture delivered before the Young Men's Christian Association of Dublin, in October, 1862, entitled "The Revolution in America," our author addressed himself, even more directly, to overcoming the existing misconception as to the issues of the war.

In this lecture he traced the history of slavery from its half-concealed recognition in the Federal constitution, up to its final struggle for equal possession of the territories; showed how it had been, not persecuted, but aggressive; and how it had cowed the manhood of the Northern people, through the subserviency of the Democratic party. He avowed himself no admirer of American democracy, while admitting that the democratic principle had never yet had a fair chance in this country. "For the last forty years," he said, "the course of the United States has been a retrograde course." "I trace the national decline to something with which, where it exists, anything but decline is impossible—to complicity with a great sin."

It is not a little remarkable that, through the whole of this vigorous and unselfish defense of an unpopular cause, Professor Cairnes was never hopeful of the maintenance of the Union. "The restoration of the Union, in its former proportions, appears to me," he says, "absolutely chimerical." The most he hoped for was "to recover large districts in the Border States, already substantially free, and to throw back the destroyer behind the barrier of the Mississippi."

The last of Professor Cairnes' publications on American questions, was an article in "*Macmillan's Magazine*" for August, 1865, on "Negro Suffrage." It grew out of a conversation, a few weeks earlier,—at which the writer was present,—at Mr. Mill's house. The future status of the South was a subject much discussed in the United States, at that time, and one on which there was a wide diversity of opinion in the Republican party. Mr. Mill favored the immediate admission of negroes to the suffrage. "You must choose," he said, "between negro suffrage and military government; either the negro must be empowered to protect himself, through the ballot-box, or the Federal government must protect him by a standing army." In answer to the objection that the people of the United

States had already experienced the evils of an ignorant suffrage, in the Irish vote, and dreaded to see such suffrage enlarged, he said: "I admit that it is a choice of evils; but of the two, the negro vote is the least formidable, and it is one which you may hope to see rapidly effaced by the good instincts of the negro, and his ambition to educate himself and better his condition; military government, on the other hand, would be, for you, an unmixed evil; it is antagonistic to all the institutions of your country, and a healthy reconstruction of the South could hardly be effected under its auspices."¹

Professor Cairnes' article in "*Macmillan's Magazine*," was the fruit of this conversation. Knowing the despotic instincts of slave society, he feared that the state of bondage would be in some way restored, if the freedmen were left in the power of their former masters:

"The heart of the evil is the monopoly of power possessed by the dominant caste, and nothing which stops short of breaking that monopoly, will reach the evil in its vital source. To constitute protectors of the negro's freedom, the very men who have just been defeated in a desperate conspiracy to render their bondage perpetual, would indeed be a bitter jest. Plainly there is but one remedy: the freedmen must be made the guardians of their own rights."

The example of Jamaica forcibly illustrated this view of the case. Judged by the well being of its whole people, Professor Cairnes asserted, what has often been denied, that emancipation in Jamaica was not a failure. "This result, however, has not," he said, "been achieved without a struggle, in which difficulties have been encountered quite analogous to those which beset the revolution we are now witnessing in the Southern States."

The Jamaica planters, in their House of Assembly, did everything possible to defeat the beneficent purposes of the measure.

"Only the perpetual interference of the English government," said Professor Cairnes, "has prevented the enfranchised negro from becoming reduced to the condition of a serf by the selfish partisan legislation of the planters. Here is a picture in miniature, of the dangers now threatening the experiment of emancipation in the Southern States, with this difference, that the exasperation of the Jamaica planters was a mild sentiment compared with that which is now felt by the defeated Confederates; and with this further difference, that the Union once reconstructed, State rights once recognized, there will be, in America, no Imperial government to interpose its shield between the negroes and their enraged masters."

¹ If Mr. Mill could have then foreseen the results of negro government in South Carolina, Louisiana, and Mississippi, as they have since existed, and still exist, and the readiness with which the colored race has fallen a prey to the influence of corrupt and unscrupulous white men, he might have been willing to recommend even a military government, capable of making itself obeyed and respected, with all its drawbacks.

Taking the whole series of these publications together, there is nothing in the literature of England or America, which will carry into history, in so condensed a form, the real issues of the American Civil War. There is no other analysis of slavery, in all its various forms and relations, to the master, to society, to the state, and to civilization—which is so searching and so fatal. The institution is not condemned on the narrower ground of its hostility to Christian religion, but on the broader ground that it sins against human nature, and is fatal alike to man's moral, and material, progress.

That these arguments should have been wrought out, in the secluded life of a student wholly unknown to the country whose interests he espoused, and wholly unconnected with it by personal ties or sympathies; justifies the eulogium pronounced upon Professor Cairnes by one of his early associates, and constant friends: "I have never known a man who was a more sincere lover of justice, or a more earnest inquirer after scientific truth."

IRISH EDUCATION.

It remains to consider a very important chapter in Professor Cairnes' public life; namely, the part which he took in the question of Irish Education. This question, which is identical in principle with that now agitating the public mind of the United States, and which seems likely to enter largely into the coming elections, both national and local, is probably not well understood in this country. The main difference between the Irish question and ours, is, that in Ireland, the contest has related to unsectarian education in colleges and higher institutions of learning; while, in America, owing to the absence of universities supported by government, or by taxation, it is necessarily confined to the common school system. Professor Cairnes took a leading part in this Irish question, from the time of his appointment to a chair in Queen's College, Galway, up to the final defeat of Mr. Gladstone's University bill, in 1873. Of the defeat of that measure, the *London Times* has said, "it is not too much to say, that Professor Cairnes was the unseen center of the operations that exposed the character of that bill and destroyed it."

A system of mixed or undenominational schools, for the poorer classes of Ireland, was one of the reforms introduced by Lord Grey's government in 1831. Under this system, secular was completely divided from religious education, the latter being carefully inculcated by both the Catholic and Protestant clergy, to children of their own faith. It worked well, and received abundant popular support.

Hundreds of thousands of children, of whom far the larger number were Catholics, were thus educated, under conditions fitted to emancipate them from sectarian rancor, and an element of great social bitterness seemed in a fair way to be eliminated from Irish life. No provision was, however, at first made for higher education on the mixed plan, and its benefits had not reached the middle and upper classes of Ireland. The venerable Trinity College, Dublin, even prior to the act of Union in 1800, had opened its doors to Catholics, for admission to degrees, and had, by subsequent liberal measures, freely admitted them to its Senate, and Parliamentary constituency, and to a large portion of its emoluments, being, in this respect, far in advance of Oxford and Cambridge; but it, nevertheless, remained so essentially a Protestant institution, that Catholics were slow to avail themselves of its privileges. They had Maynooth College for the education of the priesthood, but it was a poorly endowed and feeble institution, while Trinity College took rank with the most learned universities of Europe, and, as Mr. Gladstone stated in the debates of 1873, was the richest college in Christendom. The condition of the Protestant Church-establishment in Ireland, was one of the vexed questions in the Reform Cabinet of 1830, and led to the dissolution of Lord Grey's ministry in 1834. It is a striking instance of the tenacity with which Englishmen cling to, and defend, vested rights, that this establishment, though utterly indefensible, and an object of constant assault, was not finally abolished till 1869. One of the measures resorted to, in the interval, for the purpose of pacifying Catholic sentiment, was the liberal endowment, in 1845, of Maynooth College, by which means it was placed upon an independent and respectable footing. As a counterpoise to this measure, and as a result, also, of the successful maintenance, since 1835, of the London University, (a non-sectarian institution, designed, mainly, to meet the wants of Dissenters, who were still excluded from degrees at Oxford and Cambridge,) the government of Sir Robert Peel carried through a bill in 1845, incorporating three non-sectarian colleges in Ireland, to be located at Belfast, Cork and Galway, and to be known as the Queen's Colleges. "The new collegiate system was avowedly an extension, and nothing more than an extension, of national education, from the children of the humblest to the children of the upper and middle classes." The Queen's Colleges went into operation in 1849, and in 1850 they were erected into a University, with a Chancellor and Senate, clothed with the power of granting all such degrees as were granted by other universities or colleges, to students

who should have completed, in any of the colleges, the prescribed courses of education.

In view of the essential fairness of their constitution, of the liberality just shown to the Catholic clergy in the endowment of Maynooth, and of the fact that they were the "natural completion and crown" of the system of national schools, the success of which had been long established; it was reasonably expected that the Queen's Colleges would be received, by the Catholic population, with the same favor which had been accorded to the schools. And such, at first, was the fact. The highest Catholic ecclesiastics, Murray, Archbishop of Dublin, and Croly, Bishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland, joined heartily, with the representatives of the Queen's government, in arranging the plan of administration, in which Dr. Murray himself took a conspicuous part as a member of the university senate. Unfortunately for Ireland, both these eminent ecclesiastics died within two years after the university was established, and the successor to both of them (the two sees being held by him in succession) was Dr. Cullen, who, for thirty years previously, had been Director of the Irish department of the Papal government at Rome, where he enjoyed the special confidence of the Pope. Since the arrival of Dr. Cullen (now raised to the dignity of Cardinal), an entire change has been wrought in the sentiments of the Irish priesthood. Prior to that event, the spirit of that organization was largely national, but under his rule, the higher clergy have become an almost purely Ultramontane body, absolutely devoted to ideas of which Rome, and not Ireland, is the inspiring source.

One of the first official acts of Archbishop Cullen was to convene a synod, at Thurles, for the express purpose of condemning the mixed collegiate system. In this matter he acted under the direct commands of the Pope, and the Sacred Congregation of Rome. In spite, however, of the action of the Holy See, the purpose of the synod would probably have been defeated, if it had not been for the illness and absence of two bishops, friendly to the colleges, but whose substitutes, appointed under the influence of the archbishop, voted against them, and thus secured a hostile majority. To quote the language of Professor Cairnes, "the condemnation of the colleges was carried by a majority of one, and this slender triumph was obtained by questionable means—through an accident, improved by an artifice."

In place of the condemned colleges, Dr. Cullen, still acting under the immediate direction of Rome, established a new college at Dublin, entitled the Catholic University; and the rites of religion

were solemnly denied to those Catholics who should thereafter accept education at the obnoxious institutions. That any Catholic youth should have ventured to brave the anathemas of the Church, by continuing to do so, proves that the national spirit was not wholly dead among the Irish people. Though the numbers decreased, many still continued to attend them. Without going into the figures, about which there was afterwards much controversy, it is enough here to quote the assertion of Professor Cairnes, made in his first pamphlet on the subject, published in 1866, "that the colleges had, since their establishment, trebled the number of Catholic laymen in Ireland receiving university education."

No sooner was the opposition of the Catholic clergy plainly pronounced against the mixed collegiate system, than the question became necessarily a question of national politics. Out of the six hundred and fifty-eight members composing the House of Commons, Ireland sends one hundred and five, of whom a large number are Catholics, and there is always a compact and uncomfortable body of Irish members needing to be conciliated by the party in power. The united character of the Irish representation, may be judged from the fact that sixty of them are, at this moment, classed as "Home Rulers." Just as English parties, on the eve of a general election, look about anxiously for a "cry," so Irish members are always on the alert for a "grievance." The oppressive nature of unsectarian education was seized upon as such a grievance, and so dexterously was it worked, that in 1865 the ministry of the day, (Lord Palmerston's) felt called upon to give pledges for its removal. In the session of that year, an Irish member having introduced a motion to give a charter to the Catholic University, the government made a counter proposition to affiliate that institution, as a distinct college, with the Queen's University. The proposal excited not a little alarm among the Protestants of Ireland, and during the recess, and before the assembling of the new Parliament elected in that year, the subject was much discussed in the newspapers. Professor Cairnes engaged actively in it, through the columns of the *Daily News*, having made a convert of that paper, as well as of his friend Mr. Mill, then just elected to Parliament. We will let him state the events which followed, in his own words, contained in a letter addressed to the writer in March, 1866.

"While stopping for a day or two in Dublin, on my way to Galway in February, intelligence arrived that the Irish university question, of which I told you something when you were here, was on the point of being definitely settled, and (in my opinion.) in the most disastrous manner, by the fiat of the Executive, without bringing the

matter before Parliament at all. As I had been in communication with several members of Parliament, belonging to different political sections, on the subject, it was thought desirable by my friends, that I should return at once to London and urge our friends to take instant steps to stop the proceeding. I accordingly returned, and you will probably have seen, by the papers, the effect of our operations. They have been, so far, entirely successful; and I think, now, that there is every prospect that this government intrigue—for the affair is simply an intrigue with the heads of the Roman Catholic church—will be wholly defeated. The cause has made great progress since I spoke to you on the subject. Mill is now wholly and heartily with us, and so are all the best of the independent Liberals, both in Scotland and England; while the Tory party has taken our side, partly from old anti-popery prejudice, and partly from party considerations. On the night on which the question was brought forward in the House of Commons, by Sir R. Peel, (who has taken charge of the Queen's colleges, as in a manner an heir-loom, his father having founded them,) our party mustered so strong, that Gladstone came down and gave the House his assurance, that no step would be taken till Parliament had an opportunity of expressing its opinion on the question, and added, what was in fact an untruth, that the Government had never intended to act otherwise. Accordingly, the matter stands over for some time, and I am rather sorry that it was not then brought to issue, for had this happened, the government would infallibly have been beaten. The feeling of Parliament was, however, on that occasion, so unequivocally exhibited, that I think it is now very likely that the government will seek opportunity of backing out of the whole affair."

He severely censured the course of Mr. Gladstone on this occasion :

"Instead of seeing, as any one with eyes might see, that Ireland is only to be permanently pacified by dealing boldly with the land and church questions, his notion has been to rule her through the priesthood, giving up to them, in consideration of their aid, the one thing in which Ireland is superior to England, the one thing in respect to which Catholics have no grievance to complain of—its educational system. As I have already said, however, I have good hopes that, in this policy, he will be foiled."

The hope thus expressed was destined to an early disappointment, and if the action taken had been legal, the issue would, after all, have been finally settled by the fiat of the Executive, in spite of the pronounced hostility of the House of Commons. The sequel has been concisely stated by Professor Cairnes in the last of his published papers on the Irish university question.¹ Notwithstanding Mr. Gladstone's assurances to the contrary, and although no opportunity had been given, in the meantime, to discuss its provisions in Parliament, the government in June following, at the very end of the session, granted the supplemental charter, and procured its acceptance by the senate of the Queen's University, through the votes of

¹ "The Present Position of the Irish University Question."—1873. (Political Essays, No. VII.)

six additional members, appointed by the crown, and whose offices were created by the very charter which they accepted. The bad faith of this measure was the more conspicuous, from the circumstance that when the great seal was affixed to the charter, the government had already resigned, having been defeated on Mr. Gladstone's Reform bill, and were only holding their offices in trust, till their successors should be named. At such a time, it is not usual for ministers to take any step, which is open to controversy. On an issue presented, the Irish Court of Chancery set the supplemental charter aside, as in derogation of privileges created under the existing charter.

After this signal discomfiture, the question rested until the session of 1873, when Mr. Gladstone brought in a new and comprehensive scheme, for settling the future of Irish Education. He unwisely made it the test question of the session, and staked the existence of his government upon it. Although supported by one of his ablest speeches, the measure was defeated, and he resigned. The refusal of Mr. Disraeli to form an administration, under the peculiar condition of parties which then existed, led to a resumption of the seals by the defeated ministers; but the Irish question was thenceforth abandoned, and it may be conjectured that, for some time to come, no government will attempt the hazardous task of reviving it.

The main features of the bill of 1873, may be briefly stated. It aimed to abolish both of the existing universities, that of Dublin as well as the Queen's University, and to create a new one, to be called by the old name, the "University of Dublin." It would abolish, also, the Queen's College at Galway, and affiliate the two remaining colleges of Cork and Belfast, as well as Trinity College, Dublin, the Catholic University, and Maynooth and Magee Colleges, with the new institution. Other colleges might be added in future, at the discretion of the University Council, which was to be composed, partly of members appointed by the crown, and partly by nominees of the several colleges. After a certain period, the colleges were to nominate all the members of the council, and it was this feature which alarmed the Protestant body in Ireland and in the House of Commons. They feared that the Catholic element, always positive and always aggressive, would ultimately dominate over the lukewarmness of the Protestant members; and that in such a contingency, the whole system of higher education in Ireland would lie prostrate at the feet of the Catholic church. Some of the concessions of the bill also gave great offense to Protestants. That no controverted questions might arise in the course of instruction, in which members of both

religions were to participate as teachers and pupils, the subjects of theology, moral philosophy and modern history, were stricken from the curriculum, and penalties were imposed upon any teacher who should willfully offend the conscientious scruples of those under his instruction. These were known as the "gagging clauses" of the bill, and were much censured and ridiculed in the debates. Professor Cairnes argued, with great force, that an institution thus gagged and emasculated, could not properly be called an institution "for the advancement of learning." He showed that, while instruction in only three subjects was forbidden, there remained a much larger number of subjects, embracing many of the exact sciences, and political economy, which could not be taught by a professor of either faith, in a manner satisfactory to students of the other faith.

"The vital essence of the bill," he said, "is to be found in the attempt to fuse into a single composite whole, two mutually repugnant and incongruous elements. Mr. Gladstone proposes to bring together in the same system, and to compel to work in harmony towards a common object, two schools of educationists who have no common object; whose ideals of education are not merely different, but essentially antagonistic and incompatible. The difference is radical and profound; it turns not on means, but on ends."

Such, in brief, is the history of the most remarkable of the recent struggles of the Roman Catholic church against secular education. The same struggle is going on in all countries where the authority of Rome is not already supreme. Deprived of its civil power, the Papacy seeks to subordinate the authority of other governments over its sectaries, to its own ecclesiastical supremacy. It is this attempt which has brought down upon the church the iron heel of Germany, and it is this which is now causing a reaction in England against the Romanizing tendencies lately so manifest in the Anglican communion. In Italy, it has secularized education to a degree unknown in Protestant countries: the Faculty of Theology has been extinguished in Italian universities, and there is no Christian nation over which religion has so loose a hold. In his latest publication,¹ Mr. Gladstone appeals to the Italian people not to abandon Christianity because it has cut itself loose from the authority of Rome. He does not fail to recognize in the Catholic church of Italy, purposes, to the existence of which he has blinded himself, in Ireland. He says that the Roman court "aims at nothing so sedulously, prizes nothing so highly, as the total

¹ "Italy and her Church,"—an article in the *Church Quarterly Review*.

removal of the clergy from the general open atmosphere of human life and thought;" that the Roman Curia "is a political institution enslaved to the Jesuits, and sworn to make war on modern civilization." He challenges as a dangerous enemy to society "the ultramontane minority, which pervades the world; which triumphs in Belgium; which brags in England; which partly governs, and partly plots in France; which disquiets, though without strength to alarm, Germany and Austria; which is weaker, perhaps, in Italy than in any of those countries; but which is everywhere coherent, everywhere tenacious of its purpose, everywhere knows its mind, follows its leaders, and bides its time."

BARDISM.

BARDISM, and the Druids of Ancient Britain, to whom we trace its origin, are subjects concerning which many erroneous impressions prevail, and of which readers in general have very little knowledge. Few are aware, for example, of the fact that, among the descendants of the ancient Britons, there exists to-day an order whose origin is involved in the mysteries surrounding a race, which was coeval with the Jewish nation, and whose history is lost in remotest antiquity. To dispel the prevailing prejudices concerning the Druids of Britain, and to cast new light upon Bardism, will be the chief province of this review.

BARDISM OF THE DRUIDIC PERIOD.

By Bardism is meant the primitive system of instruction, knowledge and morals, among the Britons. The only part of this system which has been continued in public use is its literature, the chief representative of which, at the present time, is the Bard, in the character of poet. It is true that the poet held an important place in the ancient system, and there is no doubt that the greater part of the instruction conveyed from age to age by tradition, was in the metrical form, as the one best calculated to impress it upon the memory. Nevertheless, the office of the poet was but a part of the Bardic system, carrying with it special and peculiar duties in the Circle of Judicature. The officers of the Circle were the Druid, the Bard, and the Ovite. The Druid was the priest and the divine, the superintendent of religion and morals; or, according to ancient authority: "The Druid is a bard, according to the reason, nature, and necessity of things; and his office is to instruct." The "Bard" was the instructor, whose duty it was to administer lessons of wisdom, and his "Avenite" was the one who received instruction in introductory studies, art and the natural sciences.

We find that among the Britons, not only were instruction and religion under the superintendence of the Druids in conjunction with the Rites of Bardism, but that the political concerns of the nation were

also in their hands ; for, besides being the ministers of religion, they were juridical magistrates, and the chief advisers of the State. With a sphere of influence so extensive as to include its political and religious government, it is clear that the welfare of the nation was also almost entirely in their hands. If, therefore, we compare the national status of the Britons under the control of the Druids, with the condition of contemporary nations, we shall obtain more intimate knowledge of the influence of their rites in the pre-Christian period. The advance made by the Britons in the path of civilization by means of Bardism, together with the position taken by the Britons through its instrumentality in the Christian era, will best indicate the character and extent of its influence.

In following this comparative method, we shall not be drawn aside to consider the creed of the early Britons as on a par with that of the Patriarchs, who were influenced by divine guidance ; nor shall we be misled by those who would lower their character, through want of knowledge concerning them, and whose ignorance has produced the well-known prejudice occasioned by the charge that they were low and savage idolaters, without a virtue to qualify their condition.

It is an important fact in British history, that, while the Welsh have been deprived of their independence, they are still a distinct nation, whose history is interwoven with the threads of the world's civilization, from the spot where rested the Ark on Oriental Ararat to the Western parts of the American Continent. They speak the same language on the coast of the Pacific, where the sun daily smiles his parting gleam before going to his watery bed,—as if in approval of the ancient saying, “ In the face of the sun and the eye of light,”—as that which their forefathers spoke on the shores of the Euxine, where they imparted a meaning to the mountains of the Crimea, which made them eternal pyramids, toward which the nation may again turn to make researches into “ The learning of the good old Kymmry.”

These thoughts lead us back to an early period of the world's history, to the Kymmric primitive estate, in reaching which, we pass by, and leave behind us, the cemeteries of whole nations—born after the Kymmric nation was fully-grown—whose languages, like themselves, are dead, while, behold, the Kymmric race, an eye-witness erst of their pomp and greatness, still lives to tell their story.

We can not regard this national endurance without perceiving in it the hand of divine Providence ; and we know of no reason to which we can better attribute it, than to the fact that the Sustainer

of the Universe regarded the customs of our ancestors in pre-christian ages, as calculated to prepare them for the reception of Christianity in the way in which they received it. Their unexampled adherence to the purity of their established principles, and their zeal for them, favors this supposition, as does also the fact that nothing is to be regarded as truly Kymmeric which will not bear inspection in the light of Christianity. The consideration of these facts leads us directly to Christianity as the test-stone of Bardism. And we find, upon inquiry, that Bardism has been the chief medium to which the British Kelts owe their privileged position among the nations of the world, and that it was a leader by the light of nature to the brighter and purer splendor of the Sun of Righteousness.

As already mentioned, the only fair method of estimating the worth of the British character under Druidic rule, is by a comparison of the condition of the Britons with that of contemporary races. In making such comparison, we ought not to divest the Britons themselves of the imperfections incident to humanity; nor would it be fair to attribute the corruption of the masses to the Druids, as the result of their principles, any more than it would be fair to charge the immorality and savagery of the lower orders at the present time, to the defects of Christianity. Before the Christian era, every nation, but the Jewish, was considered as pagan. This nation had the true religion, with the ten commandments of the Law, together with all their ceremonies, divinely given, and was attended by God's particular care, support and guidance. Nevertheless we find the Jews deviating from God's commandments, and corrupting themselves, with superstition and idolatry, to such an extent as to bring upon them the divine displeasure in severe judgments. They, had a revealed Law as their instructor. The instructor of the Druids, was Nature; she was their Bible, and its pages were her statutes, read "In the Face of the Sun and the Eye of Light," while the seasons were its contents, and the stars its index.

Our task now will be to trace the parallel between the Jewish nation,—God's own people,—and the Druids, in respect to learning, morals, and ceremonies, as contrasted with other pagan nations who had a like origin and possessed the same natural advantages.

Such merits as the Britons possessed under Druidic instruction we must attribute to their means of government—the Bardic Rites. This we demand, for it would be the extreme of inconsistency to glory in a national antiquity, while despising the medium through which its characteristics have been preserved from age to age. This

would be like despising the metal ark which has inclosed historical treasures intact from the destructive conflagration; or the ship which has borne national heritages over stormy billows against the rude cross-winds of the ages. For it is evident that these national characteristics have been preserved in the bond of Bardism, as the life-boat which the storms of forty centuries have failed to destroy.

Bardism directs us toward her Neptune, landing on the Armenian Mount after being a year and a day in his ship of gopher wood, greeting him in the words of the Christian Bard, Davydd Jonawr, with a Happy New Year and also a New world. Here we have a special promise of God's enlargement of Japheth, eldest son of Noah, father of the new world; and in connection with the descendants of his sons Gomer and Javan, it is said, "By these were the Isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands; every one after his tongue, after their families in their nations."¹

In order to trace accurately the descent of the Kymmry through the line of Gomer, it would be difficult to find any thing more comprehensive and significant than that which we find in the tenth chapter of Genesis on the generations of Noah. No other tribe has realized this spreading abroad, to such an extent as have the sons of Gomer. The Keltic race had, at the time of authentic history's dawn, so thoroughly spread over and occupied Europe, that the Greek geographers called that quarter of the world "Keltica."

Pharaoh was a name or title belonging to all the kings of Egypt, and was derived from "Phra," the Sun. After death, the Pharaohs were worshipped, together with the sun, and moon, and wild animals, as is shown by the hieroglyphics. To Moses, a man learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, was intrusted the work of leading forth the children of Shem from under the tyranny of their oppressors. In reading the history of this race, we discover a remarkable similarity between their customs and rites and those of the Druids.

The practice of using stones at various ceremonies has continued since the age of the Patriarchs. We find that Jacob arose early, taking the stone which he had placed as a pillow under his head, and placed it for a pillar, pouring oil upon it. It is said of Joshua, when he made a covenant with the people at Sechem: "And Joshua wrote these words in the Book of the Law of God, and took a great stone, and set it up there under an oak that was by the sanctuary of the Lord. And Joshua said unto all the people, Behold this stone shall be a witness unto us; for it hath heard all the words of the Lord

¹ Genesis x. 5.

which he spake unto us; it shall be therefore a witness unto you, lest ye deny your God.”¹ On the same stone, on another occasion, Abimelech was made king. Stones were erected to mark places of victory, as at Mizpeh, where the stone was entitled “the stone Ebenezer.”² We read also of a stone that was made famous by the resting of the Ark of the Covenant upon it—a stone that was previously known by the name of the “Great Stone of Abel.”³ The most distinguished example of a monumental circle is furnished us by Joshua at Gilgal, and the word Gilgal itself signifies *Circle*. The stones, twelve in number, were brought from the bed of the river, and within the circle composed of them, Samuel held his yearly court. Here Saul was made king, and here Elijah occasionally tarried.

What wonderful histories tell these stones! and yet the surrounding people were not so conversant with the ceremonies connected with them as were the Druids. That is a remarkable coincidence where the Druidical ceremonies before the Sun are found, copied, in the arrangement of the tribes in their tents at the camp, when Moses and Aaron received commandment to place the ensign-bearers of Judah’s camp to the East, the Rising Sun.⁴

The universal inclination of nations to idolatry is worthy of remark. This tendency was so strong in the Jews, that we find even the serpent raised by Moses in the desert, becoming an object of worship, and incense burnt to it by the Israelites.⁵ It is a remarkable fact that there is hardly a nation on the face of the earth which has not been given to serpent-worship, and several examples are extant at this day. But there is no proof that the Druids of Britain were serpent-worshippers, though the serpent was employed by them emblematically. Researches into their ceremonies have shown the contrary. Idolatrous corruptions, such as those of Egypt, were corruptions of the pure religion of Noah, and when we compare the nations of the world, we find that besides being free from false gods, the Druidical Kelts were less addicted to these corruptions than any other race. The only evidence of Druidical superstition is found in connection with Gaulish priests bearing the name of Druids; a corruption that had been introduced among them by the Greeks.

The Kelts, in accordance with prophecy, extended their boundaries farther than any other people, and therefore traveled farther from their national cradle in their migration from Deffrobani across the continent of Europe, along the line of the Black Sea and the

¹ Joshua xxiv. 26-27.

² 1 Sam. vii. 12.

³ 1 Sam. vi. 15-18.

⁴ Num. ii. 1-3.

⁵ 2 Kings xviii. 4.

mountains of the Crimea, to their destination in the Isle of Britain. Nevertheless, when Cæsar landed on the eastern shore, and planted his silver eagle on the Kentish hill-side; and even when Suetonius Paulinus massacred the Druids of Mona; there, far away from the turmoil and struggle of the outer world, the natives had lived on through ages, from a time far beyond the scope of any chronology, continuing the simple customs and ceremonies of the patriarchs. Although Nineveh carved her winged cherub, and bent the knee to the eagle-headed Nisroch, and Egypt worshiped her Isis and her Apis, there was neither an altar nor idol in any part of the west of Britain, from Anglesea to the end of the Cornish promontory. There were only the green sward, and the logan-stone and cromlech, to bear witness to the same God whom Noah acknowledged when he went forth from the Ark.

Bearing in mind the allusions already made to the Druidical altars of worship, we shall now approach a subject that has caused much anxious inquiry and perplexity in the minds of men, and the misunderstanding of which has created so much prejudice against Druidism and the Bardic Rites. We refer to the "Runic Nôd."

This Nôd, or Sign, however, presents itself with a duplicate claim for our consideration; there is a Bardic, and also a Judaic, or a physical and a Biblical, view of it. It should be understood that it is God's own peculiar "Name" which is a mystery—an unspoken word; that is to say, the burden of the sacred motto, the "Divine Name," consists of *יהוה*, or the *unutterable name*.

When the Israelitish race was in cruel bondage under the iron hand of the Egyptian, and Moses, a refugee of forty years in consequence of the outburst of his patriotic feelings, was tending the flock of Jethro in Midian; this Moses saw a bush in flames, but without being consumed. And when he turned to behold the sight, "God called unto him out of the midst of the bush, and said, Moses! Moses! And he said, Here (am) I. And he said, Draw not nigh hither; put off thy shoes from off thy feet; for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground."¹ Subsequently, Moses was commanded by the same authority to go to Pharaoh, and take measures for leading the children of Israel out of Egypt. In that conversation, "Moses said unto God, Behold (when) I come unto the children of Israel, and shall say unto them, The God of your fathers hath sent me unto you; and they shall say to me, What is his name? what shall I say unto them? And God said unto Moses, I AM THAT I AM; and he said,

¹ Exod. iii. 4-5.

"Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, I AM hath sent me unto you. And God said moreover unto Moses, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, The Lord God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, hath sent me unto you ; this is my name forever, and this is my memorial unto all generations."

The people of the present age have a better opportunity to understand the meaning of what is called the "Unutterable Name," than that afforded in former times ; for now we have authoritative works on Biblical Proper Names, and treatises on various Scripture topics ; and to add to this, we have historical information concerning the mode of preserving, as a mystery, the peculiar Name of God among the Jews, according to the provisions of the Kabbala, or Secret Literature, and are acquainted with the fact that pagan nations were in possession of similar mysteries. But it is worthy of remark that these authorities, so far at least as we have observed, make no allusion to the Bardic mysteries, a circumstance that goes to prove how independent of, and separate from other nations, the Kymmry have been in respect to their literature and ceremonies.

Learned men, who have given attention to this subject, are agreed that the word, translated above, "I am," is not a verb of the present tense only, in the original language, but that it represents at least two tenses, the present and the future, as, "I am and I shall be," and, in the form of a special verb, the word signifies "I am that which I shall be." Bengel attributed to the word three tenses, as embracing the words of John the Divine, "which is, and which was, and which is to come,"¹ but his opinion does not receive the support of the most critical scholars. It is written in the Chaldee, "I am the one who is, and the one who is to be" ; and, with this, the best Hebrew scholars agree, rendering the passage, "I am he who shall be, hath sent me unto you."²

This is the name "Jehovah." It occurs in the Old Testament in two forms, "Jehovah," and "Jah" ; and this name is the original of the word "LORD," wherever that word is found printed in capital letters in our Bible. This name is exclusively applied to the Supreme Being, as his own peculiar name, having never been conferred on any other being, real or fabulous ; while the other names, "El" and "Elohim," synonymous with the word God, as we find in Gen. i. 1., have been used for the names of false gods and inferior beings. There is in this something significant, as if the Infinite guarded, with

¹ Rev. i. 4, 8.² Exod. iii. 14.

terrible jealousy, his own name, so that the name "Jehovah," divinely protected, should not at any time be otherwise applied.

Although the verb *Byddwyv* (I am), in the Kymmric language, is assigned by grammarians to the present tense; it appears that the composition of the word, as a form belonging to that language when contemporary with the Hebrew, corresponds with the double-tensed verb in question, as, "Byddwyv (I am who shall be) hath sent me unto you." This formation pervades the syntax of the Kymmric, as if to contradict the hypercritical minuteness of those grammarians who adopt foreign languages of the modern period as standards by which to form their opinion, rather than the ancient characteristic resources of their own mother tongue.¹

The Hebrew scholars give the syntactic construction of the verb "to be," in that sense. Wilkinson in his work entitled "Personal names in the Bible," gives an example of a similar construction in the English language, to illustrate the same subject, as "Next week I proceed to London," meaning "I shall proceed;" or having done this he "proceeded to London." Like other languages, the Hebrew passed through many changes from Abraham's time to that of Ezra, and after that, suffered such fortune as to be lost in the Aramean, and to become a dead language. The vowel points were not in use in the Hebrew before the Christian era, so that the writing of it before that time was entirely in consonants; and we learn that the consonants making up the word translated above, "I am he who shall be," are the very letters of the name Jehovah, I. H. V. H. In addition to the interpretation of this NAME, there is in the Iolo Manuscripts, a note referring to the following line in the ode of "The Secret,"

"The best portion of Scripture, the *word unknown*,"

"The import of which,—according to this note,² is, as generally rendered, in perfect accordance with our authorized translation; 'This is my name for ever, and this is my memorial unto all generations.' Now according to the Rabbins, this is a false translation; for the word עולם which we render "ever," signifies also "hidden" and "secret"; so that the interpretation of the passage, as they contend, is, "Let this my name be secret; keep this in remembrance for all generations."³

Gesenius says that the Jews, for centuries before the Christian era, either through misinterpretation of articles of the law, such as "Thou

¹ An example of this error will be found by referring to H. Tegal's Grammar, p. 137.

² Referring to Exodus iii. 15.

³ Iolo MSS. p. 691.

shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain" (Exod. xx. 7), which is given thus in Levit. (xxiv. 16), "And he that blasphemeth the name of the Lord, he shall surely be put to death"; or through ancient custom, considered that name too sacred to be pronounced. It is written in the Talmud, a book of Jewish laws and traditions, "He who utters the name of the Lord (Jehovah), there is no part for him in the world to come."

Now, besides the philological consideration of this word in its ordinary form among the Jews, the name is worthy of our regard as a theological and religious monument. Bearing in mind the fact that the original form of the commemorative name "Iahveh," is derived from an old form of the verb *to be*, which is supposed to have become obsolete before the time of Moses, and is scarcely to be found in the Scriptures, we discover this name in the poetic words of Isaac in his blessing of Jacob, "That thou mayest *be* a multitude of people" (Gen. xxviii. 3), and previously, in the mouth of Eve at the birth of her first-born. In the latter instance, it is acknowledged that the ordinary translation, "I have gotten a man from the Lord" (Gen. iv. 1), is not correct, but that it should be, "I have gotten the *Man*, the *Jehovah*;" and it is the opinion of the ablest commentators, ancient and modern, that Eve believed that the promise of a Saviour, or the seed of the woman who was to bruise the serpent's head, was then being fulfilled in the birth of her first-born. The theology of our first parents concentrated in this promise, and as Fagius adds, If we accept this view, that Eve saw in her seed Him who was to bruise the serpent's head, there is clear and evident premonstration of the Divinity of Christ in the word "Lord." Luther translates the passage, "I have gotten the Man, the Lord," and notes in the margin that it was he, whom Eve thought to be identical with the seed which the Lord had declared would bruise the serpent's head. That Eve was disappointed in her expectation of the "Iahveh," in the person of Cain, is indicated, it is believed, by the fact that she called her second son "Abel," meaning *vanity*. Human hope was now beginning to fade away in the expectation of the fulfillment of the promise by the birth of children, and we find that the human race in the third generation, in the days of Enos, began to call upon the name of the Lord (Iahveh), and to look directly to him for the fulfillment of the promise; their hope having been transferred from the human medium to the divine. The Deluge washed away from the face of the earth all hope of the restoration of Eden according to the first expectation, but we find Him who revealed Himself by the

name "Iahveh," renewing His promises to men. He appeared to Abraham under the name of "El-Shaddai," God Almighty; which name was acknowledged by the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; and when He renewed the Covenant to Moses, He did it through his name of "Jehovah," the memorial and mystic name. We trace this name through the whole of the Old Testament. It is the "Lord (Iahveh)" of Eve; the "Jehovah" of Moses's flaming but unconsumed bush; the "Iah" of David, the sweet singer-bard of Israel (Psalm lxxviii. 4); and Malachi closes the Old Testament with the same subject which the angel of the covenant used in opening it, the announcement of the Divine Son. Thus, the whole Bible, in its historical as well as prophetic parts, has every where, like precious gems on the threads of the written volume, these promises of a Saviour, or, of "Him who is to be."

The New Testament opens with a noble realization of the expectations which the Old had created, and that, in connection with the Memorial Name. As the Old Testament begins with the promise of "Him who is to be," the New opens with the announcement of the consummation of "God with us." John begins his history with the Memorial Name, the Logos, or the Word, the interpretation of which has been the occasion of so much perplexity to scholars, but which has the same meaning as the Bardic "Llog." In the mouth of the same Apostle, as he closes the Book of Revelation, we find the ancient word "Iaveh," I am He who shall be, christianized into "Alpha and Omega, the first and the last." Whether this was the result of his knowledge of the original name, or of the influence of divine inspiration, we can not determine. The concluding lines of John of Kentchurch on the names of God, regarded as in harmony with Kymmeric Bardism, bearing the initials "O. I. W.," seem to partake of the signification of these words; or of the fashion in which they are sometimes inscribed; save that the Bard's O is angular according to the manner of cutting letters on the bars of the Bardic wooden frame, thus $\diamond, i. e., \text{IA} \diamond$; and this seems to assert the ancient community of Bardism with the Alpha-Omega—the Jesus—of the Revelation.

Thus throughout the Scriptures, we meet with the Memorial Name, or the Bardic Secret; to Eve it was the "One who shall be"; to Jacob, the "Angel of the LORD," to Moses, "I am He who shall be," as a Memorial Name; to Malachi, the "LORD whom ye shall seek, and the Angel of the Covenant; to Matthew "God with us", to John, "the WORD that was made flesh," and in his Revelation, "Alpha and Omega," or the IAHVEH, whom every believer, in faith,

is expecting ; and there can be no better proof of the Divinity of the Messiah, and of the error of Unitarianism, than is given in connection with the history of the Memorial and Runic Name which, rightly understood, accords to Bardism an exalted character. Many theologians have been accustomed to regard the Divine appearances and communications recorded in the Old Testament, as those of the First Person of the Holy Trinity. It is plain, however, that it was the Second Person who gave the promise concerning himself ; who appeared and spake as we have mentioned ; and who, in harmony with his own promise, became incarnate in the fullness of time. This is a fact too much overlooked in the treatment of the Old Testament promises. Paul has given Bardic testimony (Rom. xvi. 25), to the same effect, when referring to "the revelation of the mystery which was kept secret since the world began."

In an old manuscript in the library of Raglan castle, which has been published with the Iolo Manuscripts, (p. 424) under the title of "The Roll of Tradition and Chronology," it is said :

"First of all, an account is here presented of the occurrences transmitted by oral tradition, before the commencement of chronological computation. The announcement of the DIVINE NAME is the first event traditionally preserved ; and it occurred as follows : GOD, in vocalizing his NAME, said /I\, and with the Word, all worlds and animations sprang co-instantaneously to being and life from their non-existence ; shouting, in ecstasy of joy, /I\, and thus repeating the name of the Deity. Still and small was that melodiously sounding voice (i. e., the divine utterance), which will never be equaled again until GOD shall renovate every pre-existence from the mortality entailed on it by sin, by re-vocalizing that name from the primary utterance of which emanated all lays and melodies, whether of the voice or of stringed instruments ; and also all the joys, ecstasies, beings, vitalities, felicities, origins, and descents, appertaining to existence and animation."

In the vocalizing of his NAME as above mentioned, we have Creator, Death, and Resurrection. The account of the Creation, coming into existence at the harmonious and sweet repeating of the Name, if not so authentic as the "Let there be" of Genesis, is fully as imaginative, to say nothing of its poetic beauty ; for from the expression "Let there be," we have only the idea of will, and power. In the account contained in the above extract we find, also, decline and death through sin, with restoration from the effects of death to original purity, as an echo to the utterance of this name by its Owner and Author.

Like a Bard of the Mystery, Job, in whose book are to be seen several characteristics of Druidical import, wonderfully concurs with the idea that creation echoes the name of God "in the still and

small melodiously sounding voice," in those words of his, "When the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy."¹ Thus, according to Bardism, no attempt should be made to utter the pure and holy Name by a sinful man, until the time of his restoration "from the mortality entailed on him by sin" when the /\\ will Himself re-vocalize it for the renovation of every pre-existence.

The /\\ further denotes the three Rays of Light. As the Sun gives life and light to nature, it came to be regarded as a symbol of the Creator, having power to effect the restoration of the physical world to the productiveness of spring, after it had subjected it to the mortality of winter, because of the withholding of its rays. The Druids possessed a considerable knowledge of astronomy, and especially of the course of the sun through the twelve signs of the Zodiac. We perceive from these facts, the appropriateness of the Kymmeric word *amser*, signifying time. It is descriptive of the revolution of the year through the signs of the Zodiac, *am* (= around), and *ser* (stars), signifying the circle of the stars. The Bardic Throne, in its formation, corresponds to the passage of the sun through the signs.

The summer solstice furnishes a representation of the Creation; the winter solstice represents Him as withholding His benefits, or in the character of Destroyer; and the middle staff, or ray,² is a duplicate sign representing first, the renovation of Spring (Spring Equinox), and secondly, the fruitfulness of Autumn (Autumnal Equinox), which respectively show forth the Creator as Father and Sustainer. We have here a remarkable correspondence between the facts of Nature as presented to us, and the Biblic Runic Sign, when the latter is subjected to the light of the /\\ of Bardism, and interpreted as symbolical of "Him who is and shall be." The "Resurrection and Life" Himself makes use of Nature to elucidate this subject: "Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit."³ And Paul adds, "(Thou) fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened except it die."⁴



It was the belief of the Bardic Gwyddonites⁵ that there is a corre-

¹ Job xxxviii. 7. ² The three divergent rays in the accompanying cut are here referred

³ John xii. 24. ⁴ 1 Cor. xv. 36.

⁵ The Kymmeric term "Gwyddon," signifies philosopher; a man of science, from the primitive mode of the aboriginal Britons inscribing their knowledge on wood—*gwydd*, or billets. From this the alphabet is called in the Welsh language *egwyddor*. *Gorsedd blyn gwyddon*, was one of three primary places of meeting of the Bards of the isle of Britain.

spondence between things earthly and things spiritual, and that this world, in its cyclic revolution, is a type of the world to come. The estates of being were divided and differently designated, as various circles revolving one into the other. We have for example the "Circles of Existence," containing the "Circle of Inchoation," and belonging more particularly to living things here upon the earth. The "Circle of Felicity" is that wherein the good are for ever happy; and of the "Circle of Infinitude," it is said that none but God can pervade it.¹

The Bard, as he stood facing the East, on the Logan-Stone, where, at the Eye of Light, the three rays converged, was looked upon as the moral sun of the world, and also, according to Christian Bardism, as an emblem of the Trinity.

It is worthy of note here, that the Bards had a theory connected with the sun, which, according to their mysteries, makes the age of the world correspond to the Mosaic period. It is well known that the sun does not pass through the same space in the zodiac every year, a fact which involves a change in the reckoning of time. In conformity with this change, according to Bardic chronology, it is said that conventional session was in action when the sun was, in the spring, at the Point of Liberty, or the Line of the Equinox, having returned from winter solstice, or Celestial Hades,² to Paradise, immediately over against the Horns of Taurus. This event, according to the calculation of the *Albanau*, by the "Precession of the Equinoxes," could not have occurred less than 5800 years ago—very nearly the period which has elapsed since the time of Adam, according to Biblical chronology.

Another characteristic of the /N is that it comprised every form by which the Bardic alphabet can be cut, and therefore contained within itself all the elements of learning; for the letters could only be cut on wood, transversely or obliquely, and never in the direction of the grain. From the same root came the term *egwyddor*, a name applied to the Kymric alphabet, and which also signifies principle. The element of the character, or the instinct of the mind, was called *egwyddor*, and *kelv a gwyddor* signified "art and science." So deep-rooted is the old Gwyddonic custom in the nation of the Kymry, that the expression among them, at this day, for writing one's name, is

¹ The word circle is too limited a term to express the Bardic meaning of the Kymric word *cylch*, especially as the residence of the Deity. "*Cylch*" is druidically used, in the sense that "state" is used, in the expressions, state of Felicity, state of Infinitude, and state of Inchoation—except that it is also a symbol of endlessness"—Note to Iolo MSS. p. 424.

² The words *cœlus* and *hell* were originally one and the same term.

to "cut" one's name. Hence came the expressions synonymous with "carpentering a song," or "hewing poetry," and the characterization of Llawdden's reformation of the Kymmric poetic metres, as the work of his "axe."

What we have already adduced is sufficient to refute the charge of idolatry made against the Druids of Britain. The belief in a Creator and Sustainer, a being infinite and invisible; together with the conception of man's degeneracy through sin, which rendered him too foul of lip to utter the name of that Being until the time when He himself would proclaim the /I/, when all things responding to the sound would return to original purity—these facts demonstrate that, whatever their defects, the Druids of Britain were not idolaters. However lightly those who live in the nineteenth century of the Christian era may esteem the cabalistic traditions of the Jews, and the "heathen rites" of the Druids; whatever may be thought of their custom of keeping the Name of God *unuttered*; we may ask if, after all, there is not something like an upbraiding voice arising out of these "heathen rites," to rebuke their enlightened Christian despisers who roll in their mouths the name of the Holy Trinity with such nonchalance? The truth from the Logan-Stone might well, indeed, put to the blush many supporters of Christianity, and many promoters of orthodox faith.

According to the testimony of Cæsar, the inhabitants of Gaul sent their youth to Britain to perfect their education, a fact which shows that the Druids possessed extensive knowledge, as well as purity of morals.

There is nothing incredible in the supposition that the descendants of Gomer retained the conception of the Being of God, when we remember that, on account of longevity, few generations had passed away from the time of Adam to Noah. The contemporaneous living of the patriarchs with their ancestors and descendants for centuries, afforded excellent facilities for the transmission of histories and traditions from one age to another. According to Dr. Adam Clarke's interesting table,

	Years.
Noah and Lamech were contemporary	595
" " Methuselah " "	600
" " Enos, of the third generation	84
Japheth, father of Gomer, was contemporary with Lamech.....	93
" " " " " " Methuselah	98
" " " " " " Noah.....	448
And after the Deluge Japheth was " " Abraham	150
" " " " " Isaac.....	50

Japheth lived contemporary with the antediluvian patriarchs, longer than Shem, for he was the eldest son of Noah ; though Moses names Shem first, possibly because he was considered the progenitor of the Hebrews. Japheth thus had an opportunity to transmit all the mysteries of the antediluvian world to his children and race, for it is likely that the dispersion was effected but gradually in accordance with the increase of population.

If we examine the philological coincidents in the Kymmric and Hebrew, and other ancient languages, as recorded by scholars, these, with what we have already shown, will prove that there is nothing in Druidism necessarily incompatible with Christianity ; but that, on the contrary, there was much in its ceremonies common to Judaism, and which made it typical of the Gospel of Christ ; thus preparing the nation, under Bardic instruction, to embrace that Gospel. In agreement with this theory, we find that the Kymmry willingly received the Gospel upon its first presentation to them, adapting their circumstances to the Christian service ; and there is credible proof that Christianity met with neither opposition nor persecution in Britain, save from pagan Rome and the infidel Saxons.

The religions of the Hindoos and Brahmins are corruptions of the old patriarchal religion of Noah. When we compare the condition of the ancient idolatrous nations, which had a like ancestry, with that of the Kymmry, and remember the manner in which Christianity, upon its first offer, was received by the latter, while the former are still clinging to their false gods ; when we remark the adherence of the Kymmry to Christianity from the time of its dawn among them, and the fact that they are to-day among the most eminent defenders of its principles ; what a subject is presented for our meditation ! It was to the efforts of Thomas Charles, John Owen, and Thomas Hughes, descendants of the Kymmry, that the British and Foreign Bible Society owed its origin. Thus the children of those who were worshipers in the temple of Nature in the White Isle, in the language of Williams of Pantycelyn, the Kymmric Watts, have united to

" Let the Gospel
Loud resound from pole to pole."

In the midst of this Kymmric glory, Bardism, as the medium for the transmission of morals and learning among the descendants of Gomer, the son of Japheth, lifts up her voice from the ancient past. She claims, from the descendants of the Kymmry, acknowledgment of her services as their trusty leader through the clouds and darkness

of pagan ages, until she brought them, in spite of hostile influences, safely to the noonday of Christian light, where she still would keep their feet steady and firm in the paths of civilization, "In the Face of the Sun and the Eye of Light."

BARDISM OF THE CHRISTIAN PERIOD.

IT may be possible that those who doubt the national claims of the Kymmry to religious, political, and literary distinctiveness, have considered our Biblical and Judaic investigations as foreign to the question. They may argue that we have no right to link together Bardic characteristics of Druidic origin, and facts in the history of the Jewish nation, the latter being looked upon as a chosen and peculiar people, and instruments in the hands of the Almighty to work out his purposes and promises touching the Saviour. But the Gentiles may claim, as has often been remarked by Christian writers, a certain degree of consanguinity with the Head of the Church, as a Root of the Stock of David through his ancestress, Ruth the Moabitess. The political estate of the Jews was on the eve of decay, and the sceptre was to depart from Judah, upon the advent of Shiloh, in the reign of Herod the Edomite. It is a fact recorded to the praise of the Gentiles, that those who had the privilege of first offering tribute to the Young Babe, were pagans, influenced not by knowledge of promises and prophecies possessed by the Jews, but by their own pagan philosophy and native inclinations, in connection with their astronomical studies. We have in this fact a strong argument pointing to the higher government of Him whose Name is JAH, indicating the manner in which he works to fulfill his purposes, using men and nations as His unconscious instruments. If it was in accordance with divine Providence that the three Magi, Gaspar, Melchior, and Balthasar, as wise men and astronomers, should be conducted to the Babe by means of their own traditions and ceremonies, it was equally in accord with the workings of Providence, that the Britons should be led to believe in the doctrines of the Gospel, having nothing in their own belief and customs to prevent such a result, and much, as we have shown, to fit them for it. Concurrently with this, as early as 175, A. D., the Bardic Rites had been wholly transferred, at least in outward appearance, to the service of Christianity; and through the earlier centuries of the Christian era, we find these Rites employed in connection with the church.

It is not within the province of this paper to inquire when and

how Christianity was first introduced into Britain; but the testimony of Tertullian, in the second century, that the Britons who had not been reached by the Romans had submitted to Christ, indicates that the Kymmry never succumbed to physical weapons. Origen, writing about forty years later, referring to the Kymmry of Caledonia, says, that "The power of the Lord, the Saviour, is among those in Britain, who are separated from our world." These early testimonies are incontrovertible proofs that some power, independent of external circumstances, had previously prepared the Kymmry for the reception of Christianity; and to what can we attribute this tillage of the Kymmeric field for the reception of Christian seed, if not to previous cultivation under Bardic "Privilege and Custom" and Druidic instruction?

Not only did the Kymmeric Christians for four centuries hold their religious services in conjunction with the Bardic Rites; but worthy priests and ministers in every subsequent age, while perhaps dividing the ecclesiastical from the congressional regulations, have been supporters of the Bardic cause in conjunction with literature. We could present a long list of famous poets and *literati* for thirteen centuries, who were zealous supporters of Bardic customs, while chief ornaments of the Church.

In the sixth century, a Chair was instituted called the Baptismal Chair, and a profession of the Christian religion by baptism was made a requisite of membership. As a result of this institution, Christianity and Baptism became synonymous terms in the Kymmeric language; and to bring "Faith and Baptism" to any place, signified the introduction there of the Christian religion, as is made evident by many allusions in the works of the poets, and the old writings on the genealogy of the British Saints.

The motto of this Baptismal Chair was "Good is the Stone with the Gospel," which at once unfolds its purpose—of utilizing, for the service of the Gospel, that tribunal Stone which was formerly used in the service of Druidism. The general motto of the Bards of the Isle of Britain was "The Truth against the World."

In the eleventh century, the Bard was a necessary element in society, as is easily proved from the Laws of Howel the Good. We refer to this fact to show that Christianity had an influence upon the literature of that period, contrary to the impressions of writers like the Rev. Edward Davies, author of the "Mythology of the Druids," who, misunderstanding certain writings, endeavored to prove from them that in the eleventh century there was an attempt to revive

Druidism. A conciliatory address by Cynddelw to Rhys ab Gruffydd, Prince of South Wales, together with some poems of Howel ab Owain, have been used as the basis of such a supposition; but all of the Druidism of that period, is contained in Mr. Davies's erroneous rendering of the original. We may take Cynddelw's address as an example:

"O thòu consolidator of the comely tribe! since I am returned home in thy
 dōminion,
 To celebrate thee under heaven,
 O thou with the golden protecting spear, hear my Bardic petition.
 In peace let us taste the cauldron of Prydain's tranquillity,
 Round the sanctuary of the uneven number, thy sovereign power to extend.
 It (the Bardic sanctuary) loves not vehement loquacity;
 It is no cherisher of useless sloth,
 It opposes no precious concealed mysteries (Christianity).
 Disgrace alone is excluded from the Bardic worship.
 It is the guardian bulwark of the breaker of shields.
 It is wise and zealous for the defense of the country, and for decent manners.
 A foe to the hostile aggression, but the supporter of the faint in battle."¹

It seems that an attempt had been made to prejudice the Prince against the Christian ritual of the Bards, and the poet implores his protection of the Bardic order, showing the superiority of the worthy poets over the false bards, and defends the order on the ground that it is not at variance with Christianity. This also shows that Christianity had a strong hold upon the Kymmric princes of that time, for it is represented as the chief object of defense. Mr. Stephens, author of "The Literature of the Kymmry," claims, that besides being more classical, the Bards of those days excelled the Church in learning.

The office of the Bard had a direct tendency to foster heroism, and transmit the history of the magnanimous and brave knights from one age to another, as a national inheritance to the end of time. To be well-versed in the history of the nation was one of the indispensables of the Bardic chair, and to descant upon the brave deeds of ancestors, thus to kindle the patriotic flame in the hearts of Britons, was one of the Bard's duties. But besides inspiring patriotism, we find the ancient Bards themselves in the thick of the fight, as is indicated by their literary remains. Aneurin, in the sixth century, says in his "Gododin," that he was at the Battle of Cattræth, and that only two others escaped beside himself:

¹ Literature of the Kymmry, p. 118.

"Three hundred and sixty-three chieftains wearing the golden torques,
Of those who hurried forth after the excess of revelling,
But three escaped by valor from the funeral fosse.
The two war-dogs of Aeron and Cynon the dauntless,
And myself from the spilling of blood, the reward of my candid song."¹

Gwalchmai, a Bard of the twelfth century, says in "Gwalchmai's Delights":

"I am of the golden order fearless in battle,
I am a lion in the front of the army—ardent in my advance,
Anxiously have I, at night, watched the boundary
Fords of the murmuring waters of Dygen Vreiddin
Where the untrodden grass was supremely green, the water limpid
And excessively talkative the nightingale well-versed in odes."

The principles of their system after the introduction of Christianity taught the Bards to look to the true God for the gifts of the *awen* (genius) and not to pagan gods, as is shown by the following triad: "The three foundations of genius: the gift of God, the exertion of man, and the events of life."²

One of the important results of the Bardic Institute has been indicated by Rev. Thomas Price, who says that

"In addition to their work of exciting and fostering patriotism, we are indebted to the Bards for another valuable service; they have preserved our language in a condition of purity and fullness without parallel in the later ages. Not only is this an honor to our nation, but it has also been an invaluable profit, and that in things which are of the utmost importance; for when the Protestant Reformation shone upon the world, and the Sacred Scriptures were offered to the public in popular translations, the Kymmry were in possession of a language cultivated, rich, and beautiful, as a vehicle wherein the Holy Word might appear in a form as worthy of the original as perhaps can be seen in any other translation whatever. The Bishop Richard Davies was a Bardic disciple of Lewis Dwnn, and the venerable Archdeacon Edmund Prys was himself a Bard, and the other translators were very conversant with the works of the Bards, especially Dr. John Davies. When we contemplate this translation, we can not but wonder at the abundance of words and richness of language and expression at the command of those noble writers, and that in an age when they had neither lexicon nor any thing else of the kind to help them."³

In the teachings of the Bards, we are led to the fountain source of that spirit of heroism which characterized Caswallon, and inspired him to his bold stand against the Roman invaders. Indeed we know that though Cæsar completely subjugated other nations, he was unable to exact from the Britons more than a *promise* to pay tribute; and there is no evidence during Cæsar's life, nor for nearly a hundred

¹ Ab Ithel's Gododin.

² Triads of Bardism.

³ Hanes Cymru, p. 53.

years after his death, of the fulfillment of this promise. It is evident that the Kymmeric nation did not improve in knowledge and morals while under the Roman dominion; but they kept their language uncontaminated by the Latin, with the exception of the Latin introduced through the church-ritual, as shown by the works of the Bards.

Were we to compare the Bardic regulations with the "Parliamentary Rules," which form the standard for the regulations of the generality of associations to-day, the uninitiated would be surprised by the excellence of those of the Bardic Conventions, in respect to equity, liberality and common sense.

The Kymmeric traditions so far influenced the revival of the literature of Europe in the twelfth century, that we find the legends of Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table, constituting the groundwork of the romance, legends, and literature of that Continent.¹

Among the remains of the Privilege and Institute of the British Bards, there is nothing that exhibits the antiquity of Bardism more clearly than the CHAIR.²

The principal church of a Bishopric, or Diocese, is called the Cathedral church. The English word Cathedral is derived from the Greek *καθεδρα*, compounded from two words, *κατα*, and *εδρα*, a seat, or chair.

The chair, here referred to, chiefly denotes a source of authority, and seat of instruction and guidance, as in Matth. xxiii. 1-2, where it is recorded that Jesus spake to the multitude and to his disciples, saying, "The Scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat." The word for "seat" in the Welsh version of the New Testament is *cadair*—chair. The accepted meaning of the passage is, that the Scribes and Pharisees taught the law of Moses to the multitudes, and took upon themselves the *Cathedrate* office of teaching.

The first historical account of the origin of the Bardic chair, is in connection with a chair which was restored at Cærlleon-upon-Usk, over which the two Merddins, Taliesin and Mabon, and others, presided. It was here that the system of the Round Table was formed which was "a system of the arts and sciences, rites and privileges of Bards and Minstrels, and the preservation, where such was deemed necessary, of the worthiest of old traditions, and the discrimination of

¹ Vide Essays of the Abergavenny Eisteddfod on the "Influence of Welsh Traditions on the Literature of Europe."

² CADAIR, (*chair*). A seat of authority or presidency, but more particularly among the Bards; and figuratively the qualification which entitled a candidate to preside. Hence,

CADAIIRDRAW, *cadair-traw*. A doctor or professor of science. Also,

CADAIREFARDD, (*chair-bard*). A bard that is entitled to preside at a Gorsedd. And,

CADAIRIOL, Belonging to a chair or seat; cathedral.

all innovations that would be considered of a nature calculated to improve and enlarge honorable sciences, with reference to the wisdom and interest of country and nation.”¹

A prayer, composed by Talhaiarn, has always been used at the Bardic Congress of the chair of Glamorgan. The following is one of its forms:

“God! impart thy strength;
And in that strength, reason;
And in reason, knowledge;
And in knowledge, justice;
And in justice, the love of it;
And in that love, the love of everything;
And in the love of everything, the love of God.”²

Each Bardic chair had its distinct territory, to which its privileges were confined. The following are the mottoes of the different chairs of the Island of Britain:

1. The chair of the Bards of the Island of Britain—“Truth against the World.”
2. Glamorgan or Siluria—“God and all goodness.”
3. The Round Table of Arthur of Taliesin, and of Tir Iarll, (Earl’s Land)—“Nothing is truly good that may be excelled.”
4. Powis—“Who slays shall be slain.”
5. South Wales—“Heart to heart.”
6. North Wales (Venedotia)—“Jesus,” or, according to an old traditional record—“O! Jesus, repress injustice.”
7. Bryn Gwyddon (Abury)—“Hearing is believing, seeing is truth.”
8. Devon (Damnonium) in the chair of Beiscawen (hodiè Boscawen, in Cornwall)—“Nothing is for ever that is not for ever and ever.”
9. Urien Rheged (at Loughor) under the presidency of Taliesin—“Truth will have its place.”
10. Raglan Castle, under the patronage of Lord William Herbert—“Awake, it is day!”
11. The Chair of Neath—“God’s peace and his heavenly tranquillity.”

The canons of proficiency in the art of poetry were given in triads, some of which we append:

“The three primary requisites of poetical genius,—an eye that can see nature, a heart that can feel nature, and a resolution that can follow nature.

“The three final intentions of poetry,—increase of goodness, increase of understanding, and increase of delight.

¹ Edward Williams, Preface to *Cyfrinach y Beirdd*.

² Iolo Mss. p. 469.

"The three properties of just imagination,—what may be, what ought to be, what is seemly to be.

"The three indispensables of poetical language,—purity, copiousness, and ease.

"Three things that ought to be well understood in poetry,—the great, the little, and their correspondents.

"The three dignities of poetry,—the praise of goodness, the memory of what is remarkable, and the invigoration of the affections.

"The three purities of poetry,—pure truth, pure language, and pure conception.

"Three things that poetry should thoroughly be,—thoroughly learned, thoroughly animated, and thoroughly natural."

As to the genuineness of the compositions of the ancient British Bards, we presume there are, at present, no disputants; especially since the futile efforts, of Mr. Malcolm Laing and the "Critical Review" to discredit their authenticity. On the contrary, an appreciation of the poetic remains of the Kymmry has been manifested by some of the most eminent literati in England, and on the Continent of Europe. Passing by Aneurin and the works of the earlier poets, we come to Gwalchmai ab Meilir's Epic to Owain Gwynedd, Prince of North Wales, which was presented to the English public by the Rev. Evan Evans (Prydydd Hir).

The occasion of the composition of this poem was Owain's victory over the armies of Henry the Second on the shore of the Menai. Mr. Evans's free translation attracted the attention and won the admiration of several literary men, among others, the poet Gray, who produced it in metre under the title of "The Triumphs of Owain." Bishop Percy characterized it as "Gwalchmai's very sublime and animated ode," and in a letter to the Rev. Evan Evans with reference to Bards of the same period, he remarked: "I have lately been collecting specimens of English Poetry, through every age, from the time of the Saxons down to that of Elizabeth, and I am ashamed to show you what wretched stuff our rhythmers produced, at the time that your Bards were celebrating the praise of Llywelyn with a spirit scarce inferior to Pindar."¹

Sharon Turner's "Vindication of the British Bards" is widely known. Robert Southey,² the Poet-Laureate of England, was so capti-

¹ Price Lit. Rem., vol. i. p. 196.

² Robert Southey, in a letter expressing his gratification at having been elected an honorary member of the Cymrodorion Society in Gwynedd, in the spirit of poetic fellowship, said: "This honor is peculiarly gratifying to me, because one of the works by which I hope to be remembered hereafter, relates mainly to Welsh tradition and Welsh history."

vated by these works that he made his arrangements to reside in the country which gave birth to such gifted poets, but his intention was frustrated through the parsimony of one of the lords of Glamorgan, who failed to make the necessary repairs in the kitchen of the Maes Gwyn, in the Vale of Neath. The Laureate was a great admirer of the Bard of Privilege and Usage, "Old Iolo," who, before the submarine cable, united Great Britain and America in the spirit of the Bardic motto, "God's peace and His heavenly tranquillity," by coupling together in capital letters, in the list of subscribers to his poems, the names of General Washington and Humanity's Wilberforce. The Laureate was far too much of a Liberal to induce the parsimonious Tory of the Vale of Neath to add to his culinary comforts.

To the same bard, Leigh Hunt paid his poetical tribute; nor are we to forget the acknowledgment due to the fair sex, as represented by Felicia Hemans. Sir Walter Scott was on intimate terms with the Cambrian Lexicographer, Dr. W. O. Pughe, and he has inserted in his notes to several of his poems, extracts from Kymmeric documents furnished him by that inquiring savan.

In connection with these words, it is a fact worthy of remark that the School of the Round Table has been one of the principal topics of Alfred Tennyson's poems, for the past forty years.

In this brief treatise the reader will perceive that we have been able to present only a partial view of an extensive subject, and that there are wide and interesting fields within its compass, worthy of more extended investigation.

THE CHEMICAL ACTION OF PLANTS.

THE oldest manual of chemistry, "*Institutiones Chemicæ*," published 1762, says: "The science of chemistry, in the last twenty or thirty years, has undergone very great transformation." This assertion, true more than a hundred years ago, when chemical investigations could be made only by a very limited number of learned men, is truer still to-day. We may fairly assert that no science has ever undergone larger and more rapid advances and transformations. The change of systems, general theories, and methods of investigation have been continual. But the most important transformation of the last twenty or thirty years, is surely to be found in the fact that chemical science has now become the common property of the cultivated classes, offering a field accessible to the widest circles of society. The most celebrated inventors and investigators, Justus von Liebig among the first, have not disdained to disclose the treasures of their knowledge to the public in general. It will suffice to mention Liebig's celebrated "Chemical Letters," published in the "*Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*," a daily and political newspaper which was at that time, as it is now, one of the most influential periodicals published in the German tongue, known and read among German people throughout the world. No scientific publication ever had a success comparable to that attained by these "Chemical Letters;" and even now, as examples of popular presentations of scientific topics, they stand unrivaled. From that time, the learned professors began to give up their ancient system of announcing and describing new investigations in a sort of lapidary style, and ceased to think themselves humiliated when the public took an intelligent interest in their publications, and proved its ability to share in their investigations.

Now-a-days we find instructive dissertations on substances of special interest—on water, air, phosphorus, sulphur—in every paper or review of high standing, and a daily increasing number of learned men are bent upon "popularizing" chemistry, just as physiology, physics, philosophy, and other sciences have, with more or less success

been popularized and made familiar. To be sure, this new method has met with many opponents, and it may be fairly admitted that the so-called popularization, has often been no better than a superficial vulgarization, of scientific topics; yet it can not be doubted that, in spite of some isolated failures, it has on the whole proved its general utility, and that popular discussion has diffused a vast amount of useful knowledge among people who were formerly ignorant of the simplest fundamental principles of science.

Thus we may fairly assume that, chiefly through Liebig's excellent publications, the fundamental laws by which the life and nutrition of plants is regulated, are no longer unknown to the majority of intelligent people. We all know that by the analysis of any plant, or part of it, we invariably find it to be chiefly composed of three or four elements: carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, and nitrogen. We know that the plants draw these necessary ingredients, not from the soil, but from air and water, and that the former supplies to them only the comparatively small amount of mineral ingredients which they require for their perfect development. Thus, we may say that air and water are the sources and foundations of vegetable life.

But we ought not to forget that to acquire this knowledge was by no means easy, and that many thousands of experiments, and the labors of two or three generations, were consumed in the process. In fact, if we investigate closely, we soon perceive that the correct theory of vegetable life, as it is now universally acknowledged, was by no means obvious, or easy to discover. For instance, when we inquire into the assimilation of carbon, by plants, we find that an immense quantity of it, is contained in almost every natural soil. Falling leaves, rotten wood, or other vegetable matter decomposed in the soil, supply to plants immeasurable amounts of carbon; humus, and tufa, are almost entirely composed of it. We can scarcely find fault with our fathers and forefathers, whose knowledge of the condition, and of the elements, of our atmosphere was a very imperfect one, for the simple assumption that plants take their necessary supply of carbon out of the soil, its natural basis, where large quantities of it are accumulated. It was anything but obvious or natural to suppose, and to learn by experiment, that the plants avoid the carbon mingled with the soil, and extract it slowly and laboriously out of the carbonic acid which is contained, in small doses, in the atmosphere.

A mediæval naturalist says: "These wonderful beings—the plants—are our best friends, and nature has made them to be the

source of the welfare, and the misery, of human-kind. What would the world be without their leaves, blossoms, and fruits? An immense hospital, the home of thousand-fold suffering! And yet, how little does ungrateful mankind care for them!" This enthusiastic friend of the plants evidently praises them for their manifold medical virtues; but heartily as we may join in his praise, we have learned to perceive a far greater influence of vegetable life upon "the welfare or the misery of mankind." We know that the plants, which decompose the carbonic acid contained in the atmosphere, and supply it with oxygen, literally make it fit for the development and maintenance of human and animal life. To denominate them, therefore, "truest friends of human kind" inadequately expresses their true importance; we may call them more properly our *indispensable* friends, without whose aid our existence would be an impossibility.

No less singular than the absorption of carbon, is the reception into the vegetable body, of nitrogen. The atmospheric air contains about 78 per cent. of nitrogen. What could seem more natural than that the plants would utilize it for their nourishment? And yet, strange to say, they are incapable of assimilating the aerial nitrogen; this element, indispensable as it is to vegetable life, can not be made use of otherwise than in new and complicated chemical combinations. If to judge nature, and her laws, in accordance with our narrow and limited perception were not altogether inadmissible, one might indeed be tempted to define these strange peculiarities, as willful caprices.

We find in the atmospheric air, besides nitrogen and oxygen, two chemical combinations of nitrogen; namely, ammonia (nitrogen combined with hydrogen), and nitric acid (nitrogen combined with oxygen). Ammonia, an aeriform product of the decomposition of animal or vegetable matter, is everywhere found, in small quantities, in the atmosphere; and, by transmission from the latter, in every soil, and in water, from whence the plants absorb the quantities requisite for their development.

We know that their green leaves, aided by the sunlight, decompose the carbonic acid contained in the atmosphere. The recent researches, however, which were begun by Justus von Liebig, have rendered it more than probable that the same leaves forward another interesting chemical process—the conjunction between oxygen and nitrogen. Liebig was likewise the first to discover and prove the presence of nitric acid, and of ammonia, in the air and the water. From the fact that the contact of atmospheric air, hydrogen, and the electric spark, produces nitric acid, he inferred that the same pro-

cess, repeated on a large scale by the effect of lightning upon the wet atmosphere—*i. e.*, by every thunderstorm—must produce the same result; and the analysis of rain water showed that it really contained a certain amount of nitric acid. The quantity of nitric acid was found to be greater when the experiment was made in the day-time, than when made in the night; and a particularly large percentage of the acid was obtained from water which had dripped in full sunshine from the green leaves of a tree. As we all know, a rain-fall happening during strong sunshine, is considered to be injurious to vegetation, and especially to the development of the green leaves, which often have a stained, and seemingly burned, appearance afterward. We also know that experienced gardeners, although they can give no theoretical reason for it, discourage the watering of flower-beds during the sunshine. It must be inferred from these facts that the falling raindrops, when shone upon directly by the rays of the sun, exercise a pernicious influence upon vegetation; and we may suppose, although there is as yet no positive proof of it, that the cause of this, is the formation of nitric acid in the water. It would be interesting to see in this case, as in many others, a mere empirical observation confirmed by the development of scientific knowledge.

Thus we discover manifold chemical reactions in every manifestation of vegetable life. The plants decompose or generate nitric acid, carbonic acid, ammonia, etc., and are incessantly engaged in chemical operations, of which doubtless, only the smaller portion has yet been revealed as the results of human research. Moreover, every part of the plant, the roots as well as the leaves, co-operate in this work. The absorption of the mineral ingredients of the soil through the latter, is by no means a mere mechanical process. On the contrary, we know, through Liebig's researches, that every root secretes a fluid, whose nature has not been entirely revealed, but which has been distinctly recognized as a sort of acid, by which the absorption of minerals from the soil is greatly facilitated. The above-named naturalist very strikingly says: "the plants *attack* the soil with their roots." If we place polished plates of glass, rock-crystal, quartz or flint-stone, in the earth beneath the roots of a growing plant, we perceive, after awhile, a marked dullness of the spots touched, from which we are led to conclude that these minerals, which resist the action of most known acids, have been corroded by the fluid secreted in the roots. The same effect, but to a much more marked degree, is produced upon weaker materials, such as lime or chalkstone, which are often found deeply scratched and incised by the chemical action of

plant roots. The beginning of vegetation produces a sort of fermentation in the soil, by which carbonic and nitric acid, ammonia, and other necessary elements of vegetable life, are brought forth and diffused through it, in such a way that the roots may daily draw from it, their requisite portion of nourishment. Above and underneath the earth, we find every plant engaged in slow, but incessant and powerful, chemical action.

Plants are also invaluable aids to mankind, in the accomplishment of many purposes, which human skill, and scientific industry, do not, and perhaps never will, enable us to obtain otherwise. In them, nature has provided for us an immense laboratory, in which the finest and most subtle, as well as the coarsest and commonest, chemical substances, are distilled and heaped up for our advantage and profit. For instance, all of us know that potassa is one of the commonest, but at the same time, one of the most important of chemical substances; and that entire branches of modern industry, are wholly based upon the use of this modest product of our chemical factories. Its natural sources are to be found in the feldspar or rock-quartz, porphyry, basalt, and other minerals, of which, as we know, the bulk of our planet is formed, and which have been gradually changed, on its surface, into productive soil by the combined action of air and water. The feldspar in particular, contains from six to fifteen per cent. of pure potassa. Nevertheless, it has been impossible, until now, to extract the potassa otherwise than by a long series of difficult and costly manipulations; the potassa being always closely combined with argillaceous (clay-like) and silicious (flint, or quartz-like) earth, from which it is extremely difficult and tedious to separate it. If we had no other means for accomplishing this work, than our own skill and ingenuity, potassa, useful and indispensable as it is, would still be an extremely rare and precious substance. We can not wonder, under the circumstances, that for a long time its mineral nature, and extraction, remained altogether a mystery; and that it was reserved for the so-called organic chemist, to make this important discovery. It was only by the subsequent analysis of a great quantity of different plants, that the presence of potassa, in every variety of the soil, was proved; and the common error, according to which potassa had been considered as the mere product of vegetable life, and therefore denominated vegetable alkali, refuted. The roots of plants have the power of extracting the alkali from the nearly insoluble combinations with clay and silica, in which we find it diffused over the surface of the earth. They perform an operation

which our laboratories and chemical manufactories are as yet wholly unable to perform on a larger scale, and offer us the ready product, potassa, in the ashes of certain well-known and extremely common trees, shrubs and vegetables.

Thus we let the plants work for us, let them store up the alkali in their bodies by gradual infiltration from the mineral soil, and have then merely to lixivate (leach) their ashes. The numerous efforts which have been thus far made to change this state of things, and to extract potassa directly from the soil, have utterly failed; the skill of mankind can not, in this respect, supersede the work of nature.

Ordinary firewood—pine, beech, etc.,—contains about two parts per thousand of potassa; still richer in this substance is the ordinary beet-root. It has been stated that one of the larger German sugar-manufactories sends to market about 6000 quintals of potassa per annum, thus securing a considerable secondary profit. It is a subject worthy of serious consideration whether such enormous quantities of alkali ought not to return to the soil, in the shape of artificial manure, in order to prevent its gradual exhaustion, especially since the beet-root, as we know, exhausts its chief nourishing ingredients in the course of a few years. As yet we are utterly ignorant as to under what form the potassa is contained in the living plant or its innumerable vesicles; we only know that it must be combined with organic materials which transform themselves into carbonic acid when the plants are reduced to ashes, because we find the vegetable alkali generally in the form of carbonate of potassa, which is identical with the substance commonly called potash.

The fabrication of soda is likewise extensively carried on by the plants; those which grow near to, or in, the sea, withdraw soda from the salt-water and deliver it to us in the shape of carbonate of soda, or soda-ash. However, the quantity of soda gained by the calcination of sea-weed, is infinitely small when compared to the enormous yearly consumption of this material. Human skill and industry have achieved here what they failed to do in the production of potassa: soda is more easily and cheaply produced by the chemical transformation of common salt, than by the incineration, or reducing to ashes, of saliferous plants.

In other cases, vegetation not only assists mankind in the production of useful and necessary substances, but we must confess ourselves to be directly indebted to it for the discovery of some of them. Up to the present day, we probably would have had no

knowledge whatever of those useful twins, iodine and bromine, if nature herself, by means of vegetation, had not placed them in our way, and within our reach. The source from which we derive the requisite amount of iodine, is the ordinary salt-water of the ocean. Nevertheless it is contained in the latter in such infinitesimally small quantities, that four millions of pounds (according to other calculations only one million) of it, when evaporated, would only leave a residuum of about three-quarters of a pound of iodine. In either case the dilution is carried to such a point, that our means of perception and investigation would never have sufficed to secure any considerable amount of iodine from the ocean waters; only the slow and unpretending, but sure and powerful, action of nature herself could help us to make this important discovery, upon which, as we all know, the existence of the photographic art is almost exclusively based. Iodine and bromine are as necessary for the existence of sea-plants, as phosphorus and sulphur for the plants of *terra firma*; they search for it in the waters of the ocean with avidity, and transform it into a solid ingredient of their body; their affinity for these two substances being a very strong and close one. In remote times the ashes of certain sea-weeds, already known under the name of varec,¹ were utilized for the production of soda. The ashes used to be leached with water, the soda being gained from the lye by the process of crystallization. The residuum, which produced no more crystals of soda, was thrown away, as it was thought to be of no value. But it is just this residuum in which we find the iodine; if we add to it a few drops of sulphuric acid, it is liberated as a violet-blue vapor. Thus we see that these humble sea-weeds take upon themselves nearly all the work of the fabrication of iodine; they spare us the enormous task of distilling the salt-water, and offer it to us, a thousand-fold concentrated, and fit for further manipulation, in their ashes. The same may be said of the bromine which is always found combined with the iodine, and is easily separated from it. It was discovered in the year 1826 in the ashes of sea-weed grown in the Mediterranean.

It would not be difficult to give other examples of chemical reactions, and their influence upon our modern industry. The mysterious process of germination, which changes amylum (starch flour) into sugar, and without which the brewing of beer would be an impossibility; and the transformation of vegetable acid into sugar, which takes place in ripening fruits under the influence of heat and sun-

¹ Incinerated (burned) sea-weed.

shine; need only to be mentioned to convince us that the modest activity of the vegetable world, has been hitherto under-estimated. It gives us, in reality, most powerful aid in the attainment of various results which we could never secure by ourselves, however far the development of our chemical knowledge, and our investigations in the elements of surrounding things, might carry us. It can not be doubted that much is still to be done in this direction; and that the soil which protects from our searching eyes the secrets and mysteries of nature's living laboratory (as such we ought to consider every animal or vegetable organism) is only drawn aside at one small corner. Our knowledge of organic chemistry is, as yet, far inferior—in spite of the innumerable discoveries of the last fifty years, to which Liebig's example has led the way—to our knowledge in the science of organic matter.

If we pass to another order of speculations, we can not doubt that the different taste, smell, and color, which characterize leaves, blossoms, and fruits, in million-fold variation, are due simply to chemical operations, the nature of which, we must confess, are as yet utterly unknown to us. One mineral substance, chromium,¹ is known to us as the source of a nearly inexhaustible number of tints and colors of every description; but its scale, rich as it is, seems to be infinitesimally restrained, when we compare it to the hundreds and thousands of brilliant colors with which even the poorest vegetation covers the surface of the earth!

We must not forget that a color is unreal; it is not a corporeal, palpable substance, but merely a state or condition, which affects our eye in a certain way; it does not exist, but is represented to us by the variable decomposition of the light, as the surface of bodies throws back or reflects only a portion of its rays, and absorbs the rest of them. For instance, we call a body, the surface of which absorbs every other ray of the light, and allows only the blue one to meet our eye, blue. The surest proof of the assertion, that no real or corporeal color exists—that the colors are, as Goethe calls them, “deeds, or children, of the light,”—must be found in the fact that some persons can not perceive colors which others see distinctly; and that the colors entirely depend upon the manner in which the light is thrown upon them. Dyed cloth, and even natural flowers, often show, under artificial light, another color than that shown by day. An intensely yellow flame, such as is produced by the burning of soda salts, makes red substances, such as crimson or cinnabar, appear

¹ Also called Chrome; from *χρῶμα*, the Greek equivalent for the word color.—[Ed.]

colorless ; and red solutions, looked at under this light, seem to be as clear and transparent as pure water. Moreover, it is quite certain that the form of a substance greatly influences its color. Almost every color gains by fine pulverization. Thus, a solid piece of cinnabar is not red, as cinnabar powder appears to our eyes, but dark brown ; and the color becomes proportionally brighter according to the degree of pulverization. Oxide of mercury, the crystals of which are of a shining red color, becomes orange-yellow during the process of pulverization. On the contrary, dark blue smalt¹ can be changed into a colorless powder by long-continued pulverization and trituration.

But chemical action produces no more remarkable influence upon the color of a given substance, than by the physical changes which it causes. As far as minerals are concerned, we are able to follow the reactions which appear to be the cause of a transformation of the color ; we know exactly what takes place when white chloride of silver is blackened by the influence of the sun ; we can give a chemical explanation of the change of colorless indigo, into colored indigo. But the chemical transformations in the bodies of living plants, by which the most manifold and brilliant colors are produced, are almost entirely unknown to us. We see a flower pass through the entire scale of red, from the softest pink to the darkest purple-brown ; but can give no explanation whatever of the mysterious process. We know, for instance, that the light of the sun greatly influences the color of living plants, and experience has taught us, that in most cases, its total exclusion is equivalent to the absence of every color ; in other words, that it produces white leaves and blossoms. However, this rule is by no means without exception, as many roots, the roots of *alcanna*,² for instance, although buried in the soil and completely secluded from the rays of the sun, possess a strong and vivid color. We can explain neither the rule nor the exception ; on the contrary, we know that, as far as lifeless matter is concerned, mineral or vegetable colors are weakened, and gradually destroyed, rather than enhanced, by the action of the light. Our ignorance in this respect, restricts our influence upon the coloration of flowers and blossoms, to a very modest and merely empirical one. A mere chance has led to the discovery that the infusion of sulphates of iron into the soil, darkens the hue of certain plants which contain a considerable quantity of

¹ Common glass, tinged deep blue, pulverized, and used as a pigment in certain arts.—[Ed.]

² Also called Henna, or Hinna. A shrub of the genus *Larsonia* (*L. Alba*) which yields an orange-colored dye.—[Ed.]

tannin ; and the gardeners have profited by this discovery for the culture of the hortensia. But these examples are rare ; and as yet, we must renounce all claim to the control and influence of the natural course of things in this field. We may be able to change the color of a plant, or flower, by transferring it into another soil, but we are never sure of the result, and can not give any scientific explanation of it.

The fragrance of a flower is likewise produced by chemical action which hitherto has escaped our closest investigations ; we see the result ; we see that a flower, like the bee which transforms pollen into honey and wax, fabricates volatile oils out of air, water, and light ; but the chemical process itself, is a complete mystery to us. We only know that the slowness or rapidity of the evaporation of these oils, is the cause of the stronger or weaker odor of the flower. The mode of their formation is a good example of the unlimited variability and manifold variety of vegetation's chemical powers. Many plants do not limit themselves to the formation of a certain volatile oil in their blossoms or flowers, but produce, at the same time, various kinds of oils in their different parts. The orange tree, for instance, produces volatile oils in the leaves, flowers, and the rind of its fruit. A close investigation convinces us that these differ, not only in their smell and taste, but also in their weight, density, and other physical and chemical qualities ; that, in short, they are different and independent substances which can not be mistaken for each other. The same plant must therefore possess three different organisms, by which it generates three entirely different substances out of the same ingredients. What chemical laboratory, be it ever so well furnished, and skillfully managed, can boast of results in any respect so wonderful ? And when will the time come when we may surprise, even these mysteries of nature's slow and patient, but mighty working, perceive their results, explain their causes, and,—if possible, by our own appliances,—repeat and renew the wonders of the Creation ?

THE NATURE AND SYNTHETIC PRINCIPLE OF PHILOSOPHY.

A SUPERNATURAL truth is beyond our power of discovery ; but once revealed, our first impulse is to reconcile it with reason, and to find a sufficient explanation of it in the nature of things. This is the origin of philosophy.

There are some who would make philosophy altogether the result of curiosity. They represent man as awe-stricken with the beauties and sublimities of nature ; and, when his astonishment has cooled, as inquiring into the reason why a thing is one way and not another. All this is of their own imagining. Philosophy results from the limited nature of man's intelligence. He asks, then, why and wherefore, because he comprehends not. He cavils not about the question that he understands in all its bearings. He would be informed upon what he does not know. The truth is, man at all times has found his place in nature, and exercised his faculties with all the ease with which he uses them to-day. His first philosophic act was that in which he recognized his self-consciousness. Then all things stood out before him asking for a solution. Then he found that he understood not himself ; nor the universe ; nor the Creator with whose presence he felt penetrated. He endeavored to rid himself of his ignorance, and to solve the enigmas ; and he is still working at their solution. This is yet the problem of philosophy. It would understand the mutual relations of all things. In their essences it would discover these relations, and thence ascend to their principles. It would understand society, the individual, God. In the individual, it would determine the laws of his thought, the nature of his existence, his relative position in the universe, his origin, his destiny. In society, it would discover the laws of its organization, its rights, the source of its power, its modifications as acted upon by external influences. In God, it would learn His attributes and perfections as revealed in the universe,

His nature, His relations with the cosmos. "It would discover," says De Gerando, "in each phenomenon the cause that produces it, in each law, the end to which it tends."¹ It is, as Cicero defines it, the science of things human and divine, and of their causes.²

But it is alleged that philosophy has not shown itself worthy of this high function; that it is a synonym for Babel; that it carries with it no weight; for no two agree upon the same question. The fact that man is so anxious to penetrate the symbol, to rend the veil, of philosophy, shows that beneath the symbol—behind the veil—there is something worth the knowing. The individual may be deceived; but humanity is correct in its instincts; and in all ages, the choice spirits of humanity have devoted themselves to philosophical pursuits. Individual minds may give different solutions of the problem; but that invalidates not its existence. Philosophy is discussed by means of reflex acts. And man is averse to reflection. The natural tendency of his mind is for direct acts of thought. But when he does reflect, his ideas will be tinged by his education. A different train of reasoning satisfies each mind. But when the solution is correct, the results will agree; for truth is one, and as many individuals as there are, so many ways are there for expressing the same idea.³

Philosophy is no Babel. It has its principles, and its method as determined by these principles. It is therefore a science; and it is its province to investigate the nature of all sciences. It establishes for each of them a basis. It looks to the precision of terms, the legitimacy of reasoning, the soundness of premises, the value of principles. It educates the mind into the habit of looking beyond appearances, and of determining things by their essences. In its present state there is mingled with it a great deal of speculation as fruitless as it is unnecessary. But this must not be confounded with true philosophy. The one may easily be distinguished from the other; for philosophy is based upon the unerring instincts of humanity, the first principles of pure reason, common sense, and the traditionary truths that belong to all ages and nations.

In seeking this basis, the philosopher must beware of the absolute.

¹ Elle veut découvrir dans chaque phénomène la cause qui le produit, dans chaque loi la fin à laquelle elle tend."—*Histoire Comparée des Systèmes*, t. 2, ch. vi.

² Rerum divinarum et humanarum, causarumque quibus eæ res continentur, scientia.—*De Officiis*, lib. ii. 2.

³ On se persuade mieux, pour l'ordinaire, par les raisons qu'on a trouvées soi-même, que par celles qui sont venues dans l'esprit des autres.—Pascal, *Pensées*, Ire. partie, art. x. 10.

He must consider things as they are. No object is rightly understood when withdrawn from its connections. To isolate is to misapprehend. Man is a creature of education. He commits intellectual suicide when, forgetting the fact, he breaks loose from all traditions, and attempts to set up an absolute philosophy. Only the Absolute Being knows absolute truth. Human reason can be relied on; it is, in its own sphere and acting in its normal condition, infallible; but man has never been obliged to stand alone on the platform it builds. He is supported by tradition and revelation. Christianity has opened to him new fields of thought; and it has not only proposed questions; it has solved problems of which antiquity could have had but the vaguest notion. Religion is no hindrance to philosophical discussion; it is a great assistance. He who heeds not its well-defined marks, finds himself drifting about on a chartless sea of speculation, with no compass of certainty to determine his bearing; no polar star of truth to steer his course by; and death ingulfs him, an intellectual and moral wreck:

"An infant crying in the night—
An infant crying for the light,
And with no language but a cry."¹

The philosopher must set down theories at their true worth. A theory is only a highly probable hypothesis. It may fully account for all the facts known to-day; but to-morrow may bring with it a discovery that will shatter it to pieces, as being absolutely false. At most, it is only a personal view of certain phenomena. But it is not science, for science is objective. As soon as a philosopher begins to trim facts to make them suit his hypothesis, he finds it an obstacle rather than an aid to the knowing of truth; he then prefers fancy to fact, and builds up his knowledge upon fictitious notions. Ignorance is far preferable to such knowledge, for much has to be unlearned; and divesting one's self of erroneous impressions is a slow process. Indeed, there are few men of thought who can not say that one-half their lives is devoted to the unlearning of what they had acquired during the other half. When a man is aware of his ignorance, he has removed the greatest obstacle in the way of his arriving at the truth. Let him, then, not cling too closely to an hypothesis. It is at best but a temporary scaffolding made use of in building up the structure of knowledge, and ought to be abandoned as soon as it is found to hamper thought.

¹ Tennyson. "In Memoriam."

Philosophic schools are the bane of philosophy. The man abandoned to them does not think; he remembers, repeats; he becomes a routinist. He lacks the first quality of a good philosopher, which is, to love truth for truth's sake; for he loves it only as it tallies with the teachings of his school. He becomes partisan in his views. His eyes are veiled to the real condition of things. His intellectual vision is diseased. In his zeal to defend one opinion at the expense of another, he rushes to an opposite extreme and falls into an error equally great with that he would avoid. Therefore the expression of Pascal's, "to laugh at philosophy is to philosophize truly,"¹ when applied to philosophic schools, loses its exaggeration and becomes one of the characteristics of a true philosopher. Truth is simple, and when presented in its naked reality, the mind embraces it, holds to it, and makes it the fruitful source of a large offspring of new ideas. And when the presentation of a subject lacks this character of simplicity—when it abounds in ingenious thoughts and fine-spun arguments, when it is enveloped in a cloud of words—the recipient may well doubt its claim to veracity; with caution ought he to examine it, and reduce what is in it to the language of common sense. Truth asks not to be propped up by partisan views, by distorted systems, by party abuse. It requires of human intelligence but one thing, viz. to be presented as it is.

Philosophy suffers because system-mongers abuse one another; and thus thought remains undeveloped, the truth untold, and philosophy is dragged from her eminence to degradation. Accusation is not refutation. When passion cries out, reason ceases to speak. True, in developing philosophy men cease not to be human. Therefore it is that the history of philosophy contains so much that is unphilosophic mixed up with so many partial truths.

Philosophy appeals to the reason; not to the taste, the memory, or educational prejudices. Let the reason think, examine, discuss, conclude. It is competent to apprehend truth with certainty; for all men perceive by the same light. That light they have not of themselves. It comes from Him who raineth blessings on the good and the bad. It is the *Word, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into this World.*²

Conclusions and convictions are not altogether based upon a syllogism, which, as Bacon remarks, "gives assents, not things." More subtle influences are at work drawing for us our conclusions. Likings

¹ Se moquer de la philosophie c'est vraiment philosopher.—*Pensées*, Ire. partie, art. x. 36.

² John i. 9.

and dislikings, prejudices of education and degrees of delicacy of organization, are all effectual in converging their forces upon a thought and determining its direction and character. Its roots seem entwined in every fold of the brain—every fiber of the heart, and every nerve of the body. “There is,” says Balmes, “not only the intercourse of mind with mind, but of heart with heart; besides the reciprocal influence of ideas, there is also that of sentiments.”¹ It behooves the philosopher to be cautious in reasoning and to take into account all these determining elements of thought.

But reason is not alone in the exercise of its functions. All the other faculties of the soul accompany it, and while some help, others impede the progress of thought. Men strongly imaginative are easily led into error; for their language abounds in figurative expressions, and it not unfrequently happens that the figure is an inadequate representation of the thought. In the heat of reasoning they forget this fact; they become involved in their subject, mistake the figure for the idea, and in the end find themselves landed upon conclusions that their premises never warranted. In philosophy the meaning and import of terms must be thoroughly understood. It is only the consummate philosopher that knows how to define well. For that, rare acuteness of mind and complete mastery of language are required. Many—perhaps all—the erroneous systems in the world might be traced to bad defining. Spinoza builds up a colossal system of pantheism on the misapprehension of a term. But were the good and pious Monseigneur Bouvier consistent with the fundamental ideas he lays down in his little work on philosophy—as when he includes being in the idea of genus²—he would have been an equally great pantheist. And so it is with the majority of good and well-meaning writers of philosophical treatises. Their faith is one thing; their philosophy another; and both their faith and philosophy are in their first principles or last results either contrary or contradictory. This antagonism between forms of faith and philosophic systems has led men to recoil from all philosophy, and live either in the despair of scepticism, or in the ardent exercise of mysticism.

The history of philosophy may be divided into three periods: first, the period of religious revelation; second, that of natural philosophy, and third, that of ideistic rationalism. All three periods are good, and become an evil only when one or the other attempts to

¹ No hay tan solo la comunicacion de entendimiento con entendimiento, sino de corazon con corazon; á mas de la influencia reciproca de las ideas, hay tambien de los sentimientos.—*El Criterio*, p. 239.

² Ens, universalissimum genus.—*Institutiones Philosophicae*, p. 8.

monopolize the whole of philosophy. It is well that we know ourselves—the faculties of our soul, the desires of our heart, even the organism of our brain; well also is it that we reason according to secondary causes and consider the nature of things; and it is equally well that we reconcile reason with revelation.

1. There is the period of religious revelation. This begins with the primitive man. But as his descendants departed from the original source, they retained only broken fragments of the first tradition in which the race was educated. All the great truths relating to man's origin and destiny were then present to him, and if he asked "Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifices?"¹—it was only to assert more positively the eternal existence of the great Divinity. "It is very remarkable," says Kant, "though naturally it could not have been otherwise, that in the infancy of philosophy, the study of the nature of God, and the hope as well as the constitution of a future world, formed the commencement rather than the conclusion, as we should have it, of the speculative efforts of the human mind."² Not alone in the Mosaic account is revelation to be found. It runs in silent and feeble rills through the traditions of all nations; it forms the undercurrent of their sacred books; and tinged though it be with individual feelings, and adulterated by the fictions of national fancy, it is still in its essence the same divine knowledge that was revealed to Adam and preserved by Noah. In this period, men knew not what it was to doubt. To live and to believe were for them one and the same act. All the great religious and philosophic truths—the greatness and goodness of God, the spiritual nature of the soul, its immortality, a future life—were as intimately present to these men as their own existence. Their humanity still seemed to vibrate under the touch of the creative fiat with which it had lately been launched into existence. And as with the advance of the ages, they felt the growth of human corruption, the one great problem with them was how to stay their downward course, and propitiate the divinity. Hence their sacrifices. Hence that lingering regret with which they looked back to the golden period that had passed from them forever. That man's first conception of the Divinity was that of "an awful Power, terrible in its might, vague in outline, and mysterious in its nature,"³

¹ "Rig-Veda," x. 121.

² Es ist merkwürdig genug, ob es gleich natürlicherweise nicht anders zugehen konnte, dass die Menschen im Kindesalter der Philosophie davon anfangen, wo wir jetzt lieber endigen möchten, nämlich, zuerst die Erkenntniss Gottes und die Hoffnung oder wohl gar die Beschaffenheit einer andern Welt zu studiren.—*Kritik der reinen Vernunft, Werke*, iii., 561.

³ S. B. Gould, "Origin and Development of Religious Belief," p. 231.

is a mistaken notion opposed by the primitive writings of all nations. In *Genesis* we read that after God had created all forms of life, he "blessed them"—which is not the action of an angry God, "an awful power, terrible in its might." So too in the Rig-Veda it is written, "Varuna is merciful even to him who has sinned." To conceive man acquiring the idea of God through fear is based upon the mistaken notion that the primitive condition of man was that of a savage, and that he is but a development of some of the lower forms of life—a notion warranted neither by the history and traditions of nations, by the nature of things, nor by true science.¹ The great primitive truths, preserved in the traditions of all nations, have a common source. "So then," says Clement of Alexandria, "the barbarian and Greek philosophy has torn off a fragment of eternal truth, not from the mythology of Dionysius, but from the theology of the ever-living Word."²

2. There is the period of natural philosophy. As the stream of tradition grew more adulterated with human thought, and the ages became more secularized, the religious sentiment, becoming weaker, entered philosophy less as an element than formerly. Progress in the material arts gave rise to the observation of physical phenomena, and men sought rather to consider secondary causes than the great first and final Cause. Thales makes water the principle of all things. Anaximenes endeavors to account for the basis of matter by considering the gaseous solid and liquid states as so many conditions of air. Heraclitus makes fire the principle of existence. But it is already found necessary to prove the existence and immortality of the soul. This Pherecides attempts.³ The philosophy based on physics necessarily gravitates to materialism. And such was the case with the Ionic school until Anaxagoras asserted the duality of matter and spirit. But whether the philosophers of this period assert or deny the Divinity, they seek causes in the nature of things and independent of Him: while those believing in Him make Him external to the universe—a master-artist with Plato, or with Anaxagoras, a *νους* outside of His creation.

And as in Greece so it is with other countries. In India, after the Mimansa of Vyasa with its interpretations of the Vedas according to tradition, we find the Sankhya of Kapila with its twofold princi-

¹ Vide "Genesis of the Species," by Mivart, ch. ix. x. xi. xii.

² οὕτως οὖν ἡ τε βάρβαρος, ἡ τε Ἑλληνικὴ φιλοσοφία, τὴν αἰδιον ἀλήθειαν σπαράττοντα, οὐ τῆς Διονύσου μυθολογίας, τῆς δὲ τοῦ Λόγου τοῦ ὄντος ἀεὶ θεολογίας πεποιῆται.—*Stromaton*, lib. i. cap. xiii.

³ Pherecides syrius primum dixit animos hominum esse sempiternos.—Cicero, *Tusc.* lib. i.

ple of things—matter and intelligence—and its various branches, some material, some spiritual, some mystical, as one or other principle was exclusively considered. But among the twenty-five principles of things laid down in the Sankhya philosophy, we look in vain for a divinity. Things are there considered to stand on their own basis.

3. There is the principle of ideistic rationalism. When God was left outside as an element, He soon became ignored. Philosophy ceased to be a science of principles in their relations with things, ceased to be a serious accounting for the cosmos, its origin and destiny, or of man, his position and relations, and narrowed down with the ancients to a system of knowing. Planted in their speculations upon their own existence these men ceased to be certain of their own explanations. They became sceptics. They assert with Protagoras the relativity of all truth. With the Nyaya system of India, they build up dialectics, and reduce all philosophy to the problem of knowing.

These three periods have had their cycles. With the introduction of Christianity we find the first period again revive. Christian philosophers sought to reconcile the pagan cosmogony and science with Christian teachings. Hence the efforts of Jerome, Basil, Clement of Alexandria, Augustine. Then came the Scholastic period, when all science and religion were built up on the natural basis of the Aristotelian philosophy. Finally, we are still struggling through the Cartesian period, with its one problem of knowing. The fruits of this last period are already making their appearance. The scepticism of Hume is redolent of it; so is the atheism of Mill; so is the materialism of Bain; and the evolutionism of Spencer, which merges this problem of knowing into the unknowable, is racy of the soil. Philosophic principles that lead the mind to these results, must have somewhere a flaw. It were of advantage to examine those of the leading systems of this latter period.

Descartes began by secularizing philosophy. He then reduced it to a method; after which he sought a principle that would be its basis. He undertook to doubt of many things which he believed with certainty. This was a grave error. There was already contradiction in his mind; for how doubt and be certain of the same thing at the same time? But let us hear him determine the fundamental principle of his philosophy. "I afterward noticed that while I wished to think every thing false, it became necessary for me, who so thought, to be something, and remarking that this truth: *I think and I therefore exist*, was so firmly established that the most extravagant suppo-

sitions of the sceptics could not shake it, I judged that I could without scruple accept it as the first principle of the philosophy I sought."¹ Now, this principle, while it is a necessary condition of all knowing, establishes the identity of him who thinks—and nothing more. "The *I think*," Kant properly remarks, "must accompany all my speculations."² But, admitting nothing else than one's identity, it is impossible to rise beyond it. And as Descartes began in illusion, it was only by illusion that he got further. But a philosophy, illusory in its beginning and illusory in its process, must needs be illusory in its results. It then becomes a romance. But life is too short, and too much hangs upon it, to spend its most effectual part in unraveling the threads of a romance. Not in Descartes is the principle of philosophy.

Locke also reduced all philosophy to the operations of the understanding. His fundamental principle he bases upon the origin of ideas. "These two, I say, viz., external material things, as the objects of *sensation*, and the operations of our own minds within, as the objects of *reflection*, are to me the only originals from whence all our ideas take their beginnings."³ The whole of philosophy is with him only a question of knowing. Hence throughout his book, he speaks not of time and space, of substance and accident, of finiteness and infinity; but of their ideas. Upon such a basis, it were natural to ask, how know we that there are external objects corresponding to the ideas we possess? And this question brings us to the ideism of Berkeley. And if we are not certain of the reality of external nature, what grounds have we for believing in the reality of our ideas—our soul? Then, we are simply subjects of impressions. This reasoning lands us at the scepticism of Hume. Again, since reflection is based upon sensation, and gives nothing that is not found in sensation, for all reflex acts assert the primitive act, and neither more nor less, why is not sensation the sole origin of all our knowledge? Here is the sensism of Condillac. "By their fruits you shall know them." The principle logically running into such extremes can not be the true principle of philosophy. "After all," says Reid, "the improvements made by Malebranche, Locke, Berkeley, and Hume, may still be called the *Cartesian system*."⁴ It is still the one problem of knowing. How is it with Reid himself?

¹ *Cœuvres*, tome i. "Discours de la Méthode." Ed. Cousin, p. 158.

² "Kritik der reinen Vernunft," sect. ii. § 12.

³ "Essay Concerning Human Understanding," book ii. ch. i. § 4.

⁴ *Works*, vol. i. p. 430.

Reid is in the same sense a Cartesian. While refuting Locke—often in a masterly manner—he himself runs in a parallel groove. He has but a philosophy of the human mind and its intellectual powers. It is still a philosophy of knowing. Its principle is one of knowing. It is the principle of common sense. Of the judgments that make up this principle he says: “Such original and natural judgments are therefore a part of that furniture which nature hath given to the human understanding. They are the inspiration of the Almighty, no less than our notions of simple apprehension. They serve to direct us in the common affairs of life, when our reasoning faculties would leave us in the dark. They are a part of our constitution, and all the discoveries of our reason are grounded upon them. They make up what is called *the common sense of mankind*; and what is manifestly contrary to any of these first principles is what we call *absurd*.¹ This principle has been recognized by Fénelon and Buffier. But it is simply a motive of certitude, and can not therefore be called a principle of philosophy, with its basis in the nature of things.

Kant undertook to revolutionize philosophy. His system is that of judgment and reason, pure and practical. It is still the philosophy of knowing. Now he thus sums up this philosophy, and its use: “The greatest, and perhaps the only advantage of all philosophy of pure reason is but of a negative character, inasmuch as it is not an organon for the extension, but a discipline for the determination of limits; and instead of discovering truth, it simply guards against error.”² It is well that we possess safeguards against error and that we know the limits of thought; but the whole of philosophy can not consist in this knowledge. Moreover, while, in points of detail, Kant is often admirable in his reflections, it must be confessed that his “Critique of Pure Reason” is the destruction of all reason; for when it attempts to show that the reasons for truth and error are equally convincing, and that on the most vital questions, it breaks down the foundation of all certainty, and, closed round by the impregnable barriers of self, it is unable to pass beyond sensible phenomena.

But if Kant destroyed certainty, Balmes vindicated its existence and laid down its principles in a masterly manner. With an ardent love for truth and a burning zeal to defend it; with a brilliant and and well-trained philosophic genius, this man attacked all the great

¹ Works, vol. i. p. 440.

² Der grösste und vielleicht einzige Nutzen aller Philosophie der reinen Vernunft ist also wohl nur negativ; da sie nämlich nicht, als Organon, zur Erweiterung, sondern als Disciplin, zur Grenzbestimmung dient und anstatt Wahrheit zu entdecken, nur das stille Verdienst hat, Irrthümer zu verhüten.—*Kritik der reinen Vernunft, Werke*, b. iii. s. 526.

problems of philosophy, and he spoke upon no subject that he did not say something worth remembering. Surely with Balmes we ought to find the basis of true philosophy. But, whether he wished to fight the errors of the age on their own grounds, or whether unconsciously he was influenced by the philosophic atmosphere of his day, the fact is that he, too, bases all philosophy upon the problem of knowing: "The study of philosophy," he says, "ought to begin with the examination of the question of certainty; before raising the edifice the foundation must be laid."¹ Balmes has done much for philosophy. He has overthrown many of its idols; he has thoroughly explored some of the most interesting problems of intelligence; he has cleared the ground of the weeds and briars of errors. He knew much philosophic truth; but he evidently missed the principle of philosophy. He admits that all truths have a unity of origin, and that there is "in the order of beings" a truth the source of all others. That truth he calls God.² But a few pages after he truly asserts that from the idea of God no man can infer either the reality or possibility of creation.³ Were the truths of the finite order to flow from God, as a necessary consequence pantheism were good philosophy. To assert God, is to assert that God is, or God is Being—which is that He is Himself—and as He is infinite and necessary, He is self-sufficient—and nothing is necessary for Himself but His own essence. Such an ideal formula gives but God. It is a reactionary extreme against the other error of Cartesianism, which asserts only man's self.

Gioberti, feeling the force of such reasoning, undertook to establish an ideal formula that would include the proper relations of the finite with the infinite. He begins by asserting that "to-day in Europe there is no longer any philosophy,"⁴ and that "true philosophy no longer lives anywhere outside of religion."⁵ He consequently goes to religion for the principle of philosophy. That principle he rightly conceives to express the true relations of the finite with the infinite. He finds that relation admirably expressed in the opening words of the Sacred Scriptures: "In the beginning God created heaven and earth."⁶ He considers the source of philosophical errors to lie in the

¹ El estudio de la filosofía debe comenzar por el examen de las cuestiones sobre la certeza; antes de levantar el edificio es necesario pensar en el cimiento.—*Filosofía Fundamental*, cap. i. 1.

² *Ib.* cap. iv. 40.

³ Cap. vi. sec. 67.

⁴ Nel primo comincio collo stabilire, che al di d'oggi in Europa non vi ha piu filosofia.—*Introduzione allo Studio della Filosofia*, i. p. 4.

⁵ La filosofia è morta, o per dir meglio, la vera filosofia non vive più altrove, che nella religione.—*Ibid.* vol. ii. chap. 3, p. 147.

⁶ Gen. i. 1.

misapprehension of the creative act. He therefore establishes as the philosophical principle the ideal formula: *Being creates existences*.¹ It is a sublime philosophical truth; and it were the adequate embodiment of the whole truth were there no other than the natural order; but there is also the supernatural, of which it is the province of philosophy to take cognizance—otherwise it would be supposing man to be what he is not. The formula of Gioberti is adequate for the creation prior to the appearance of man upon the arena of existence. But since he is destined to a supernatural end, and lives and moves in the atmosphere of grace,—the philosophical formula that will embody the real relations of things must contain another term expressive of the supernatural. Gioberti felt the weakness of his position on this point, and therefore for the apprehension of the supernatural, gave man a distinct faculty, which he called *sovrintelligenza*. Schlegel imagines a similar faculty—which he calls “the sense for divine things.”² Gioberti identifies it in substance with the *noumenon* of Kant, so far as regards the subjective nature of its principle and the impenetrable reality of its object.³ He explains its necessity by telling us that the superintelligible being, an object intrinsically different from other objects of knowing, ought to be referred to a special faculty, which differs from the other powers, not only by the nature of its aim, but also by the special manner in which it takes and possesses it.⁴ This establishes the faculty of *sovrintelligenza* as a natural one. Now, if man has a faculty especially adapted to know any truth, it is natural for him to know it; it is within the sphere of his intelligence to know it; and the principles of his nature are sufficient for its knowing. But the superintelligible is the knowledge of the super-

¹ La vera formola ideale, suprema base di tutto lo scibile, della quale andavamo in traccia, può dunque essere enunciata nei seguenti termini; *l'Ente crea le esistenze*. In questa proposizione l'Idea e espressa dalla nozione di Ente creante, la quale include i concetti di esistenza e di creazione; onde tali due concetti appartengono indirettamente all' Idea, e agli elementi integrali della formola, che l'esprime. L'idea dell' Ente è il principio e il centro organico della formola; quella di creazione ne è la condizione organica: i tre concetti riuniti insieme formano l'organismo ideale. Senza l'idea di creazione, verrebbe meno il nesso fra gli altri due concetti, e gli estremi della formola insieme si confonderebbero, come avvenne presso i popoli e i filosofi Gentili, che smarrita quella nozione relevantissima, perturbarono più o meno tutto l'ordine delle verità razionali.—*Introduzione allo studio della Filosofia*, vol. ii. chap. iv. p. 201.

² “Philosophy of History,” Bohn's Ed. p. 212.

³ Il sovrintelligibile, rispetto alla natura subjectiva del suo principio, e all' impenetrabile realtà del suo oggetto, è veramente il *numeno* di Emanuele Kant, e la base della sola filosofia trascendentale, che torni possibile allo spirito umano.—*Introduzione*, vol. iv. cap. viii. p. 18.

⁴ Ora il sovrintelligibile, essendo un oggetto intrinsecamente disforme dagli altri, dee riferirsi a una facoltà speciale; la quale differisce dalle altre potenze, non solo per la natura del suo termine, ma eziandio pel modo particolare, in cui lo coglie e possiede.—*Ibid.* p. 7.

natural. The latter "expresses," says Gioberti, "in the order of facts what by the other is signified in the order of ideas."¹ But man can not attain to the knowledge of the supernatural by himself. The light of faith strengthens all his natural faculties to apprehend the mysterious truths it presents for their acceptance. No special faculty is given; but those already possessed are enabled by a supernatural means to know the supernatural. Grace supposes nature. And it were confounding the one with the other to make grace an essential part of man's nature. Had God so wished, man were complete without the supernatural order, because being finite, a finite happiness would have sufficed him. But being raised to the plane of the supernatural, a capacity for the enjoyment of the infinite has been given him. And it is this capacity that Gioberti misapprehends as a distinct faculty, for he defines it to be the sentiment of intellectual power inexplicable in the course of time, and before the event of the second creative cycle,² or the passing into the other life. And the note of the super-intelligible consists in our inaptitude to comprehend it.³ We know this feeling—this yearning, not of one faculty, but of our whole nature, after a good, superior to any that finiteness can offer. It is the note of our predestination to the supernatural. Let us recognize it for what it is. The age is but too prone to ignore it altogether. The supernatural is; in its vivifying rays we live, move, and are. Gioberti's principle was a step in the right direction; the great fault to be found with it is its inadequacy. And now, let us endeavor to find a principle embodied in a formula that will include both the natural and supernatural orders.

Truth is actuality. All generalization is based thereon. The generalizations of reasoning, therefore, have their foundation in actuality. But the primary element of all reasoning is the proposition. Its right use and application is explained in logic. Logic, then, is based upon actuality. Its origin and life it receives from the divine *Λόγος*—the *Word*. And as it is the same Word that speaks in the

¹ Il concetto del sovrannaturale è gemello del concetto del sovrintelligibile, ed esprime nell'ordine dei fatti ciò che viene significato dall'altro nell'ordine delle idee.—*Introduzione*, vol. iv. p. 29.

² La sovrintelligenza non è adunque altro, che il sentimento della virtù intellettuale non esplicabile nel corso del tempo, e innanzi all'esito del secondo ciclo creativo.—*Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 12.

³ Il contrassegno del sovrintelligibile risiede nella nostra inettitudine a comprenderlo.—*Ibid.* p. 8.

Again, in another place he says: L'idea del sovrintelligibile, come vero, è come bene, rampolla dal sentimento oscuro e profondo, di poter conoscere e godere, non solo più largamente, ma altramente, che non si conosce e non si gode in questa vita.—*Ibid.* p. 14.

Creation, and in the Incarnation—all logic has its foundation in these acts. But synthetic logic is the basis of philosophy. Its fundamental principle stands upon these acts in its expression. The principle sought must therefore express both acts, and can not possibly consist of one predicate; for each act is distinct. Therefore, the first principle of philosophy is:

GOD ACTUALIZES COSMOS BY THE WORD, AND COMPLETES ITS END
IN THE WORD.

Here is a formula embodying the natural and supernatural elements of philosophy—that which is of reason as well as that which is of revelation—in their proper order and relation. Let us examine it piecemeal.

God.—Without God there is no philosophy, no science, no existence. He is the principle and source of all things. In Him we live, move, and are. And men know it; “because that which is known of God, is manifest in them; for God hath manifested it to them.”¹

Actualizes Cosmos.—That which from all eternity was in the divine ideal of His essence as a thing possible, He made actual by His creative act. Every thing outside of this essence—and that is all nature, animate and inanimate, spiritual and material, the Cosmos—He drew from nothing. “I beseech thee, my son,” said the mother of the Maccabees, “look upon heaven and earth, and all that is in them: and consider that God made them out of nothing, and mankind also.”² “For,” says St. Paul, “the invisible things of Him, from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made; His eternal power also and divinity.”³

By the Word.—He drew all things from nothingness, by means of His divine Word; for He spoke, and they were made; He commanded, and they were created.”⁴ This Word is His own Nature, the second Person of His triune Divinity, and the medium of His creative act.

And completes its end in the Word.—It has been seen that as an infinitely intelligent Being, God creates for a purpose. That purpose must necessarily be Himself. No other is worthy of Him. But the ratio of the finite to the infinite is infinite, as may be seen from the mathematical formula, in which f represents any finite quantity, and ∞ infinity:

$$\frac{f}{0} = \infty; f = \infty \times 0; 0 = \frac{f}{\infty}; \frac{0}{1} = \frac{f}{\infty}; \frac{1}{0} = \frac{\infty}{f} = \infty.$$

¹ Romans, i. 19.

³ 2 Mach. vii. 28.

² Romans, i. 20.

⁴ Psalms xxxiii. 9.

Therefore, to have a finite effect worthy of an infinite first and final Cause—to have cosmos worthy of its Creator—God raised it above the limited plane on which it stood, and gave it a significancy that rendered it adequate to His Infinitude. As the first act was by the Word, it was proper that the same Word should bring that act to its completion, which was done by the union of the Word with cosmos through man,—“And the Word was made flesh.”¹

Thus, in this principle we have a formula into which God and His creation—its origin and destiny, its alpha and omega—are all condensed. It is the sum of all philosophy.

In the term *God*, we have the subject of Theodicy and Natural Theology.

In the term *Cosmos*, we have the idea that gives us the ideas of space and time, with all their concomitant ideas of number, extension, mathematics, natural history, and physics.

In the term *the Word*, is contained the type of creation—the basis of history—the ideal of literature and art.—“There is but one Word, and that Word all things speak.”²

In the terms *completes its destiny in the Word*, we have the whole supernatural order—a Church, its means of sanctification.

In the term *actualizes*, we have the idea of pure and supreme cause expressed, and the real relations of the Creator to his creation.

When John the Evangelist, after gazing with love and reverence upon the infinity of God's Being, burst forth into the sublime words that are the opening of his gospel—he not only gave us the relations of the Son to His eternal Father, but in words of divine inspiration he summed up the whole of philosophy. We have only sought to embody his idea in a philosophic terminology. Traces of it are to be found everywhere. They exist in the marred beauties of literature, and in the broken harmonies of the universe. The philosophy that would preserve Christianity must cling to the Word. And it will find itself more enlightened than the atheistic speculations that would reject the one and the other. All science begins and ends in mystery. The atheist shuts out from the horizon of his knowledge the mysterious—while the Christian philosopher takes it into account and endeavors to explain it. In doing so he is more consistent. That would be an inadequate theory of light that would refuse to explain the phenomena of darkness.

¹ St. John, i. 14.

² Imitation of Christ, b. i. ch. iii.

THE OLD AND THE NEW SOUTH.

AT the beginning of the second century of our national existence, attention is naturally directed to those questions, among others, which relate to the present and prospective condition of the Southern States. It will be our endeavor, in this paper, to present, honestly and fairly, the views, upon these questions, of those representative thinkers of the South who are, every day, abandoning the creed of the Confederates as to political, social, and industrial organization; manifestly shaping the convictions of their neighbors, and bringing the sections which they represent, into increasing harmony with the rest of the country. This new era of progress is marked by the rejection of some, and the preservation of other features of the old *régime*, as well as by a new development. To understand the opening career of the New South we must know what of the past is to be abandoned, and what is to be retained. This demands that we shall first understand the nature and character of the Old South, whose distinguishing feature was the institution of negro slavery. Mr. Stephens, then Vice-President of the Southern Confederacy, in an address to a large assembly in Savannah, in March, 1861, said of the new government, "Its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests, upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery—subordination to the superior race—is his natural and normal condition." There is no doubt slavery was the corner-stone of Southern society; and when it was removed four years later, a thorough disintegration of the whole fabric was the logical result.

When our country was first settled, the Southern regions excelled the Northern in soil, climate, and other natural resources; and in respect to minerals, harbors, navigable streams, and water-power, were not inferior. The subsequent advancement of the North has been so rapid as to excite the wonder of the world, while it is said by us of the South, jesting upon our own worn-out and exhausted land, that we have not done as much for the country as the Indians who dwelled here centuries ago, and left the soil as good as they found it.

The plantation system was the great barrier to Southern progress. From its first historical appearance among the Carthaginians, from whom the Romans seem to have derived it, this rude and wholesale method of farming has rested on slaveholding. Its workings have been similar everywhere. In Italy under the Roman republic, absorbing the petty holdings, it drove out the small farmer; it removed the former respect for trades and handicrafts, and brought them into disfavor; it prevented the development of the industrial arts; it created a non-reciprocal commerce. Centuries later, it produced the same results in our Southern States.

A sketch of the leading features and results of the plantation system as it existed in America, is the proper beginning of our review.

The driver, as the negro foreman was called, was not very common in the South, and was generally under the superintendence of the overseer. Could the planters have made a good overseer of the driver, of course they would have consulted their interest and reproduced the ancient slave-steward of Rome. Slaveholders keep their slaves under careful surveillance, but they do not usually overlook them in person. It is not often that a master engages in an employment which brings him into daily and intimate contact with the lowest orders, and which he instinctively feels to be degrading. The planter could have neither his first choice, which would have been a slave overseer, nor his second choice, a superintendent from his own rank in society; and so, as the next best thing, he had as overseer a white hireling from the non-slaveholding class. The tillage of the fields was thus entrusted to the overseers, who were for the most part men of little education and business skill, and who had no interest in their employment except to receive their wages. Thus the foremost, if not the only, Southern industry was managed by incompetent and careless agents.

The Roman master, in the later days of the republic, having always vast markets open to him, shunned the expense of providing for women and children, and bought new males instead of breeding them; but the closing of the African slave-trade, and the softer hearts and manners of modern times, led our planters, at last, to rely on propagation as their only source of supply. The negroes were therefore well cared for, and in a genial clime, increased rapidly. This increase, however, did not keep pace with the increasing demand for Southern products, and so the market value of the slave rose steadily. To the Roman slaveholder, land was almost everything, and his rustic slaves nothing; to the Southerner, the slaves were almost every-

thing and the land nothing. There was no careful cultivation of the soil, no judicious rotation of crops, and no adequate system of fertilization. Southern husbandry was for the most part a reckless pillage of the bounty of nature. The planter became possessed with a roving spirit, and was continually seeking "fresh land," as virgin soil was termed. In the older sections, where there was most stability, the best farming consisted in judiciously eking out the natural fertility of the fields, and when that was exhausted, in leaving them to recuperate by years of rest. Thus a given working-force required, year by year, a greater and greater allowance of land, and the plantations became steadily larger, the small farmer retiring and the white population becoming continually less. Many of these older sections were turned from agricultural communities into nurseries, raising slaves for the younger States where virgin soil was abundant. The fertile lands of the new settlements, by yielding bountiful crops, gave fresh impulse to the plantation system, and here the small holdings were absorbed more rapidly than they had been in the older States. The Southern slaves, regarded in the light of property, offered one of the most desirable opportunities ever afforded to the generality of people for investments. They were patient, tractable, and submissive, and never revolted in combined insurrections as did the slaves of antiquity. Their labor was richly remunerative; their market value was constantly rising; they were everywhere more easily convertible into money than the best securities; and their natural increase was so rapid that a part of it could be squandered by a shiftless owner every year to make both ends meet, and he still be left with enough of accumulation to steadily enrich him. And so the plantation, or rather the slave, system, swallowed up everything else.

There were no distinct industrial classes. There were negro blacksmiths, negro carpenters, negro shoemakers, etc., all over the land, but they were mere appendages to the plantations, and far inferior in capacity and skill to the artisan slaves of antiquity.

The commerce of the South was in reality non-reciprocal. She purchased, but did not sell. Her cotton, sugar, and tobacco simply represented the money paid for the manufactures which should have been her own. The overmastering energy of slave property, dissolving, as it were, all things into itself, kept her from that development of trades, manufactories, and industrial arts, which secured the solid and unprecedented progress, and far more durable wealth, of the North.

There were a few exceptions in the way of restorative agriculture, and of diversified investments of capital in railways, manufactories,

inland navigation, and mercantile enterprises. All along the northern borders there were efforts to dispense with slavery, and free industry was slowly developing in a few places; but these things were as dust in the balances. The slave system was rooted in the best portions of the land, and nearly all of the productive wealth of the South was in, or dependent upon planting. Implacable enemies of slavery were rapidly increasing in numbers and power, but she continued blindly sacrificing all else to the raising of negroes. When actual emancipation came, the South, under that snipping May frost, impoverished by the loss of her one chief source of wealth, presented a picture parallel to that of Ireland when smitten with famine by the sudden failure of her only supply of food. When the charity of the world, and the returning bounty of nature, had again fed the Emerald Isle, affairs resumed a normal condition, and went on as before. But not so with the South: her wealth has fled; her occupation, with the plantation system, is gone, and she must for a generation grope painfully in the darkness attendant upon seeking new methods of subsistence, meanwhile experiencing failure and want, before success and plenty are restored.

The duties of the planter have changed. The management of a farm is not like that of a plantation, and one skilled in the management of slaves is not necessarily efficient in the directing of freedmen. Many other countries have been impoverished by wars, but is not this instantaneous, and almost complete, taking away of a great people's mode of living, unique in history? The most resolute secessionist would have lost heart, and put up his sword, could he have seen, before the war commenced, how easily the solitary prop of Southern wealth and comfort could be overturned, to be set up no more. But in none, even of the ablest of the anti-secession arguments of 1860, were the consequences of defeat predicted.

Some portions of our country have been built up into a high degree of prosperity by a steady influx of foreign settlers. An estimate of how much has been added to the power and wealth of the Northern States, as the result of immigration from the old lands of those who could at first do little more than subsist upon the results of their industry, almost defies computation. The force of the preponderant population of the North, which pressed upon the South during the late war and at last crushed her down, was largely due to the fact that slavery repelled the free immigrant from the South, and sent him to the North, with his power to enrich and defend.

The uniform and rapid advancement of civilization is mainly due

to the struggle of the poor to better their condition. These efforts result in complex division of labor, accumulation of wealth, and, better than these, in the production of a great population engaged in diversified industries. In such a population, improving year by year in business habits, consists the strength of a nation. The slave had no hope of rising, and the system of which he was a part repelled free workingmen; and thus the South lost the benign emulation and energy of a lower class. The ancient slaves were not alone rural laborers and domestic servants, as were those of the South. The former, being of kindred blood with their masters, and near their level in natural capacity, were initiated in the various industries, some of which flourished greatly under their management. Though the slaves of old were very degraded, they were not as low and groveling as those of our day. Enfranchisement was common; and, in a few generations afterwards, the descendants of the freedmen were indistinguishable amid the body of free citizens. The ancient states were not, therefore, prevented by slavery from having advanced and diversified industries, nor were they denied the impulse of a possible rising from the lower to the higher classes. But the American slave was of another race, far below the level of his master in capacity, and the horror of receiving him into the body of free citizens grew continually stronger. The law discouraged manumission, and frowned upon the increase of freedmen. Thus, the African slavery of the South was the most hopeless form of servitude the civilized world has ever seen; and, by preventing the development of a great class of freemen engaged in respectable industry, it killed the very roots of social progress. These influences of slavery, so repugnant to the march of American progress, will be more vividly seen and understood in the answer to the question: What would have been the present condition of the South had it not been for slavery? Undoubtedly her land would have smiled with a fertility richer than the endowment of nature; her industrial arts would, ere this time, have branched out into multifarious activity; her own ships would have been carrying her produce and manufactures abroad; and, better than all these, she would have had a teeming population of workers whose education in the methods of self-support would have been the assurance of unlimited future advancement. In brief, in all the elements of the greatness of a community, the South might now have equaled, if not excelled, the North.

But there are some other effects of slavery to be noted, before the character of the Old South can be clearly and fully understood.

Among the planters, costly and liberal instruction was given to a few of those who were to adorn places of leisured ease, or to fill the necessary professions and public positions; but, in the midst of the sparse and shifting rural population, there could not be that devotion to the education of all, which is one of the most conspicuous glories of the Northern States.

In consequence of the sparseness of the planters, and their roving habits, there was not that subdivision of different portions of the counties into small self-governing wards, which Jefferson so fondly desired. He said of the New England townships, that they had "proved themselves the wisest invention ever devised by the wit of man for the perfect exercise of self-government, and for its preservation." He also said that he considered the continuance of republican government, as absolutely hanging on two hooks, to wit "the public, education, and the subdivision of counties into wards."

This government of every vicinage in its home affairs, as originated in New England, and as spread far and wide throughout the Northern States, is the most beneficent achievement of American democracy. By this coercion of the citizen to participate in the constant administration of public matters directly concerning his interests, self-government becomes, as it should be, the business of all, and all are compulsorily educated in the best of all learning for the race.

The *finale* of slavery remains to be told. As opposition to it increased from without, the South became more and more closely united. She honestly believed that wanton intermeddlers were attacking her dearest rights. The steady and continually strengthening warfare against slavery, and her continuous and earnest defense of it, began—it is impossible to determine precisely when—to knit her into a nationality of her own. He who understands what Mr. Bagehot calls "nation-making," will discover in the past history of the South, if he looks attentively, many signs of this tendency which steadily progressed, unperceived on her part, and still more so on the part of the North, until the South began to coalesce into a nation as compact as her scattered and random elements would permit. The long advocacy and support of slavery in the political arena, had fevered her whole people; and finally, under these promptings to a national life, politics absorbed nearly all of her intellectual powers.

There is a striking parallel between this sustained effort of the

South, and the struggle of Ireland, when the latter, for the fifty years ending with the advent of the present century, was arrayed against the British, in their encroachments upon her independent government. During this half-century, Ireland maintained that she was an independent integral part of the British Empire, just as Virginia contended that she was a sovereign in the federation of States. Ireland, like a Southern State, challenged every seeming interference by the general government in her local affairs, and the claims put forth, in each instance, were inexorably contested by an adverse government, claiming supremacy, and supported by superiority of power. Both were on the eve of revolutionary secession without knowing it. The results in Ireland and the South were similar: there was but one intellectual activity, namely, politics. With the mass of Irishmen, the memory of that time is, solely, of resistance to the English. Even Curran, Ireland's great forensic advocate, secured his world-wide fame in defending Irishmen against the prosecutions of the British ministry. It was much the same at the South in the period antecedent to the civil war. She had neither literature nor science; but she had statesmen and advocates, who will be remembered as long as her soldiers and generals.

When, at last, the national germ which had long been growing below the surface, burst into view, it shot up into a body of amazing proportions. Montgomery, in 1861, was not the birthplace of a new nation; but where the majority of a vigorous young aspirant for a place in the family of nations, was proclaimed. But, notwithstanding the eloquence of its orators, and the virtue and bravery of its people, it was, as compared with its adversary, but illy prepared for the contest upon which it had entered, and the great disaster that befell four years later, was then pre-ordained. It was the unavoidable fate of the young government, that it should be denationalized on the battle-field.

The late war was a conflict between implacable enemies. Each belligerent, standing up for national life, was resistlessly coerced to fight to the last. Neither can be blamed. The past may be taxed with lack of wisdom. It may be that, as Scotland and, more lately, Ireland, have been peacefully denationalized, a preventive anticipating the dreadful event of war might years before have been devised by statesmanlike forecast. The actual combatants—the Southerner, fighting for the Confederacy, and the Northern soldier, bearing up the flag of the Union—were equals in manhood and virtue. The survivors, Federal and Confederate, at last see this, and therefore they

go in company to decorate alike the graves of the dead of both armies. All of these evils,—the backward and stationary condition of the South; a wasteful husbandry without other industries; the unstable character of her wealth, her want of a great class of free-men engaged in the different arts; her barbarically simple, social and political structure; her neglect of common schools; the absorption of all her intellectual energies in feverish and revolutionary politics; and, finally, secession and the reddened ground of a thousand battle-fields,—were due to slavery. It is gone. The malignant cancer, involving, as it seemed, every vital, and bearing in it the menace of hideous and loathsome death, was plucked out by the roots; and, after a ten years' struggle of nature, we see the body politic, slowly but surely, advancing to a healthier and better condition than before.

Here we find the dividing line between the Old and the New South. The former ended, and the latter began, with the giving of freedom to the negroes—an event which will prove in the future to have been an emancipation even more beneficial to master than to slave. Immunity from all the evils of slavery which we have catalogued, will distinguish the new South from the Old.

The sudden impoverishment of the Southern people, and the unlooked-for change in their ways of living and thinking, had they occurred in the most peaceful times and been followed with the best of governments, would have produced a profound shock and a long paralysis. But the bitterness of subjugation, and the mistake of a needlessly offensive and goading government, with harsh reconstructive measures, have prolonged the lethargy. And yet the ten years since emancipation are instructive. Slowly has the New South been disentangling herself from the débris of the Old, and she has emerged far enough to enable us to perceive that a better era has commenced. Much has been lost, but more has been saved. All the germs of true wealth and power, and the solid well-being of a community, have survived; and solace for the past, and earnest of a great future, may be found in the fact that she has reached at last, and for the first time, a position in which she can develop these elements, free from the suffocating hindrances of former days. We may now properly inquire, What of the past does the South retain, and in what will consist her future progress?

She retains her genial climate, her kindly soil, and her many natural resources; and she may be expected to make the most of them, now that the great impediment of slavery is removed. If the peace of

the American Union is assured, as every thing now benignly promises, these natural advantages will in a few generations far more than compensate for all her losses, and ultimately place her in the very van of progress.

The best inheritance of the New, from the Old, South is the Southern people. We have seen how slavery checked industrial development, and how many of its other effects were hurtful. After allowing fully for all these, there will be found a great residuum of progressive energy, of intellectual strength, and of moral worth in the people of the Southern States. They need not fear a comparison in these respects with the most enlightened communities. Great men, like Washington, Jefferson, Calhoun, Jackson, and Lee ; political and military heroes, judges, lawyers, and orators, such as the South has given birth to in unbroken succession, are the unmistakable signs of a great people.

The rank and file of the Confederate armies have given proof that the men of the South must be classed, in all the elements of complete character, with the best that the world has ever seen. Crime was so infrequent that a single morning of the term of a rural court, before the war, nearly always sufficed to dispose of every indictment ; there was little want or pauperism ; virtue was everywhere the rule in private life, and there was seldom even the suspicion of corruption in government or the administration of justice. The history of this people since the war shows that they are possessed of the best of Anglo-Saxon mettle. They are slowly beginning to thrive wherever they have been left to govern themselves, in spite of the complete industrial revolution, the loss of property, and change of occupation, of which we have written. And in many places where reconstruction has been harshest, and negro misrule yet prevails, the whites have developed an unlooked-for self-maintaining capacity, and have demonstrated that there must be, even there, the eventual predominance of intelligence and virtue, should "natural selection" alone work to secure it.

The Southern people have learned much wisdom in the last ten years. Their heavy vote in 1872 for Horace Greeley—a man to whom a foreigner would have supposed them unappeasably hostile—if there were nothing else, would alone suffice to show that they are rapidly laying aside all hindrances to progress. And now that slavery is gone, and she has so quickly conquered the animosities of the war, the South may be likened to a capable and energetic young man, who,

having failed as the result of inevitable misfortune in a wrongly-chosen business, has been relieved of all embarrassments and has entered upon his proper calling. More may reasonably be expected of such a man, than of one more prosperous who has not had like discipline.

We turn, now, to a consideration of what will probably be the future political status of the South.

As her nationalizing tendency has been destroyed by the removal of slavery, and as her future must necessarily be shaped by Union influences, she will heartily embrace the political creed of the Union. The doctrine of the sovereignty of the States, which was advocated with very great ability by many of the Southern statesmen—notably by Calhoun in his speeches in Congress, and in his Discourse on the Constitution of the United States, and with still more taking effect by Mr. Stephens in his “Constitutional View of the War between the States,” has now no disciples at the South. General Logan gave expression to the prevailing creed of the present, when he said at a recent re-union of former Confederate companions:

“In considering, then, the future of the South, there is one fact suggested at the outset which has been demonstrated to us by the logic of events. It is that under the operation of causes which, although unseen at the time, appear now to have been inevitable in their results, a vast *social organism* has been developed, and is now so far advanced in its growth as a *national body politic*, and no longer a mere aggregation of States, that *unity* is a necessity of its further development. In reviewing the past, we can now clearly see that this national organism has been *gradually developed*, and while many seek by various theories to account for the failure of the Confederacy, the result may be regarded as the necessary consequence of those laws of development under which this social organism—the United States—was being evolved.”

And the South is pleased to observe that there are no genuine signs of too much centralization. On the contrary, the town system is destined to spread fast and far; and the increase of local option laws; the splitting of larger into smaller counties; the tendency to submit constitutions and many legislative acts to voters; the greater disposition to often amend the State constitutions in the interests of progress; the vigorous growth, in each State, of its own body of laws; the rapid multiplication of towns and cities with governments peculiar to each; are some of the many convincing proofs that local self-government is increasing and flourishing. Of the last particular, Judge Dillon says:

"We have popularized, and made use of, municipal institutions to such an extent as to constitute one of the most striking features of our government. It owes to them, indeed, in a great degree its decentralized character. When the English Municipal Corporations Reform Act, of 1835, was passed, there were in England and Wales, excluding London, only two hundred and forty-six places exercising municipal functions; and their aggregate population did not exceed two millions of people. In this country our municipal corporations are numbered by thousands, and the inhabitants subjected to their rule by millions."

Reflecting Southerners see, in the present condition of the Southern States, the very strongest possible guaranty that the true balance between national cohesion and local freedom is to be preserved. They see that the happy equilibrium is of a character so permanent and stable as to have survived the convulsion of civil war. The Southern States are not held as conquered provinces. On the contrary, aside from the abolition of slavery, and the fundamental legislation securing to the old slaves the full fruition of their freedom, there has been no perceptible change in the relations of these States to the United States.

Surely, to the student of history, wherein *vae victis* is written on every page, this fact has wonderful significance. It recommends the American form of government to the rest of the world as the incoming of the new stage of civilization, wherein oppression and war shall become unknown. However long contending armies may devour populations, and paralyze industry, elsewhere, we are assured that war-sick America will fight within herself no more. This assurance repays the South, a thousand fold, for all that she has lost and endured.

The great economical interest of the South, is her agriculture; and in this industry, as well as among those who conduct it, a constant transition has been taking place during the ten years since emancipation. The change in the homes of landholders from the ease and comfort of *ante-bellum* days, is a marked one. The neat enclosures have fallen; the pleasant grounds and the flower gardens, once so trim and flourishing, are a waste; in short, all the old smiles and adornments are gone. Change at home is accompanied by still greater change without. The negroes—and they constitute the great bulk of the laboring population—tend to become a tenantry cultivating the land, in some instances, for a part of the produce, but oftener for a fixed sum of money. Many of these realize from their labors little more than enough to pay a moderate rent. Others work for wages, either in money or in some portion of the crop made by their labor. As the negroes are scarce and their labor so important, they have often, directly or indirectly, a voice in the area of land cultivated,

the mode of cultivation, and the kind of crop raised. The result, in many places, is retrogression. The face of the country is much altered. Only a small part of the land, as compared with that tilled before the war, is under cultivation: the remainder becomes wild. Could the fallen Confederates return, they would not, in many places recognize their old homes. Nearly every man of average business ability could control his slaves before the war with little trouble; but it now requires far more than ordinary capacity to find and keep good tenants, to employ laborers amid the present scarcity, and to retain and make them remunerative when employed. The freedman is a different character from his former slave self, and is to be governed by different methods; and the true art of managing him, is cabalism to many who were prosperous planters before the war. Many of these show great despondency, for there have been thousands of failures among them in the struggle with the new order of things.

But when we examine into this depression we find that it is but the result of the transition from the former régime, and not a deep-seated and fatal decay of the vitals. A new and better system is slowly developing, and can be plainly discerned among the rubbish of the old. A class of new planters, consisting mainly of men too young to have become fixed in the methods and habits of former days is springing up. They are few yet, but there is in many parts of the South, at least one who is by silent deeds teaching many watching idlers. They have remodeled their domestic economy, accommodating it to their smaller incomes and to the uncertainty of household help. They have discarded the outside kitchen, have substituted the cooking-stove for the old voracious fire-place, and have brought the well, with a pump in it, instead of the old windlass and bucket, under the roof of the dwelling, so that the household duties may be more easily dispatched by their wives and children. And they have also remodeled their planting. They diversify their crops and products, raising more grain, and introducing clover and new forage plants. Some abandon entirely the cultivation of the old slave crops, and raise food supplies for the nearest towns. These planters of the New South till less land, and strive to improve it; they study the superiority and economy of machinery; they provide themselves with better cotton-gins, often using steam to work them; they use presses which require fewer hands than the old packing-screw; better plows are used; and harrows, reapers and mowers, which in many parts of the South were seldom known before the war, are now common. This little band also keeps pace with agricultural

progress, as recorded in the journals; they seek for, and find, many new sources of profit; they prepare the people for laws fostering the interest of the planter in many particulars; they mold the opinion of their neighborhood; and their ability, skill, and wealth slowly increase. They struggle with a new order of things, having to think for themselves at every turn, and often make mis-steps, but they quickly recover themselves. The light of the new experience which they are kindling, grows brighter each year, and is beginning to prove valuable to their neighbors as well as to themselves.

It is not our object to give a false impression of the influence of the class of farmers last referred to. Their numbers are few, and their efforts are but the beginnings of the happy coming change. Their courage, power and numbers, are manifestly on the increase; and, as there is no other progressive activity in agriculture, and they meet no opposition save the passive resistance of despondency and inaction, it is almost certain that they will lay deep and sure foundations for the needed renovation of the South. It is their belief that to make agriculture generally prosperous, and to school the people to habits of thrift and saving, are the first steps—and that manufactories and trades, and heterogeneous industries, will naturally follow.

They desire Northern settlers, who will add capital and force to agricultural pursuits, and infuse new impulse and energy among the planters. A few such have already come, and are beginning to prosper. It seems rational to expect a steady influx of these for many years, bringing capital, and methods better suited to the needs of the new times, raising the value of landed property out of its impeding prostration, and strengthening the industrial force of the country. The climate, the fertile soil, the cheap land, and the numerous other natural resources, must attract, in due course of time, a vast number of new settlers, both American and foreign. And now that the misrule of the "carpet-bagger" has nearly everywhere ended, the rebuilding of the South may be rapidly hastened.

The feelings of the two races toward each other, were, for a few years after the war, bitterly hostile. The whites had all their lives seen the negroes in slavery, and, from their infancy, they had heard their preachers defend slavery, not in the abstract, as their phrase was, but in the concrete. The "concrete" meant African slavery, which was justified on the ground that the African was divinely intended in his nature for slavery, which was to him christianization and civilization, so long as he remained a slave; while the moment he was set free, he would revert to his primitive barbarism. When

these God-given slaves were suddenly cut loose from mastership, and the wealth of the capitalist, the portion of the orphan, and the mite of the widow were swept away at once by emancipation, either directly, or as a necessary consequence, there was a great shock given to the whites. But when, three years afterwards, a new constituency was created, in which the slaves, just emancipated, outnumbered the whites in many counties, the storm of passion that burst forth can hardly be described. The whites feared that the old relation was about to be inverted, and that they would be made slaves to the negroes. There was many a deed of violence, and many a poor negro paid by his life for a few offensive words.

This wonderful change has taken place. When the Southern States were "reconstructed," as it is termed, in 1868, a negro school-keeper or preacher, if known to be a Republican in politics—as he generally was—was hardly safe anywhere beyond the limits of a city. The negro schools were often broken up by mobs, and sometimes black congregations were attacked at night in their churches, and dispersed by armed whites in disguise. Now, the colored children troop securely to school, and the colored churches and their congregations are sternly protected by the law, everywhere. Seven years ago a colored person could hardly get justice, in even the plainest case, from a jury of the other race. Now, in all of the courts, he has the influence of white men to aid him, and rarely is an unjust verdict rendered. The two races are on better terms with each other. It is not needful that the negro shall legislate or hold office in order to protect himself. We are inclined to think that he can not do these things in a manner satisfactory to himself. He slowly rises, however, and his importance is felt more and more. His labor is a necessity. Learning to use it aright, he will surely win all that he deserves. The healthful sentiment prevails everywhere, at the North as at the South, and with the late slave also, that to force his growth is as unfortunate to him, as is misjudged parental assistance to grown-up children. The colored race in the South must be educated, by the struggle for self-support, into self-maintenance. This training, like the material recuperation of the South, will require time, with patience and hopefulness.

The negro tends resistlessly to a fixed position in his own class. He does not *wish* to ride in the same railway car with fine ladies and gentlemen, nor could you persuade him to send his children to a mixed school to be teased by white scholars. He will not be legislated out of his natural circle where he feels comfortable, into one where he

will be ill at ease. He seeks for himself a separate home, school, church, and occupation, in all of which he can at a distance imitate the white. The statute books may be covered with laws having a different tendency, but they will be powerless to check the current of separation. In a domestic world, a company and circle, of his own, the negro will make a start for himself.

In noticing the leading features of the New South, we have merely hinted at her rich natural endowments. We have deemed of more importance the character of her people, the new views and principles beginning to assert themselves, and the great economical changes following, and to follow, the abolition of slavery. For upon these the future mainly depends.

The South is in a thorough and long transition. Her fields are to be made fertile, and to smile beautifully with an infinite variety of products; her provisional labor is to be gradually supplanted by a permanent system; industries, trades, and manufactories are to be founded and numerously multiplied; she is to have local organizations which will foster more of self-government; her common schools are to be re-organized and rendered truly serviceable to all; and she has also her part to do in the fields of literature, science and art, as well as in domestic and national politics. We must not be over-sanguine in hope of her immediate progress, but we can certainly take courage when we find that every one who perceptibly influences society, by precept or by example—whether he be prominent like Gordon or Lamar, or only a humble planter leading the fore-row in his fields, is seeking for and finding the right path. These leaders must, in the nature of things, have a larger following every year. In due time, their children, and their children's children, will make the South, as one of its integral parts, no less prosperous than any portion of our whole country.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE UNIVERSE.

THE noblest and the most difficult of all the subjects with which astronomy has to deal, is the problem of determining the true structure of the universe. "A knowledge of the construction of the heavens," said Sir W. Herschel toward the close of his career as an observer, "has always been the ultimate object of my observations." Yet few of the astronomers whose names stand highest in the roll of fame, and still fewer of those who have held official rank in the science, have given close attention to this subject. The problems involved are indeed too difficult to be solved by the ordinary methods of astronomical observation or calculation. The exact details, for determining which great public observatories have been formed, are of little use in the inquiry. The stars must be dealt with, not individually but by thousands and tens of thousands, if the galaxy is to reveal its secrets. Such methods as Sir W. Herschel employed in dealing with the problems of the universe appear rough, no doubt, and inexact, compared with the systematic study of star-positions, carried out by official astronomers, to subserve terrestrial purposes. But finer researches, more minute and detailed observations, fail utterly when applied to the mighty proportions of the universe revealed by the telescope. We must draw broad and strong lines in endeavoring to picture the galaxy. If we attempt to refine, the picture becomes meaningless.

It is probably on this account, and because detailed observations are in themselves more easily comprehended, while their specific value in terrestrial applications of astronomy is altogether greater, that so few astronomers have discussed the problems presented by the structure of the universe. Not only have astronomers seemed unwilling to undertake the observations necessary for the purpose, but they have not been careful even to investigate the observations made by others. We speak without exaggeration, and indeed from our own knowledge, when we assert that very few of the chiefs of the leading European observatories at the present time have mastered the full scope and bearing of the wonderful series of papers in which Sir W. Herschel presented the results of his researches into the star depths

between the years 1784 and 1818—that is, from the year when he first indicated his intention of dealing with the great problem, and that in which he offered his last observational contributions toward its solution. We would not say that the official astronomers of Europe actually accept the absurd travesty of Herschel's researches presented in text-books (for which no less eminent an astronomer than Arago is mainly responsible), but it becomes manifest, whenever they refer to the work of Sir W. Herschel, that they confuse his earlier views (or rather fancies) with the results to which he was led by his actual researches, and regard the latest ideas thrown out by him as worthy of equal consideration with the opinions he definitely indicated as based on observation. The late Wilhelm Struve, of all the really eminent official astronomers of the present century, after adopting for many years the vague ideas respecting Herschel's work thus commonly entertained, was led by the careful investigation of a complete series of W. Herschel's papers presented to him by J. Herschel, to the conclusion that hitherto he had wholly misapprehended the views of the great astronomer of Slough. It was then that Struve asked, with some surprise, “*Pourquoi les astronomes ont-ils maintenu généralement l'ancien système énoncé en 1785, quoiqu'il eût été entièrement abandonné par l'auteur lui-même ?*” Even he, however, though perceiving that the earlier views of Herschel had been abandoned, did not sufficiently distinguish between Herschel's later *opinions* and *ideas*—that is, between views to which Herschel was led by his observations, and ideas which he regarded as worthy of being tested by observation but had not actually so tested.

We propose in this essay to indicate the actual range of W. Herschel's work on this problem of the structure of the universe, carefully defining what he proved, disproved, and conjectured; as also the methods he employed, which, while altogether diverse, have been as completely confounded together as his theories and speculations. We shall then consider the bearing of later researches, including our own, on this problem of the structure of the universe, and indicate the line on which, as we think, the problem may be most successfully attacked hereafter. For at the outset we wish to impress upon the reader the fact that, though some outworks have yielded to the attacks of astronomers, the great problem itself still remains unmastered. It would be more agreeable, doubtless, if we could enunciate definite opinions, and clearly say how the universe of stars is formed. But it was only when the true complexity of the problem was as yet unrecognized that this could be done. Then, as W. Struve has well

pointed out, a complete system could be advanced. Sir W. Herschel's original theory, for example, as advanced in 1785, was "un système entier, imposant par la hardiesse et la précision géométrique de sa construction." Whereas, proceeds Struve, "dans ses traités publiés depuis 1802, on ne rencontre que des vues partielles." But, as we can make no question that imperfect and partial though the later views of W. Herschel were, they were more exact and trustworthy than the fuller system of 1785, so it must be admitted that it is a better preparation toward the final solution of the great problem of the universe to eliminate what is unknown and doubtful, than to pretend to advance a complete theory while as yet the evidence for forming one is insufficient.

Very little was done before W. Herschel's time to master this problem by observational or other researches. Yet it would not be fair to pass over the work of Wright, Kant, Lambert, and Michell. Wright, by means of a very small telescope satisfied himself that the Milky Way consists entirely of stars, and adopting the theory that the stars are arranged with a certain general uniformity throughout the galaxy, he was led directly by the observed richness of stars on the zone of the Milky Way to the theory commonly attributed to W. Herschel and known as the Grindstone Theory. This he presented in the following terms: "If we suppose the sun to be plunged in a vast stratum of stars, of inconsiderable thickness compared with its dimensions in other respects, it is not difficult to see that the actual appearance of the heavens may be reconciled with a harmonious arrangement of the constituent bodies of such a system. . . . It is evident that the stars would appear to be distributed in least abundance in the opposite directions of the thickness of the stratum, the visual line being shortest in these directions; and that the number of visible stars would increase as the stratum was viewed through a greater depth, until at length from the continual crowding of the stars behind each other, it would ultimately assume the appearance of a zone of light."¹

It was in 1750 that Wright advanced this theory. In 1755, Kant (who in 1751 had read a translation of Wright's essay printed in a Hamburg journal) advanced a theory which in parts corresponded very closely with Wright's. He extended the reasoning, as Wright had already done, to the few nebulae then known, which he regarded as external galaxies similar in dignity in the scale of creation to the

¹ From an abstract of Wright's paper in Professor Grant's excellent work, "A History of Physical Astronomy."

galaxy of which our sun is a member. He conceived also the thought that the system of galaxies thus indicated formed but the third term of a series of worlds and systems, satellite systems and solar systems being the first and second terms,—“and these first terms of an infinite series,” he proceeds, “enable us to infer the nature of the rest of the series.”¹

Lambert advanced a theory unlike Wright's and therefore unlike Kant's in several important points,—though Kant remarked, in 1763, that the accordance between Lambert's views and his own “extended even to the most minute details.” In Lambert's theory solar systems were regarded as of the first order. He considered that our sun belongs to a vast globular group or cluster of suns, forming a system of the second order, which according to his view includes all the scattered stars not belonging to the Milky Way. He maintained that many systems of the second order combine to form a system of the third order, this system being so shaped (in the case at least of the group of clusters to which our sun's cluster belongs) as to form a stratum, the concourse of clusters in the direction of the greatest range of the system forming the milky light of the galactic zone. He then proceeded to consider the probability that other systems of the third order exist, forming together a system of the fourth order, and he touches on the inference that there may be systems of higher orders *ad infinitum*. This theory was manifestly altogether distinct from Kant's, or rather Wright's, while Wright's interpretation of the Milky Way (the only point in which either theory touches on observed facts) corresponded closely with the theory advocated by Herschel in 1785, Lambert's more nearly resembled the theory adopted by Herschel in 1802 and maintained thence to the close of his career as an observer.²

¹ “Allgemeine Naturgesichte und Theorie des Himmels; oder Versuch von der Verfassung und dem Mechanischen Ursprunge des ganzen Weltgebündes nach Newton'schen grundsätzen Abgehandelt.”

² There is one fine passage in Lambert's paper which though fanciful is well worth studying: “How far soever,” he says, “we may extend the scale, we must necessarily stop at last. And where? At the center of centers, at the center of creation, which I should be inclined to call the capital of the universe, inasmuch as thence originates motion of every kind, and there stands the great wheel in which work the teeth of all the rest. From thence the laws are issued which govern and uphold the universe, or rather there they resolve themselves into one law, of all others most simple. But who would be competent to measure the space and time which all the globes, all the worlds, all the worlds of worlds employ in revolving around that immense body—the Throne of Nature, and the footstool of the Divinity! What painter, what poet, what imagination, is sufficiently exalted to describe the beauty, the magnificence, the grandeur, of this source of all that is beautiful, great, and

Michell's work, though less ambitious—being limited to the lucid stars, not extended to the telescopic orbs forming the Milky Way—was more important. Whereas Wright, Kant, and Lambert, had advanced theories, Michell demonstrated facts. We owe to him the complete, though in his day little understood, proof, of the association between the component members of many double stars. It is true that Herschel first traced the motion of two stars around a common center; and this was the first evidence which ordinary minds could understand. But Michell's reasoning was none the less demonstrative. He showed by mathematical argument (the force of which as used by Struve *after* Herschel's discovery of the orbital motion of double stars, was at once admitted) that a considerable proportion among the double stars *must* be physically connected together. Extending his reasoning to star-groups, he showed that, to use his own words, "the stars are really collected together in clusters in some places, where they form a kind of systems; while in others there are either few or none of them, to whatever cause this may be owing, whether to their mutual gravitation or to some other law or appointment of the Creator." He considered next the evidence respecting our sun, as perhaps a member of some such system. This, he thought, is probably the case. "There are some marks," he proceeds, "by which we may with great probability include some and exclude others—while the rest remain more doubtful. Those stars which are found in clusters and surrounded by many others at a small distance from them, belong probably to other systems and not to ours. And those stars which are surrounded with nebula are probably only very great stars, which, on account of their superior magnitude, are singly visible, while the others which compose the remaining parts of the same system are so small as to escape our sight. And those nebulae in which we can discern only a few stars even with the assistance of the best telescopes, are probably systems which are still more distant than the rest. . . . But those stars which, being placed at a greater distance from each other, compose the larger constellations, and such as have few or no smaller stars near them when examined with telescopes, belong probably to our own system." He regarded variable stars and red stars, as probably members of the same system, though not on evidence which would be admitted at the present time when the vast distances of the stars and the nature of stellar spectra have been ascertained.

magnificent; and from whence order and harmony flow in eternal streams through the whole bounds of the universe." The very fact that such a description as this has no definite meaning, corresponds to the mystery which the description is intended to present.

Although, prior to 1784, Sir W. Herschel had made many astronomical observations, it was not until that year that he definitely undertook the task of determining the structure of the universe. His paper, which appeared in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1784, was, however, merely preliminary. He therein sketched his views respecting the probable constitution of the stellar heavens, views closely resembling Wright's, and observed how he proposed to attack the problem by an extension of Wright's method, with greater telescopic power. Unfortunately Arago, who has been followed by every French writer on astronomy, and by a large proportion of such writers in England, so far misunderstood the paper of 1784 as to take the ideas therein mentioned as though they presented a theory which Herschel had established. And although Struve has pointed out the nature of Arago's mistake, it has been repeated very often in books on astronomy. Yet another and more serious mistake has been made by an excellent observer of the stars—Admiral Smyth, through a combination of Arago's blunder with another of his own. Arago had adopted Herschel's idea (1784) that the extension of the stellar system in the direction of the Milky Way, probably exceeds, about a hundred times, the extension at right angles to the stratum. In the paper of 1785, Herschel announced, as the result of his observations, that the former extension appears to exceed the latter only about five and a half times. Arago, as Struve points out, overlooks this later estimate altogether. Smyth, on the other hand, notices it, but combines it with the other in such sort as to give our sidereal system length, breadth, and thickness proportioned as 100, $5\frac{1}{2}$, and unity!

In the paper of 1785, Herschel described what is commonly called his method of star-gauging; though, as he subsequently devised another, this one should be called his first method. It was exceedingly simple, and had indeed been already indicated by Wright. He used throughout the same telescope, which he directed to different parts of the star-depths; moreover, he used the same "power," thus having always the same extent of telescopic field. Assuming a general uniformity in the distribution of stars within the sidereal system (a uniformity, however, which did not exclude the possibility of local irregularities), and assuming further that his telescope, 18 inches in aperture, reached the stars belonging to the remotest parts of the galaxy, he considered that the number of stars seen in each field of view afforded a fair criterion of the extension of the sidereal system in the corresponding direction. For, on the assumptions made, the number of stars would be greater, the greater the distance of the boundary of the system,

precisely as the quantity of water passed through by a seaman's lead-line is greater the greater the depth at which the sea bottom lies. By comparing together the lengths of the various lines formed in this manner, the actual shape of the region of space occupied by the sidereal system would be determined, always supposing the assumptions were correct on which this method of star-gauging was based.

It is by way of reference to one of these assumptions that Herschel's monument bears the celebrated words, "*Cælorum perrupit claustra.*" It had been generally assumed before his time—though Wright, Kant, and Lambert, as we have seen, had judged otherwise—that the sidereal system is unfathomable. Herschel's very method of observation assumed that it was fathomable with his gauging telescope. He considered that where he could count every star in the telescopic field he had fathomed the depth of the sidereal universe. The darkness that lay beyond, forming the black back-ground of the field of view, belonged to space outside the sidereal system. Thus he had at once marked down and passed beyond the barriers of the universe—" *Cælorum perrupit claustra.*" The assumption that he had thus passed the limits of the galaxy was never definitely rejected by him. He found reason, indeed, later in his career, to believe that portions of the Milky Way are unfathomable, and Struve has even stated that Herschel pronounced the Milky Way to be everywhere unfathomable. But Herschel's words bear no such meaning. He said that when his gauges no longer resolved the Milky Way into stars, it was not because its nature is ambiguous, but because it is fathomless.¹ Where he *could* resolve it into stars, his former assumption held good, whether the constitution of the sidereal system is such as he had supposed in 1785, or whether (according to his later views as we shall presently see) the constitution of the Milky Way is unlike that of the rest of the sidereal system.

While Sir W. Herschel thus continued to believe that in nearly every direction he could penetrate with his eighteen-inch mirror to the utmost limits of the sidereal system, his mind, attentive to every indication, soon perceived that the other assumption, of a general uniformity of stellar distribution, must be abandoned. The recognition of binary systems doubtless had its influence in modifying

¹ Struve, when translating this passage into German in his note-book, probably wrote "wenn" by mistake for the English "when." At any rate in his "*Etudes d'Astronomie Stellaire*," he thus renders Herschel's words, "Nous pouvons faire la conclusion que si nos jauges cessent résoudre la Voie Lactée en étoiles, ce n'est point parceque la nature en est douteuse mais parce qu'elle est insondable."

Herschel's views. He had found that close double stars are not always, as he had begun by imagining, two stars which though nearly on the same visual line are in reality very far distant from each other, but are real pairs associated together by the mighty bonds of their mutual attractive energy. He extended the inference to triple, quadruple, and generally to multiple star-systems. Having thus perceived that apparent association in many cases corresponds to a real association, it was natural that he should be led directly to a conclusion already demonstrated (in a more subtle fashion) by Michell, that "the stars are *really* collected together in clusters in some places, where they form a kind of systems, while in others there are few or none of them." Gradually he extended this view even to such vast clustering aggregations as are seen in the Milky Way where it crosses the constellation Cygnus. "We may indeed," he says, in 1802 (seventeen years, be it noticed, after his better known views about the sidereal system had been advanced), "ascribe the increase both of brightness and compression here, to a greater depth of the space which contains these stars; but this will equally tend to show their clustering condition; for since the increase is gradual, the space containing these clusters of stars must tend to a spherical form if the gradual increase of brightness is to be explained by the situation of the stars."

We can not wonder that he extended such considerations to the Milky Way itself. His words are very plain on this point. "The stars we consider as insulated," he says, "are also surrounded by a magnificent collection of innumerable stars, called the Milky Way, which must occasion a very powerful balance of opposite attractions to hold the intermediate stars in a state of rest. For though our sun and all the stars we see may truly be said to be in the plane of the Milky Way, yet *I am now convinced* by a long inspection and continued examination of it, *that the Milky Way itself consists of stars very differently scattered from those which lie immediately about us.*"

Still more clearly did he announce, in 1811, the complete change which had taken place in his views respecting the structure of the sidereal system. "I must freely confess," he says, "that by continuing my sweeps of the heavens my opinion of the arrangement of the stars and their magnitudes, and some other particulars, has undergone a gradual change; and indeed, when the novelty of the subject is considered we can not be surprised that many things formerly taken for granted, should on examination prove to be different from what they were generally but incautiously supposed to be. For

instance an equal scattering of the stars may be admitted in certain calculations; but when we examine the Milky Way, or the closely compressed clusters of stars, of which my catalogues have recorded so many instances, this supposed equality of scattering must be given up."

Having thus abandoned one of the assumptions on which his famous method of star-gauging had been based, Herschel no longer placed any reliance on that method, except where an equality of scattering prevailed, and therefore he did not trust the method, as applied to "the Milky Way or closely compressed clusters of stars" where the equality of scattering had been abandoned. This is in itself a surprising conclusion when we remember how astronomical text-books and even books by astronomers of considerable eminence, attribute to Herschel the very opinion respecting the Milky Way which he thus definitely abandoned. But it is still more remarkable that, though he now proceeded to devise a new method of gauging such regions of the stellar heavens as the Milky Way and the closely compressed clusters, and though this method was as distinct as possible from the former, yet the two are commonly confounded together as though they formed parts of a single system of star-gauging.

The characteristic feature of the earlier method of star-gauging was the employment of the same telescope, used with unchanged power. Different parts of the heavens, thus examined with one constant gauging instrument, were compared together. Herschel's second method was altogether unlike the first. He now proposed to use different telescopes, and to compare together the information they gave respecting a given stellar region. He had learned to doubt whether numerical gauging could be trusted, or rather he had become convinced that the stars are scattered according to such diverse laws throughout the galaxy, as to render numerical statistics an untrustworthy means of determining the shape and extension of the sidereal system. But he still considered that there was a certain general uniformity of stellar dimensions which would render the brightness of stars a fair test (taking averages) of their distance. So that if the stars of a group could be distinguished *as* stars with a particular power, and with no lower power, it was to be inferred that the group lay at a particular distance corresponding to that power. Or if a certain set of stars in a particular region of the heavens were seen as such with a certain power, another set coming into view as discrete stars with a higher power, another set with a yet higher power, and so on, then those sets of stars in the same region,

were assumed to lie at greater and greater distances, corresponding to the higher and higher powers required to bring them into view. Again, a nebula which was resolved into stars with a given power would have its distance indicated by this method of gauging, on the assumption always that the principle on which the method was based was correct.

Sir W. Herschel did not live to complete the series of observations he had planned to carry out by this new method. Nor can the results he actually announced, be regarded as indicating that he was convinced the method had stood the test of experiment. For we find that in 1785 he published a number of results obtained by his numerical gauge, though he afterward abandoned that method of gauging the star-depths as untrustworthy. In 1818, he published, in like manner, a number of results obtained by his light-gauge; and it is more than probable that had he lived to discuss these results and extend the application of the method itself, in the same way as he dealt with the former method of gauging, he would have been led to the conclusion that the principle on which the second method is based is quite as little reliable as that assumed for the basis of the first. We have, indeed, the means of judging how he would have decided in the latter case, if we notice the nature of his reasoning in the earlier one. When he found that certain regions exceedingly rich in stars, were round in apparent shape, he inferred that they were spherical in real shape, and not (as the principle of his first gauging method would have shown), enormously extended arms or horns of the sidereal system, seen in the direction of their length. He rejected the latter view as manifestly inconsistent with the laws of probability. But the second method led to precisely similar results if the observations were interpreted as Herschel had suggested when he devised this method. Rich portions of the Milky Way, occupying a small extent of the star-sphere, were found to be partially resolved with Herschel's lowest telescopic power, yet not completely resolved with his highest. The portions resolved with low power lay, according to his interpretation, relatively very near—they were, for instance, not much farther off, relatively, than the average distance of the stars forming the constellations. Those which resisted the resolving power of his largest telescopes were, according to his hypothesis, many times as far removed. Now the apparent breadth of these rich regions is small—corresponding on the average, to about the one-hundredth part of the distance, if for the moment we regard a group clustering over a rounded region of the heavens, as spherical in shape. Representing

the distance of the remotest or irresolvable part by 2000, the cross breadth of the cluster at that distance would be on the average about as 20, while the distance of the nearest or most readily resolved part would be about 100, and the cross breadth as about 1. The length of the cluster would thus be about 900 (the excess of 1000 over 100), the breadth varying from about 1 at the nearest end, to about 20 at the farthest. It is difficult to imagine the possibility that a cluster of such a shape could exist at all. But the mere conception of its existence is only a small part of the difficulty. The real argument against such an interpretation of the phenomenon, is that derived from the improbability, that not only one cluster of such proportions, but many, are so posited that the observer on earth looks along them in the direction of their greatest length. The argument is in fact precisely the same as that used by Sir W. Herschel himself, against the supposition that regions *numerically* rich could be interpreted by the assumption on which his first method of star-gauging had been based. For it matters nothing whether enormous relative extension in the direction of the line of sight was indicated by numerical richness, or by closeness of aggregation and faintness of stellar lights, seeing that it is in the relative extension itself, or rather in the particular direction of such extension, not in the manner of its indication, that the difficulty resides.

It may appear perhaps at this stage to the reader that our reasoning respecting the two methods of gauging applied by Sir W. Herschel to the star depths amounts in point of fact to an attempt to show that his observations upon the stars,—or at least, such observations as were intended to indicate the true nature of the structure of the universe,—possessed no real value. If the two methods he devised for gauging the depths of the universe can both be shown to be unsound, how, it may be argued, can the results he obtained in applying them have any real value? But, in reality, no such inference is to be drawn from our present line of reasoning, as that the work of Herschel was of little value, or even that it had less value than it has been judged to possess by persons who have not been very careful to test its actual character. The gauges of Sir W. Herschel by both methods remain; they have their interpretation even though that interpretation be unlike that which Herschel suggested before he effected them. And be it remembered that it was himself who rejected the interpretation of results obtained by the first method; while it is only by an extension of the argument on which he based that rejection, that we have shown how the interpretation suggested for results

obtained by the second method fails in a great number of instances. The very circumstance that the evidence he collected by the two methods, led to the rejection of two assumptions which before had been quite commonly adopted by astronomers, shows the real value of the work which he accomplished. If we take his statement that he had found the stars of the Milky Way "to be quite differently scattered from those which lie immediately about us," where it stands we may view it as an admission that his first method of star-gauging originally devised for the interpretation of the Milky Way in particular, had failed of its purpose. But we must also regard the statement as the announcement of an important astronomical discovery. And so again the result, not explicitly stated but implicitly contained in the papers of 1817 and 1818, that the distribution and magnitudes of stars within clustering aggregations are so various that portions of the cluster lying equally distant from us require very different powers to effect their resolution, is a discovery and a very important one. Without doubt Herschel would have announced it as such had he recognized this inference from his work, though he might also have been careful to indicate how far this result was from what he had anticipated when he began the work.¹

¹ In his fanciful and not very accurate book, the "Romance of Astronomy," Mr. R. K. Miller, F. R. A. S., denies that Herschel "virtually abandoned his earlier system of star-gauging and gave up his cloven disk." "We can not think," says he, "that Herschel's language anywhere warrants this. No doubt the established fact that some stars are much smaller than others, weakens to a certain extent a theory based upon the idea of general equality, but it by no means upsets it. The indubitable fact remains that if two stars be taken at random, one of which is brighter than the other, the probable reason is that it is the nearer rather than the larger. In spite of all exceptions this remains, and it is the backbone of Herschel's speculations. And we certainly think that if he had abandoned his cloven disk theory, which he justly regarded as one of his most important achievements, he would have published the fact explicitly, instead of leaving it to be deduced inferentially from a stray sentence here and another there." This is manifestly written in ignorance of what Herschel really did say, as well about the cloven disk theory, as about his change of opinion subsequent to the publication of that theory. In publishing the theory of 1785, the only explicit enunciation of the cloven disk theory, Sir W. Herschel had in the most definite manner indicated that he was not satisfied with the evidence, and wished to wait until he had more thoroughly investigated the subject. "I would not be understood," he says, "to lay a greater stress on these calculations than the principles on which they are founded will permit; and if, hereafter, we shall find reason, from experience and observation, to believe that there are parts of our system where the stars are not scattered in the manner here supposed, we ought then to make proper exceptions." There would therefore have been no occasion for the explicit statement spoken of by Mr. Miller. But to say the truth I do not know what more could be required in the way of explicit withdrawal than what we actually find in Herschel's papers of 1802 and 1811. He was writing always for those who were attending to his statements, not for persons who three-quarters of a century later might trust to the extracts made by compilers. He knew that his paper of

But in reality those who regard W. Herschel's star-gauging as his most important work appreciate very ill the true scope and purpose of his labors. His numerical star-gauges were merely published, as he himself states, to give an idea of the principle of the method he proposed to use if (as failed to happen) his observations should confirm the accuracy of the method. The gaugings by the other method were all carried out in a very short time, and when he was very old. He accomplished his most important work in cataloguing the nebulae, and in carefully studying the characteristic features of these objects. We may be said to owe almost entirely to him and to Sir J. Herschel our present list of nebulae. When Sir W. Herschel began his labors, only about 130 nebulae were known, of which 103 belonged to the well-known list published by Messier. In 1786, W. Herschel published a list of 1000 nebulae; three years later he added another list of 1000; and finally, in 1802, he formed a supplementary list of 500 nebulae. To complete the history of nebular research, we may add here that Sir J. Herschel having discovered 500 new nebulae while examining parts of the heavens already surveyed by his father, went to the Cape of Good Hope, and there formed a catalogue of 1708 southern nebulae. Of about 5500 nebulae at present known, 4708 were discovered by the Herschels, father and son.

And here again I have to touch on the carelessness with which the work of the elder Herschel has been treated by the writers of books on astronomy, from Arago down. It is not uncommon to find the absolute statement made that Sir W. Herschel supposed all the nebulae to be external sidereal systems. But even when this particularly gross error is avoided, we find it usually stated that whereas at the beginning of his study of the nebulae Herschel thought they all consisted of stars, forming sidereal systems beyond the limits of our own, he was led later on to suspect that many of them consist of gaseous matter. In reality, however, Herschel not only never committed himself to the statement that all the nebulae are outlying

1785 had clearly indicated his purpose of dealing specially with the phenomena presented by the Milky Way. The passage I have just quoted states that regions are to be excepted where the stars are not scattered in the manner supposed, and in 1802 he says, "I am now convinced that the Milky Way itself consists of stars very differently scattered from those which are immediately above us;" while in opening his most important paper of the year 1811, he freely confesses that his opinion of the arrangement of the stars and their magnitudes has undergone a gradual change," and that "when we examine the Milky Way, or the closely compressed clusters of stars, the supposed equality of scattering must be given up." Nothing could be more explicit than these statements. That W. Herschel "regarded the cloven disk theory as one of his most important achievements," is an assertion for which there is not a particle of evidence.

galaxies like our own, but on the contrary he definitely distinguished between nebulae which he believed to be outlying milky ways, and others (far the greater number) which he regarded as either subordinate members of other galaxies or else as forming part and parcel of our own sidereal system. What Herschel really believed, in 1785, the time to which nine-tenths of the text-book references belong, was simply this, that our sidereal system is a comparatively young stratum of many millions of stars, including within its range many subordinate clusters, while the nebulae for the most part he regarded either as the subordinate parts of another great nebulous stratum, or as actually the remains of a very large branch of our own galaxy. This is so opposed to received ideas respecting Herschel's views that probably many may imagine that no amount of argument could establish the fact. I shall not require, however, to argue the matter. It is only necessary for me to quote Herschel's own very plain statement of his opinion:¹

"We should recollect," he says, "that the condensation of stars has been ascribed to a gradual approach; and whoever reflects upon the number of ages that must have passed before some of the clusters could be so far condensed as we find them at present, will not wonder if I ascribe a certain air of youth and vigor to many very regularly scattered regions of our sidereal stratum. There are, moreover, many places in the stratum where there is the greatest reason to believe that the stars, if we may judge from appearances, are now drawing toward various secondary centers, and will in time separate into different clusters so as to occasion many subdivisions. Hence we may surmise that when a nebulous stratum consists chiefly of nebulae of the first and second form" (two orders of subordinate nebulae already described), "it probably owes its origin to what may be called the decay of a great compound nebula of the third form" (an order to which Herschel regarded our galaxy as belonging); "and that the subdivisions which happened to it in the length of time occasioned all the small nebulae which spring from it to lie in a certain range, according as they were detached from the primary one. In like manner our system, after numbers of ages, may very possibly become divided so as to give rise to a stratum of two or three hundred nebulae; for it would not be difficult to point out so many beginning or gathering clusters in it. This view of the subject

¹ Unfortunately, this statement comes very late in the paper; and we may invariably notice that the compilers limit their attention to the first few pages of each of Herschel's first few essays.

throws a considerable light upon the appearance of that remarkable collection of many hundreds of nebulae which are to be seen in what I have called the nebulous stratum of Coma Berenices. It appears from the extended and branching figure of our nebula, that there is room for the decomposed nebulae of a large reduced former great one to approach nearer to us in the sides than in other parts. *Nay, possibly, there might originally be another very large joining branch, which in time became separated by the condensation of the stars: and this may be the reason of the little remaining breadth of our system in that very place; for the nebulae of the stratum of Coma are brightest and most crowded just opposite our situation, or in the pole of our system.* As soon as this idea was suggested I tried also the opposite pole, where accordingly I have met with a great number of nebulae, though under a much more scattered form."

It will be of course obvious that the italicized sentence does not imply Herschel's adoption of the theory there indicated. But we see that the theory is offered as an alternative for another, equally irreconcilable with ideas commonly attributed to Sir W. Herschel. Moreover admission of the possibility that the great nebulous regions outside the Milky Way may be the remains of *branches* formerly belonging to our star-stratum, is in itself very important as showing how lightly he held by the cloven disk theory even in 1785.

The earlier views of Sir W. Herschel concerning nebulae, did so far differ from those he adopted later in his career, that at first he supposed all nebulae to consist of stars, whereas in 1811 he adopted the theory that many nebulae are really vaporous or gaseous. It is worthy of notice that he introduces this new view in the same paragraph with his admission that he had changed his opinion respecting the Milky Way. Yet, whereas the admission respecting the nebulae has been generally noticed (possibly because occurring early in his treatment of that particular branch of his subject) the admission concerning the Milky Way escaped attention until quite recently.

In 1789, Herschel had indicated various degrees of stellar aggregation, from stars spread uniformly to the most closely compressed clusters. In 1802 he first mentioned his recognition of certain regions lit up by a faint but widely spread luminosity. In 1814 he arranged all the phenomena of the star-depths into a single series, ranging from "the immensity of the widely diffused and seemingly chaotic nebulous matter," to "highly complicated and most artificially constructed globular clusters of compressed stars." The series runs as follows: "Diffused nebosity; irregular nebulae; planetary nebulae; nebulous

stars; single stars; double and multiple systems; diffused clusters; ordinary stellar nebulae; closely set nebulae; nebulae barely resolvable with the highest telescopic powers; irresolvable nebulae really consisting of stars, but too remote for telescopic mastery." It will be seen that the two extremes of this series resemble each other in one respect; objects of a truly nebulous nature and star-clusters too remote to be resolved, present the same appearance of irresolvable nebulousity. Hence Sir W. Herschel thought it well to form a separate order of objects which *might* belong to either of those extreme orders, such objects he called "ambiguous," being "of such a construction, or at such a distance from us, that the highest power of penetration which hitherto has been applied to them, leaves it undecided whether they belong to the class of nebulae or stars."

I shall revert presently to the work of Sir W. Herschel, having hitherto left untouched his researches into the question of the sun's motion and the motions of other suns within the star-depths. But it will be well at present to pass to what has been done since Herschel's time in dealing with the problems suggested by the distribution of stars and nebulae.

Sir J. Herschel's work was directed chiefly to the completion of the surveys which his father had begun. But one peculiar feature of the star-depths which came under the younger Herschel's notice, deserves to be specially mentioned. I refer to the Nubeculae, or Magellanic Clouds. These are two round patches of light resembling the Milky Way in luster and character. Now J. Herschel reasoned respecting these round-looking clouds, much as his father had reasoned respecting the round-looking clustering aggregations along the zone of the Milky Way. "Were there but one such object," he says, "it might be maintained without utter improbability that its apparent sphericity is only an effect of foreshadowing," the true shape of the cloud being rather cylindrical than spherical, the length of the cylinder being by a strange chance directed precisely toward the sun. "But such an adjustment, improbable enough in one case, must be rejected as too much so for fair argument in two cases." We must conclude, therefore, that the Magellanic Clouds are roughly spherical in shape; whence it follows, their apparent size being taken into account, that the remotest portion of the region of space occupied by either, lies at a distance exceeding that of the nearest portion of the same Nubecula only about as ten exceeds nine. Hence, according to the principle on which his father's second method of star-gauging was based, it should follow that the telescope resolving the nearer

parts of either Nubecula ought to be very nearly able to resolve the remoter parts. For instance, if a telescope 9 inches in aperture resolved the nearer parts of the Nubecula Major into stars, a telescope somewhat less than 10 inches in aperture, ought to resolve the remoter parts. "Yet," says Sir J. Herschel, "within this globular space we have collected upward of 600 stars of the 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th magnitudes" (that is, stars from an order visible to powerful eyesight without any glass at all, down to stars visible with a 2 inch telescope), "nearly 300 nebulae, and globular and other clusters of *all degrees of resolvability*, and smaller scattered stars innumerable of every inferior magnitude, from the 10th to such as by their multitude and minuteness constitute irresolvable nebulosity, extending over tracts of many square degrees." "It must therefore be taken as a demonstrated fact, that stars of the 7th and 8th magnitude, and irresolvable nebulae, may coexist within limits of distance not differing more in proportion than as 9 to 10,"—a complete disproof of the assumptions on which the second method of star-gauging was originally based.

The first work however, of an absolutely original character, after W. Herschel's labors were concluded, was that of the elder Struve. He had been led, by a remark of Piazzi, to notice that the stars of the brighter orders are more richly strewn over the zone of the Milky Way than elsewhere on the celestial vault. He tested the matter, therefore, by comparing the number of stars in Weiss's catalogue of 31,085 stars, intended to include all from the first to the ninth magnitude, between fifteen degrees north and fifteen degrees south of the equator. He found the parts of the equatorial zone crossed by the Milky Way to be much more richly strewn with stars of these leading orders than the rest of the zone. It was the discrepancy between this result and Herschel's cloven disk theory which first led Struve to go carefully over Herschel's whole series of papers. For manifestly, if the principle of a general uniformity of stellar distribution had been true, the observed peculiarity ought not to have been presented. The sidereal stratum exceeds in thickness, as well as in length and breadth, the diameter of the sphere of ninth magnitude stars, and therefore stars of the ninth magnitude being thus spread uniformly throughout a sphere whose boundary lies wholly within the sidereal system, ought to be spread with general uniformity over the star-sphere. Struve had thus demonstrated that the stars of the brighter orders are not spread uniformly within a spherical region. It was not clear whether they really occupy such a region, but are more richly strewn in parts of it than elsewhere, or whether the observed

diversity of apparent scattering might not be the effect of a real diversity of distribution in space. For example, the greater richness on the Milky Way zone might arise either from the stars within the spherical region corresponding to the ninth magnitude, being more richly gathered near a certain diametral section of that region, *or* it might arise from an excess of stars of greater real magnitude within the particular region of space occupied by the Milky Way itself. The latter interpretation, which actually accords best with what Sir W. Herschel had discovered, Struve tacitly rejected, in favor of the former. And now, having discovered that general uniformity of distribution does not prevail among the stars immediately around us, he deliberately adopted a method of interpretation, based on the assumed existence of special laws of uniformity. Nothing in the whole history of sidereal astronomy is more remarkable than the process of averaging adopted at this stage by Struve, at the very moment when—it would seem—he should have become satisfied that no process of averaging could be relied upon in dealing with the problem of the star-depths. He assumed first, that the law of distribution of the stars over the different hours of right ascension, for a zone thirty degrees wide, divided medially around by the equator, might be taken as fairly representing the distribution of stars in the plane of the equator. Next he assumed that the stars of each order of brightness might be supposed to lie at corresponding distances, assigning certain radial limits for stars between the first and third magnitudes, and so on down to the ninth. Thus he got the stars he had numbered, and which were *really* spread over a zone thirty degrees wide (more than one-fourth of the whole surface of the sphere), distributed over a circle, or thin disk, in the plane of the equator; and he regarded the disk thus obtained as one section of the sidereal system within the distance of the ninth magnitude stars! All the time he claimed for his work a perfect freedom from all hypothesis, though he was thus pushing the doctrine of averages (discredited at the very outset by his own work) to its extreme limits. No wonder that Encke, after carefully studying Struve's paper, rejected his conclusions as invalid, or that Encke, Forbes, and others, were able to show that Struve's theory, instead of being free from all hypothesis, could not be accepted until five hypotheses, not one of which was very probable, and two of which were most improbable, had been adopted.

In our own researches into this particular branch of astronomy, we started on the same line as Struve, but instead of diverging from that line after it had led to a certain distance and adopting the old

custom of inventing hypotheses, we have continued upon it until now, and begin to perceive that it must be pursued to a much greater distance before safe inferences can be drawn from the views obtained in this direction.

Struve had found that stars of the brighter orders are more numerous in certain large regions of the heavens than in others. This was done merely by counting the stars in the various "hours" on an equatorial zone, or rather by taking their numbers directly from an horary catalogue. It appeared to us that actually charting them would be preferable, because then the details of their distribution would become manifest. We began with stars down to the sixth magnitude, and having adopted a method of charting by which equal spaces on the heavens were represented by equal spaces in the chart, we could perceive the laws according to which the stars were spread.¹ Rich regions became not merely recognizable but visible. Although the richness or poverty of certain regions might thus be manifest, however, it seemed well to test the matter by numeration. Taking a certain large round region of the northern heavens, and an opposite similar region of the southern heavens, which seemed exceptionally rich, we counted the number of stars contained in each, and compared with the areas of each by the simple process of cutting out the areas and weighing the paper. We applied a like process to the Milky Way, and also to those dark gaps in the Milky Way whose poverty in lucid stars is one of the most significant facts in sidereal science. We obtained these numbers as measures of the relative richness.

	Richness.
The whole Heavens.....	5,500
Northern Milky Way.....	9,940
" rich region	9,050
" poor region (rest of Northern heavens).....	2,567
Gaps in the zone of the Milky Way.....	1,240
Southern poor region.....	2,361
" rich region	13,126
" Milky Way.....	13,596

The indications of this table are very instructive. They show how peculiarly the stars of the brighter orders are spread over the heavens. Remembering that the bright back-ground of the Milky Way should tend to diminish the visibility of the fainter stars within

¹ One of the most mischievous faults of some of our old atlases was the enormous variation of scale in each map. Thus in the large maps published by the Society for Diffusing Useful Knowledge, equal areas of a map near the angles and near the center represent areas on the star-vault differing in the proportion of five to one. We can not wonder that peculiarities of stellar distribution fail to become noticeable in such maps.

the range of ordinary vision, we perceive that the excess of stars on the Milky Way, as indicated in the above table, must fall far short of the truth. Yet even as so shown it is sufficiently remarkable. Sir John Herschel, as stated in his "Southern Observations," believed at the time that there was no such excess even when stars down to the tenth magnitude were included. He says, "were there really among the infinite multitude of stars constituting the remote glories of the galaxy numerous individuals of extravagant size and brightness, as compared with the generality of these around them, so as to overcome the effect of distance and appear to us as large stars, the probability of their occurrence in any given region would increase with the total apparent density of stars in that region, and would result in a preponderance of considerable stars in the Milky Way, *beyond what the heavens really present.*" But we have seen that by the new method of charting, supplemented by the "scissors and balance" process, a very marked preponderance (which had been concealed by the comparative roughness of merely numerical processes applied to large regions), comes most unmistakably into recognition.

But we now made further advance within the star-depths, taking, instead of the range of the unaided eye, the scope of a telescope $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. This ranged almost precisely to the limits assigned by Sir J. Herschel in the above passage, as those within which there would *not* be any preponderance of stars on the Milky Way, if the stars are scattered pretty uniformly and are not greatly unequal in magnitude, while there would be a marked increase, if there are in the Milky Way "numerous individuals of extravagant size and brightness as compared with the generality of those around them." We charted down in an equal surface map, all the stars in the northern heavens brought into view with such a telescope, as was employed by Argeländer and six assistants, during seven years devoted to the work, or 324,000 stars in all. Each star was represented by a dot, copied carefully into its proper place, and so proportioned as to indicate the star's magnitude. When this had been done for the whole northern hemisphere, it became manifest without any application of the scissors and balance process (which would have been very difficult) that the stars of these leading orders do preponderate in the most marked manner upon the Milky Way. For actually, by the closeness of their congregation there as compared with their relative sparseness elsewhere, they formed a picture of the Milky Way almost precisely corresponding with its naked-eye aspect, thus showing, not only that those brighter stars are much richer in the Milky Way than else-

where, but that they almost entirely constitute the light of the Milky Way as we see it. Such a result as this shows at once that the old theories of general uniformity of stellar distribution and magnitude must be abandoned, precisely as Herschel had found in the case of the Milky Way, and Struve for the brighter orders of lucid stars. It also shows the advantage which may be expected from an application of the same method with powers gradually increasing until the range, perhaps, of the Herschel's gauging telescopes shall have been reached. Such researches within the star-depths would, in fact, combine the good qualities of both methods of star-gauging devised by the elder Herschel, and the results would not require doubtful hypotheses for their support, but only such an application of the laws of probability as all researches of the kind must be aided by. For instance, granting general uniformity of stellar distribution, a rich stellar field by Herschel's first method meant enormous extension of the star-system in the line of sight toward that rich region, and granting the law of general equality of star magnitudes, a field requiring great power for its complete resolution signified great remoteness. But when we combine together numerical gaugings over the whole of a large region (that is, without gaps), these gaugings being made with different telescopic powers, we need no such assumptions, but rather have the means of deciding whether such assumptions can be relied upon. If we find, for instance, that the several *rounded portions of the region* are rich in stars of any order, we infer that several *globular portions of space* are occupied by these stars—in other words, that there is not great extension in the direction of the line of sight. If we find that high powers, as well as lower powers, show one of these rounded regions rich in stars, that is, if we find that stars of very different orders of *apparent* brightness are richly strewn within that region, we infer that, within a globular portion of space, stars of very different orders of *real* magnitude are collected.

Another species of inference can be deduced from the indications of equal-surface charts. J. Herschel was the first to apply the principle of this fertile process to the nebulæ. Taking all the nebulæ, and plotting them down isographically, he found that, as his father had surmised, they gather richly around a part of the heavens, near the northern pole of the galactic zone; while around the southern pole, nebulæ, though not so closely gathered, are still strewn much more richly than elsewhere. He also noted that the zone of the Milky Way is almost entirely free from nebulæ, except the class of rich clusters. Cleveland Abbe obtained from J. Herschel's complete

list of nebulæ, the materials for a more exact chart. Herschel's chart had been formed from a catalogue of only 3812 nebulæ, Mr. Abbe's table dealt with 5079. He arranged these into the following classes: clusters, easily resolved globular clusters, resolvable globular clusters, resolvable nebulæ, and irresolvable nebulæ. When these were charted as tabulated by Mr. Abbe, it was found that the clusters lie almost exclusively on the galactic zone, the easily resolvable globular clusters showed a decided tendency to aggregate there; the barely resolvable globular clusters were slightly richer on the galactic zone; and lastly, the nebulæ resolvable and irresolvable, were almost entirely wanting on the Milky Way region. This has been still more clearly shown in a chart by Mr. Sidney Waters, in which the nebulæ are not jotted down according to the numbers occupying particular spaces on the heavens, as they were in our charts, but each nebula separately in its proper place. We see that as regards the nebulæ, the law indicated is not a law of agreement, as in the cases of stellar distribution before considered, but a law of contrast, the stars being richly strewn where the nebulæ are scarce, and *vice versa*. But manifestly this special arrangement shows that the two classes belong to one and the same family, as clearly as the family of asteroids belongs to the planetary system, though where the major planets travel, there are no asteroids, and *vice versa*.

The two principles of interpretation here indicated, applied to systematic series of gauges, with different telescopic powers, and extended over the whole of the star-sphere, promise to throw much light on the structure of the sidereal universe.

The motions taking place within the sidereal system afford another means of ascertaining the laws of stellar distribution. W. Herschel, from the study of the stellar motions known in his time, was led to the discovery that the sun, with its attendant family of planets, is traveling onward through space toward the region occupied by the constellation Hercules. Subsequent researches have confirmed this conclusion; and it has even been thought that the rate of the sun's motion can be assigned within not very wide limits of error. One particular discussion of the problem deserves special mention. It was suggested by Airy, and carried out by one of his assistants, at Greenwich, Mr. E. Dunkin. Taking nothing for granted as to the sun's motion, let this problem be dealt with—What rate and direction of motion must be assigned to the sun, to account for the greatest possible amount of stellar motion? The distances of the stars being assumed to correspond to their apparent brightness, it becomes pos-

sible to solve this problem by the well-known method of least squares. The result in this case was to indicate a motion towards the constellation Hercules, at the rate of about four miles per second. But it came out that the actual amount of stellar proper motion thus accounted for was exceedingly small. Now we showed by a very simple investigation of the general problem, that one-half the totality of stellar proper motion should be accounted for by the sun's motion. Since the proportion accounted for was so small, it followed that there must be some error in the only part of the process where error could be supposed to exist—viz., in the assumption on which the distances of the stars had been estimated. We shewed that if the existence of really small stars exceeding in number the really larger stars were assumed, the discrepancy would be partly removed; and we further shewed how the average proper motions of the stars of the varying orders of brightness, correspond with this assumption, the fainter orders not having by any means the relatively small average of proper motion, corresponding to the assumption that they are exceedingly remote. These views have since been very strikingly confirmed by the exact and original researches of Professor Safford, of Chicago, who finds that when the distances of the stars are inferred from their proper motions instead of being inferred from their brightness, the proportion of the stellar proper motions considered when the sun's motion is taken into account, is very much increased.

One theory depending on the stellar motion has excited a good deal of attention and must here be briefly noticed. Mädler was led to believe that if the whole system of the stars is circulating around a great central sun, all the stars lying nearly in the same direction as that sun would appear to move in the same direction—those between the sun and the center lagging or seeming to move in a direction contrary to that of the general circulation, those beyond appearing also, on account of their position, to move in a manner opposed to the general circulation. So that a community of proper motion in any part of the heavens would indicate that the central sun lies in that direction. Considering that the center must lie in a direction at right angles to the sun's line of motion, or must, in other words, lie on a great circle having as its poles the points toward which the sun is advancing and from which it is receding, while probably the central sun must lie near the plane of the Milky Way, Mädler was guided toward the constellation Taurus as probably containing the central sun. Finding in that constellation the expected community of proper motion, he expressed the opinion that the Pleiades mark the

center of the sidereal universe, and that Alcyone, the brightest star of the Pleiades is the central sun.

This theory, which was never regarded with much favor by astronomers, is shown to be manifestly untenable by our discovery that community of motion exists in many parts of the heavens; notably in the constellations Gemini, Leo, and Ursa Major. We have as yet no evidence that the structure of the universe requires for its completeness the existence of a great central sun or cluster.

Star-drift, however, is in itself a feature well worth carefully studying. Community of motion becomes a means of distinguishing stars really gathered into particular parts of the heavens, and so forming distinct systems. That this class of evidence can be trusted seems fairly shown by the test to which we subjected the theory of star-drift, in venturing to predict that whenever the drifting stars of Ursa Major were studied by the spectroscopic method of measuring motions of recession and approach, they would be found to be either all receding or all approaching at a common rate. Dr. Huggins found that they were all receding from the sun at the rate of seventeen miles per second.

The general conclusion to which we seem led by what has been thus far done toward determining the structure of the universe, seems to us not incorrectly indicated in the statement with which we close the article on Astronomy in the Encyclopedia Britannica: "The sidereal system is altogether more complicated and more varied in structure than has hitherto been supposed; in the same region of the stellar depths coexist stars of many orders of real magnitude; all orders of nebulae, gaseous or stellar, planetary, ring-formed, elliptical, and spiral, exist within the limits of the galaxy; and lastly, the whole system is *alive* with movements, the laws of which may one day be recognized, though at present they appear too complex to be understood.'

BOOK REVIEWS.

VICTORIAN POETS.¹

THIS important work must not be classed with the countless volumes of critical essays and lectures, which fall every year from the press—the ephemeral gossip about literature, which, even when accomplished scholars bestow it upon us, seems meant for the railroad car and the watering place, and rarely survives the season. Nor is it a collection of strained efforts to put hasty and superficial judgments into such brilliant language that they shall sound like final wisdom. These two classes include most of what American poets have written about English poetry. But Mr. Stedman's book, in style and manner alike, is the evident fruit of long and faithful study, by a mind truly and nobly critical; that is, with a catholic love for all excellence, with zeal for no party but that of culture, and with jealousy for no standard but that of art. It is a survey of the poetical writings of Tennyson, and his contemporaries in England, with an estimate of their value, as measured one by the other, and by the great classics of the language. In manner, entertaining enough for the afternoon lounge, in matter, it is so thorough and instructive, that it bears well the student's repeated perusal, and soon leads him to suspect that his own critical convictions may need revision, if he finds them widely at variance with his author's. Thus, while we can not adopt all of Mr. Stedman's judgments, we must admit that every one, seriously urged by him, deserves to be candidly weighed. We should wish, perhaps, to dispute some of the canons by which his verdicts are framed; believing, for instance, that the moral element in poetry, deserves more prominence than he has given it, and that the moral superiority of the poetry of the last generation, to that of Queen Anne's day, is quite sufficient to insure it against the forgetfulness into which the latter has fallen; believing, also, that Mr. Stedman is, in some cases, influenced in his estimates by his view of what a poet might have done, rather than by what he has done, awarding to capacity, honor which belongs only to achievement. If he falls in any degree short of grasping Tennyson's greatness, it

¹ "Victorian Poets," by Edmund Clarence Stedman. Boston: J. R. Osgood & Company. 1876.

results, we think, from the former error; if he gives Swinburne too much praise, it is because of the latter. But, as he gives his reasons for every opinion, and throws the reader upon his own responsibility in accepting or rejecting it, the latter, if he can not accept the teaching as authority, is at least stimulated to dissent, with intelligence.

Mr. Stedman's work is to be regarded as a whole; no extracts could do it justice. Two chapters, indeed, those on Walter Savage Landor, and on Tennyson and Theocritus, are remarkable, among others, for their originality and maturity, and would alone give a permanent value to the volume. But the entire work claims the attention of the literary world, as the most symmetrical and useful guide in existence to the study of the English poetry of our own generation, and as one of the very best aids, now accessible to the general reader, in forming a healthy taste in letters. In its own department of criticism, it is the most important book yet written in America.

LETTERS AND SOCIAL AIMS.¹

THE publication of a book from Mr. Emerson's pen is a notable literary event. For some forty years he has been a prominent writer, and may be ranked, with Irving, Longfellow and Hawthorne, among those who have done most to make American literature honored and influential, at home and abroad. He has been called our best prose writer. He has certainly lived to see the elegant style of Irving and Prescott superseded by the more sinewy and masculine grasp of words which mark his own pages, and he has largely formed the style of the authors, and magazine and newspaper writers, of the present day. His books have had great influence upon the leaders of cultured thought. The mysticism of his earlier essays, if not the severely simple directness of his thought, repelled the larger public; but a great number of forcible writers and speakers, have studied Emerson as they have studied Carlyle, and his literary tone has been caught by those who use words for expressing vigorous and incisive thought. Wendell Phillips has the same power of putting large ideas into the simplest words, and of using the best word for the idea. Wherever one is careless as to the expression of his thought, he cheapens his work. Theodore Parker was thus careless, and his writings are comparatively unread. Mr. Emerson has learned, from the masters of human speech, how to express truth, not only relatively to some special event, but with the simplicity and directness which carries his

¹ "Letters and Social Aims." By Ralph Waldo Emerson. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 16mo., pp. 314. \$2.

thought into every language. His position is unique. He has constantly grown in his power to apprehend and speak the fact, or vital truth, and this has been the measure of his increasing hold upon those who read. His writing is the outcome of his own thought. He has attempted nothing outside the line of his peculiar genius. Montaigne did not cling more tenaciously to the essay, than does our American Plato; and yet Mr. Emerson is the most confiding, personal, and truthful of men. He gives us the result of his mental studies through the whole range of human life, and whatever he writes is the photograph of himself.

His early standard was high. He struck the essay from the first. His "Nature" is not his best work, but it has, with all its mysticism, the same richness and surprise of thought, which marks his latest volume. He wrote out his own convictions, and this essay is in some respects the key to every thing which he has since produced. He sounded a new note in our literature, at a time when the Unitarian movement in New England had broken up the dead level of religious orthodoxy; and his religious position, as a Unitarian minister who had virtually abandoned Christianity, caused him to be misunderstood by those who should have been the first to detect and use the new literary force which he brought into current thought. His address before the Harvard Divinity School in 1838, was a tide-mark in the religious world and in his own experience. He was a brave man, and dared to speak his thought. He burst his shackles. He missed, to the regret of all, the sunshine of the Christian faith, but in the essay on "Immortality" in "Letters and Social Aims," he has come surprisingly near to sentiments which are held by all religious men. What deserves comment, is his honesty and courage. Few writers, of any age, have given stronger expression to fundamental religious truth; and the mellowed tone of the book under notice, is remarked by every one, as if the crudeness of other years, in some lines of religious thought, had passed away amid the stronger intimations of immortality which come with ripened age. Every man must have his independent expression of the inward and spiritual truths, and we are indebted to Mr. Emerson for the singular fidelity with which he has spoken the truth, as it has been revealed to himself. Such doubts as he may cast upon some views of truth and doctrine, are not the attacks of an enemy, but rather the honest regrets of one who can not believe. The earthly element is subordinated to the spiritual, and if you are not drawn to a personal God, or to a living Christ, you are made to feel the sacredness of existence, and the greatness and worth of the soul. His comments upon life; its conduct, its mystery, its manifoldness, its richness, its beauty, its detail and its

greatness; and the universal experience of man under all circumstances and conditions, are remarkable. His truthful and kindly observation, has the response, "That is so," from nearly every reader, and no American author has spoken, so well and so often, the thought of both the superior, and the average, man. His writings have grown better, as wine mellows with age, in the advancing years, in just this department of observation; the flavor is richer; the tone more genial; the truth more exactly stated. It is safe to say that no volume in the range of pure literature, in which class all Mr. Emerson's writings fall, has been published in this country for some years, which has higher value than "Letters and Social Aims." Its bulk is slight, but its fidelity to mental, personal, and spiritual facts, is unusual. It is free from mysticism; it goes to the essential truth; it ranges up and down through human experience; and yet there is scarcely a repetition, and every sentence might be expanded into a separate essay. Compare him with Landor, and he is the closer thinker; with Helps, and he wins in force of expression; with Carlyle, and he keeps nearer to the truth. Judge Mr. Emerson's writings by any legitimate standard, and they rise at once to a comparison with those books which stand at the head of a nation's literature, in any language. In the present volume, the essays on "Social Aims," "Progress of Culture," "Eloquence," and "Immortality," reach up to this high level. The treatment is at once absolute, or universal, and yet with constant reference to special facts. It thus gives the expression of the whole truth—not going beyond the human interest, not falling short of the common understanding, suggestive at every point, and reaching out to what is felt, rather than expressed. It is this capacity to feel after truth, to speak what all men think, but can not express, to reach further into the outer darkness, or nearer the central light, than other men, in the things of mortal life—which makes Mr. Emerson's essays so valuable. His "Representative Men" interpreted truths of character in a spiritual order, and brought out the truths of the soul. His "English Traits" is still the best preparation for a visit to England. His "Conduct of Life" is a key to the formation of personal character. His volumes of general essays, have penetrated to the heart of English literature. There is nothing poor, nothing weak, nothing half-done in this list. All have the finish of the scholar, and the expression of the man who knows most on the given subject.

There are two elements in Mr. Emerson's writings which remain to be noticed—his literary culture, and his style. Setting aside his instructions on the conduct of life, and his singular capacity for detecting personal thought, his pages are illustrated by constant

reference to books, and the sayings and doings of people of mark. He rivals Macaulay in quotation and reference. The spoils of all ages garnish his speech, and lend their aid in the expression of his thought. Some of his essays, as those on Goethe, Culture, Books, Eloquence, Clubs, Literary Ethics, Poetry, Imagination, and Persian Poetry, are among our best guides to English literature; and we are constantly introduced to authors and facts, which add a new charm to letters. He has a fine feeling for a striking remark, or a suggestive fact, and never quotes another without making the imported words the vehicle of his own ideas. The literary stimulus of his writings, is great. It is this that makes them so useful in their influence upon personal character. They bring us into contact with the best things which any man has uttered, and yet we never lose the guidance of a man of genius. Mr. Emerson is no Boswell, or cicerone. He does not keep a curiosity shop, or museum. He is rather the universal scholar, because he searches for universal facts; and yet he is the man first, and the scholar afterward. No amount of learning overlays his original thought. Almost no writer has remained himself, who has foraged so much. Walter Savage Landor, is the only modern writer who has approached him, in this singular power to keep his identity and freshness, while hunting everywhere for words and facts.

His style has been already indicated. It is simple, plain, concise; hugs a fact; is strong in the sentence; breaks into poetry; has immense reserve power, and is not to be imitated. Simply for the teaching of literary expression, Mr. Emerson's writings are worth the most careful study, and his latest volume shows no falling off in his singular power to make the simplest words bear the largest ideas and the most vigorous thought.

THE CIVIL WAR IN AMERICA.¹

Judging from the handsome and interesting volume before us, it is not too much to say that the "History of the Civil War," by the Comte de Paris, is by far the best work which has yet been given to the world in connection with the subject of which it treats. Improving the opportunity which his service with McClellan as a staff officer afforded him, and bringing to his assistance an extended and varied scholarship, he has written, as a foreigner, with an intelligence and breadth of view scarcely to be expected, at this date,

¹ "History of the Civil War in America." By the Comte de Paris. Translated, with the Approval of the Author, by Louis F. Tassistro. Edited by Henry Coppée, LL. D. Volume I. pp 640. Philadelphia: Jos. H. Coates & Co. 1875.

in an American writer. Although ardently in favor of the national cause, and hating slavery with all the fervor of an abolitionist, he challenges the admiration of even the Southerners, by the fair and philosophical spirit in which he describes events, and sets forth their relations to each other. In his preface he modestly but truthfully says: "If I have been obliged to judge and to censure, I have done so without any personal or partial feeling against any one, with a sincere respect for truth, and a keen sense of the responsibility I have assumed." This is seen in every page of his work; but what is still more gratifying and instructive to the American reader, and especially to the military reader, is the critical commentary, illustrating his narrative of battles and campaigns. He points out, with rare perspicacity, the mistakes of both parties to the conflict, whether they relate to tactics, strategy, organization or general administration, keeping always in view the peculiarities of the theater of war, as well as the characteristic differences of the Northern and Southern armies. In this respect, his work must take high rank among the best military histories of modern times. He has done for the military institutions and aptitudes of the American people, what de Tocqueville has done for their political institutions; and while it is true that he has written in a more liberal and hopeful spirit than the latter, this is perhaps due, in some degree, to the fact that he had seen our institutions survive a struggle such as the world has rarely witnessed. This is none the less gratifying, because he attributes it to the inherent virtue of the people and their leaders, as much as, or even more than, to the strength of their system of government. Another noticeable feature of his work, is the discrimination with which he notes the leading characteristics of the various commanders who took part in the events which he chronicles. It must not be supposed that he attempts any extended delineation of personal character, and yet it is true that he has succeeded in giving the world a fair idea of what manner of men they were, who led the opposing hosts during the most sanguinary civil war of all history. It must be remarked, also, that with but a few exceptions, his estimate of men seems to have been based upon a correct understanding of their real character, rather than upon an inference of their worth, drawn from their deeds, or from the apparent place filled by them in the popular mind. In but few instances has he fallen into error, as in the case of Kilpatrick, where it is clear that he has been misled by the newspapers of the day, and has assigned to that officer a higher place in point of services and character than has been accorded him by those who knew him better. In the case of the Bufords he has, inadvertently, confounded one brother, of rare merit and great soldierly promise, but whose

career was cut short by death, with another, of more moderate talents but longer life. Withal, the volume before us, we feel assured, will do much to elevate American Generals, and American soldiers, to their true place in the estimation of the world, and still more, to show the American people the inestimable value they should put upon the National Academies at West Point and Annapolis. Having had ample opportunity for becoming thoroughly acquainted with the military and naval establishments of all the great European powers, his commendation of the officers of our regular army and navy, ought to be peculiarly gratifying to every American reader. He gives a complete account of the growth of our military system, from the days of Wolfe and Montcalm, down to the present time, showing the effect of the early French and Indian wars, as well as of the revolution, upon our volunteers, and describing the growth of our regular army from the revolutionary period, through the war of 1812, and the war with Mexico, down to the outbreak of the rebellion. He points out the strength, as well as the weakness, and shows the economy, as well as the extravagance, of our system, or rather, want of system. We specially commend that part of the author's work which refers to the history of our army and the functions of the various staff corps, to the members of the present Congress, not doubting that a careful study thereof, will give them a higher appreciation of the value of a body of trained officers; and of the advantages of a flexible organization, capable of contraction in time of peace, and expansion in time of war, according to the needs of the government, than they can obtain from any other publication connected with American history.

Still another feature of peculiar excellence in this work, is the careful and exact description of every battle-field, as well as of every zone of military operation. The amount and accuracy of the topographical and geographical information which it contains, as much as, if not more than, anything else, shows how industriously and conscientiously the author has studied his subject, as well as how fully he appreciated the necessity of keeping the information thus obtained constantly before his readers, in order that they may understand the essential difference between warfare in America, and warfare in Europe.

The scope of the work is broad and comprehensive; it includes the history, not only of the war itself, but of the events which led to the war, together with such description of our people and institutions, as had effect, directly, or indirectly, upon the action of the different States, or upon the character and duration of the struggle. Speaking of the course pursued by the border slave States, he says: "But

these States struggled in vain to resist the example of their associates already engaged in rebellion ; linked to their fortunes by that terrible bond of complicity which in politics as in private life, places every malefactor at the mercy of the most daring, they were soon or late, drawn into the vortex." He shows at length, the influence of slavery in bringing about the terrible struggle ; and that he learned at an early day, what it cost the " poor white folks " of the South much suffering and many thousands of lives to learn ; but which having learned they feelingly expressed by the saying : " This is the rich man's war, but the poor man's fight." The limit of this paper forbids us to follow the author through all of the events he describes, or to do more than make a brief allusion to the subjects which he discusses. His descriptions of the rivers, railways, and telegraph of the country, and their influence upon the cause of the war, as well as his account of the military material used by the combatants, are exceedingly clear and instructive. He points out the superior advantages of rivers as lines of operation and supply, and strikingly summarizes his conclusions, as follows : " We shall always find, therefore, that whenever the Federals were supported by a river, their progress was certain and their conquests decisive ; while the successes they obtained by following a simple line of railway, were always precarious." Speaking of the battle of Bull Run, which he describes in great detail, he says : " It was a misfortune, not a disgrace, to the Federal arms," and that " the rout, or in other words the panic—in the midst of which the enemy picked up most of his trophies, was one of those accidents to which even victorious troops are sometimes liable, and against which old troops are not always able to guard." His hearty tributes to the ability, courage, and patriotism of Grant, Sherman, Thomas, Sheridan, and many others, are in good taste, and will doubtless have great influence in securing for those generals a much wider recognition from the world, than they could hope for through the agency of any American author, no matter how ably he might describe their services and peculiarities. He places Farragut at the head of the " naval captains of our times " ; and praises Secretary Welles, and his Assistant-secretary Fox, in the warmest terms, for the extraordinary rapidity with which they created a navy. And yet he does not fail to censure where he thinks censure is due. He criticises Buell, Rosecrans, Halleck, Sherman, and Fremont, on the Federal side ; and Beauregard, Forrest, Morgan, and others, on the Confederate, side ; but in all cases, his criticisms are moderate, and apparently unprejudiced.

The most interesting and perhaps the most elaborate chapter in the volume is that relating to the battle of Shiloh. It supports the

view of that battle taken by the *INTERNATIONAL REVIEW*, in an article entitled "Sherman and his Memoirs." He admits that the position occupied by the national troops was "extremely well chosen," and shows that the censure which was at one time visited upon Grant for landing on that side of the river, "was unjust"; but he does not hesitate to declare that, "The surprise of the Federals was complete and unquestionable, and their commanders sought in vain to excuse themselves." He condemns them for not placing their troops in proper order to resist attack, points out that they should have fortified their lines, and made frequent and more distant reconnoissances, so that it would have been impossible for an army of 40,000 men "to lie in ambush" close to their camps, without discovery. After pointing out the defective arrangement of the troops, he says:

"But the fault of these arrangements was a small matter compared with the neglect of all the precautions with which the Federal army should have surrounded itself. Not a shovelful of earth had been thrown up . . . the tall trees of the forest . . . had not even been cut down to construct abattis and guard against unforeseen attacks. The very position of the camps exposed them to all kind of surprises. In short the surrounding country had not been reconnoitered. The cavalry was assembled near the river, and for three weeks had only made a single reconnoissance, of no account whatever." And again: "Generals and soldiers were alike novices. Grant was not accustomed to handling a large army. Sherman, who displayed so much foresight in his subsequent campaigns, did not appear to possess as yet that vigilance which became one of his prominent military qualities."

These expressions have peculiar weight in connection with the discussions which have lately arisen in reference to "Sherman's Memoirs." He speaks of the battle in Hampton Roads, between the Monitor and Merrimac, as, "one of the most memorable events in modern warfare." The first volume of the translation, and the second of the original work, end with an account of this singular battle, and its results, upon naval architecture and naval warfare.

In concluding this notice, we can not refrain from expressing our regret that the translation was not undertaken by General William F. (Baldy) Smith, who at one time contemplated it. Not even the most distinguished writer could hope to do full justice to such a work, without an extended knowledge of the military art, as well as of the military events, of which it treats. We are credibly informed that while the translation was entrusted to Mr. Tassistro, by the Comte de Paris himself, or at least with his full concurrence, Professor Coppée's connection with the work, as editor, was entirely without the knowledge or consent of the author. Why he was employed, or what useful office he performed in connection with the work, is difficult to perceive. He appears to have done nothing more than

to put his name upon the title-page, and to write a short preface explaining why he did not translate measurements, into miles, yards, feet and inches, instead of leaving them in leagues, kilometers, meters and centimeters. It is true he added a few foot-notes, of doubtful utility and accuracy; but if the translation had been more thorough, and more in accordance with the requirements of a correct English style, the reader could have well dispensed with the editor's notes.

The publishers have done their duty fully and most acceptably by this valuable work. In typography and paper, it is fully equal to the original, while such of the maps as are used have been creditably reproduced. The manner in which they are bound in the book,—so as to open clear of the text and permit constant reference,—is particularly advantageous to the reader.

MANUAL OF THE RAILROADS.¹

THE present is the eighth annual volume of this publication, and it is inferior to no preceding edition in the amount of statistical information it contains respecting each particular railroad corporation in the United States. It appears at a time when considerable interest attaches to the financial condition of our railways, owing to the period of severe depression through which the country has been passing since the crisis of 1873, and which has tended to materially reduce the earnings of all.

The year 1874 was the first for a decade and a half in which the aggregate gross earnings of our railways failed to show an increase over those for the preceding one. The previous great depression in railway property occurred in 1857-'58, when the railway system, which has since extended itself so rapidly, was only partially completed, and the railways had consequently for the most part only a local traffic; but now—with their length of seventy thousand miles—they form a vast and united network, covering the whole populated area of the country, and contributing to each other's business. The average earnings of the population per capita are five-fold more than they were in 1858, and as the population is increasing at the rate of about a million a year, the permanent welfare and further extension of our railway system is assured, whatever adverse influences it may temporarily encounter.

¹ "Manual of the Railroads of the United States for 1875." By Henry V. Poor. New York: H. V. & H. W. Poor. 1875.

The fact that the aggregate earnings of the railways, in 1873, were the largest for any one year in their history, shows the steady growth of their prosperity with that of the country at large, and the indications now are that the worst of the depression following the late crisis has been experienced, and that future returns of earnings will reflect improvement. The earnings per mile of the railways collectively have more than doubled within the last ten years; the productive capacity of the people, it is estimated, has been also doubled, owing to the introduction of new labor-saving machinery and the reduced cost and increased facilities of transportation; and their aggregate earnings are four times as great.

It is as remarkable as it is encouraging, that considering the prevailing widespread depression in all departments of trade, their gross earnings—five hundred and twenty millions—should have fallen off so little—about six millions—in 1874; that their net earnings actually showed a slight increase over those of the previous year, owing to economy in management and the reduced cost of labor and materials, while the tonnage was about equal for the two years. Notwithstanding this exhibit, however, numerous defaults have been made, both in the payment of interest and dividends, the causes of which are too complex for elucidation in the limited space at our disposal, and these superadded to the effects of the collapse of the railway building bubble in 1873, will prevent new lines from being constructed, except where urgently needed, for a long time to come. During the five years ending with 1873, no less than 28,428 miles of new railway were built, a total far in excess of the real requirements of the population; and not a few of the enterprises begun, remain, like the Northern Pacific, uncompleted, and a prey to financial embarrassments and litigation.

The reckless manner in which the directors of railway corporations increased their capital and stock, for stock-jobbing purposes, during the highly speculative period following the war issues of paper money, as a matter of course correspondingly diminished their ability to pay dividends; and the result is that some of them, Lake Shore and Michigan Southern prominent among the number, have been compelled, first to reduce, and then to suspend dividends altogether.

The unanticipated doubling of Hudson River stock, in 1867;¹ the enormous scrip dividends of eighty per cent. suddenly declared by the New York Central and Hudson, at the time of the consolidation in December, 1868; the successive unexpected issues of new Chicago and Rock Island stock, the frequent "waterings" of Reading and Fort

¹ Fifty per cent. of the increase, however, being required from the stockholders in cash.

Wayne, and in a minor degree, of Cleveland and Pittsburg, Milwaukee and St. Paul, and Chicago and North-western, are still as well remembered in Wall street, as the more notorious periodical flooding of the market with new Erie shares, when the old Fisk and Gould "ring" held control of that unfortunate company, which is now struggling in the hands of a receiver. Nor was the wholesale dilution of stocks confined to railways, for Pacific Mail stock rose leap by leap from four to twenty millions, one stock dividend of fifty per cent. having been declared expressly for the benefit of the Pacific Mail ring, composed chiefly of its own directors, who were then large holders of the stock, and engaged in a movement to advance its price.

The secrecy with which these issues of new stock were made, gave those inside an immense advantage over those outside, and the former were really putting money into their own pockets by their official proceedings; for it may be assumed as certain that their position on the stock market was such as to enable them to profit largely by their own acts, especially as most of them were known to be habitual speculators.

It has been the misfortune of too many railway corporations to be managed in Wall street, for the benefit of speculative directors, who sought their position for purely selfish ends, entirely inimical to the welfare of the *bona fide* stockholders. These men have treated the railways over which they acquired control by stock operations in Wall street, as if they were their own private property, handling their resources, and making their condition appear prosperous, or the reverse, so as to suit their own sinister purposes; and they have been in the habit of shaping their contracts and reports to this end. If their stocks were low in Wall Street, and the outlook promising for a "bull" movement, they bought them largely, sometimes using their companies' money for the purpose; they reduced expenditures, and perhaps declared dividends they had previously announced would be "passed," and reaped their reward in a sharp rise, which they encouraged as far as possible; they then sold out, while representing everything connected with their companies as "*couleur de rose*." In like manner, after having disposed of their stocks, it was an easy matter for them to sell "short" and then proceed to make repairs and improvements, or to build extensions, at extravagant rates—they being, *sub rosa*, the real contractors for the work, deriving large profits therefrom—and thus to drain the companies concerned, of cash resources, so as to involve a large increase in their floating debts, and perhaps a suspension of customary dividends. Falsely discouraging reports of light earnings, quite as much in keeping with these

discreditable tactics as too flattering ones in the opposite case, would follow. All this to depress their stocks once more.

This gross corruption in railway management has been gradually waning under the light of increased publicity, and since the crisis it has been much less conspicuous than formerly in Wall street, owing to the comparative dullness of speculation; but it is still a great evil calling for relentless exposure. In the course of time, however, the desirable stocks representing the great highways of traffic will be absorbed by investors, and in proportion as they disappear from Wall street the incentives to mismanagement will be diminished, as it will be impossible to gain control of them by mere stock-jobbing manipulations. Consequently a better class of men will be elected to fill boards of direction—men who have a real stake in the property they represent—and as the railways grow in wealth and importance with the progress of the country, their interests will be more jealously guarded than heretofore, for the tendency of legislation is toward the correction of flagrant abuses, except where bribery and corruption still conspire to clog the wheels of reform.

In illustration of this we may mention that the railways whose stocks were once foot-balls of speculation, but which have entirely passed into the hands of investors, are now much more honestly managed than they were before this change took place. It is satisfactory to reflect that railway property has suffered so little, on the whole, in comparison with some other important industries, from the ordeal which the country has undergone, and from which it cannot even yet be said to have emerged.

MONEY AND THE MECHANISM OF EXCHANGE.¹

In these days of endless discussion of monetary questions, it is no small merit to have added anything permanently valuable to the literature of the subject; but this merit must certainly be conceded to Professor Jevons. In the narrow compass of 350 duodecimo pages, almost every material fact, and controverted question, relating to money and the circulating medium, is briefly but clearly stated, so that one familiar with the subject, finds here a *résumé* of all his previous reading, and one not familiar with it, may safely take the book as a condensed summary of the best conclusions in monetary science. The most

¹ "Money and the Mechanism of Exchange." By W. Stanley Jevons, M. A., F. R. S. Professor of Logic and Political Economy in the Owens College, Manchester. D. Appleton & Co. 1875, pp. 349, 12mo.

original part of the volume is the first half, which treats of money in its material forms. The history of these is traced from the rude and cumbrous instruments of exchange resorted to in the infancy of civilization, down to the newest and most perfect symbols, which science, aided by mechanical and artistic skill, has furnished to the commerce of the world. No English book contains so much valuable information respecting the coinage, and it has the merit of bringing us down to the latest dates, embracing the substantial facts elicited by the International Monetary Conventions of 1865 and 1867, and the French Commission of 1870, with the recent action of the German Government in remodeling and unifying its gold currency. Roswag's large book, "*Les Métaux Précieux*," published in 1865, is more learned and comprehensive, and the Report on the Precious Metals of our American Dr. Blake, one of the Commissioners to the French Exposition, is more full of facts relating to the production and distribution of the new gold, a subject with which Professor Jevons does not attempt to deal in this volume, having largely written upon it in previous publications. The knowledge of coins and coinage which he acquired while Director of the Mint in Sydney, at the period of the greatest Australian gold production, makes him, without doubt, the first of living authorities on these subjects. Since his return to England, about ten years ago, he has been a constant contributor to the press on economical subjects. We believe that his earliest pamphlet, on the "Fall in the Value of Gold," was published while he was still at Sydney. In it he proved by a learned array of facts, that the actual fall, as indicated by the increase of prices, was only some fifteen per cent; and that the great and permanent disturbance of prices anticipated by Charlier, had not taken place. Later articles published by him in the *Economist* went to strengthen this conclusion. Many of his papers have been read before the Statistical Society of London, and published in its Journal. Among these was a valuable essay published in 1865, with illustrative tables, on the "Variation of Prices and the Value of the Currency since 1782." One not less valuable and interesting, presented the results of an ingenious experiment which he had instituted, to ascertain the volume and condition of the metallic circulation of Great Britain. For this purpose, he caused a complete "census" to be taken of a large number of sovereigns and half-sovereigns, at different places in the United Kingdom—London, Manchester, the agricultural counties, Ireland, etc. From this it appeared that gold coins retained their legal weight only about eighteen years; that the newest and best of them circulate in London and other great cities where they are frequently tested, and that the worn and light pieces take refuge,

and permanently remain, in Ireland, and in the agricultural counties. The melting pot absorbs many of the best, only those of full weight being profitably convertible into bullion. This is a heavy tax on the newly issued coinage of all countries, and it presents a strong argument for the adoption of an international money. It is said (though the fact is not mentioned by Professor Jevons), that the German Government has already suffered in this way, while putting out its new gold coins.

In connection with the unavoidable deterioration of coins, Professor Jevons states the familiar principle, as applicable not only to them but to every species of money; "that bad money drives good money out of circulation, but that good money can not drive out bad money." In its practical bearing this is a truth of the highest importance, proving as it does, that, whatever the legal sanction, good and bad money cannot circulate together, since the instincts, both of economy and selfishness, will inevitably choose the cheapest medium by which debts can be paid, and purchases effected. Our own recent experience shows how an inconvertible paper currency drives gold and silver not only out of circulation, but out of the country; while that of France, since the late war, demonstrates that a trifling premium of one per cent. has been enough, in that country, with all its traditions and prejudices in favor of metallic money, to withdraw it wholly from popular use. In the light of these familiar facts, the attempt of a late Secretary of the Treasury to resume payments in silver, while at a premium of five per cent., would be amusing if it were not humiliating. Professor Jevons places in a strong light the advantages of an International money. He puts in the foreground "the immense good which would arise from the facility in understanding all statements of accounts, prices, and statistics, when expressed in terms of a uniform measure of value." The importance of this view of the subject has never been sufficiently appreciated. The popular ignorance, in all countries, of what is going on among other nations, in channels parallel to their own, is due as much to a want of familiarity with their weights, measures, coins and money of account, as to the strangeness of their language; and both are serious obstacles to the progress of civilization.

In the selection of a monetary unit, our author gives a leading place to the claims of the American dollar, as decimally divided, and in the most convenient form. "It corresponds," he says, "to the coins which have, for two or three centuries, been most widely circulated and treated as units of account, so that there is much weight of experience in its favor. . . . But, above all, it is firmly adopted as the money of a nation which, as far as human wisdom can penetrate

the future, is destined to be the most numerous, rich and powerful in the world. That nation which has arisen from the best stock of England, has absorbed much of the best blood of other European nations, and has inherited the richest continent in the world, must have an importance in coming times, of which even Americans are barely conscious."

In connection with the dollar, Professor Jevons makes a most important practical suggestion, namely, that prior to the resumption of specie payments in the United States, the weight of the gold dollar, now 25.8 grains, shall be reduced to that of the French five franc piece of gold, 24.89 grains, and worth $96\frac{1}{2}$ cents of our money. This would bring our metallic currency into accord with that of France, Belgium, Switzerland, and Italy, as established by the convention of 1865, and might lead to the adhesion of Great Britain, Austria, and Spain as well as of Mexico and the South American States. To avoid any breach of faith towards the public and other creditors, it should be enacted, that in the payment of preëxisting gold debts, $103\frac{1}{2}$ dollars of the new money should be equal to 100 dollars of the old. Cannot this suggestion be adopted during the present session of Congress, or failing such a consummation, can not the President initiate the establishment of an International Commission to sit during the Centennial Exhibition, and to report to Congress at the next session? We believe that all European nations, unless it be Germany and Sweden, which have just refashioned their coinage on a basis inconsistent with the proposed unit, would coöperate in the movement, and there could be no nobler fruit of our Centennial year, than to achieve such a result as the Commission would have in view.

Mr. Jevon's valuable book ought to be read by every statesman, legislator, and journalist of the United States, who undertakes to discuss the monetary problems of the time; and supplemented by the instructions of a competent professor, it would make an admirable college text-book.

MEMOIRS OF REV. CHARLES G. FINNEY.¹

This book contains the recollections of his own career, by one of the most remarkable men of the last generation. Very few men, in any profession, have wrought with such impassioned energy, or made themselves felt so widely, as did Mr. Finney, particularly in the earlier portion of his public life. With his great rough nature, and

¹ "Memoirs of Rev. Charles G. Finney. Written by himself." New York: A. S. Barnes & Co. 1876.

indomitable will, he then seemed like a tremendous engine whose working force nothing could resist.

He was born in Connecticut in 1792; but was carried by his parents to Central New York, when that was almost a wilderness, and grew up there with extremely limited advantages of education. Of the means of religious education, indeed, he was almost wholly destitute through all his early years. At twenty he went back to New England and attended a high school for a time, with intervals of teaching; after which, in 1818, he returned to New York, and commenced the study of the law, at Adams, in Jefferson county. By references to the Scriptures which he found in his law books, he was led to purchase a Bible and read it carefully; and before he had completed his legal studies, from a skeptic, he became a decided Christian, and at once entered on that course of evangelistic labor, which through many subsequent years, made his name so widely known, in his own country and abroad.

In this autobiography, Mr. Finney relates, with a great number of illustrations, and often thrilling facts, the history of his extended life. One sees and hears the man as he was, in every sentence. Strong physically, strong intellectually, strong emotionally to a degree well nigh terrible, he exercised, almost from the first, a power over those whom he addressed such as has seldom been exhibited; and the results, as detailed by him in his own vigorous language, and with the frankness and simplicity of one who writes from a love of truth, form a narrative of intensest interest. Few men have been more severely censured than he, at some periods of his life, and few have been more heartily loved and honored. The discussion of his peculiar religious views and methods of evangelism, of course does not fall within the scope of this review. In the periodicals distinctively devoted to such themes, it will doubtless find a place; and it will not be strange if some of his sayings and doings should become the subject of earnest criticism. There has, however, apparently been a decided change in the public feeling toward Mr. Finney in his later years, which may be attributed, in part, perhaps, to the mellowing influence exerted upon him by age and experience; and, in part, to a better understanding of what were his opinions and aims; and to some change, also, in the prevailing views as to the questions involved. In his last years, which were peaceful, he was regarded with very general respect. To the institution at Oberlin his name has been a power, and his memory will long be sacredly cherished in connection with it.

We can assure our readers that if they once take the volume in hand they will not fail to read it to the end. No work of fiction

could well take a stronger hold on the attention. To those who knew the man personally, in his prime, and have felt his peculiar power, the reading of these reminiscences will be almost like seeing and hearing him anew; and the work can hardly fail to be sought and studied with profit, by thousands who knew him only as a notable public man.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE, ART, AND SCIENCE.

RECENT ENGLISH BOOKS.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.¹—The subject of this book is a difficult but profoundly interesting one. It is only at a comparatively recent date that a Philosophy of History has been formally attempted, or, indeed, even recognized as possible. In commencing his book, Professor Flint proposed to himself, he tells us, "to pass in review the more famous of the many attempts which have been made, within the last century and a half, to discover the laws of order which regulate human affairs, and to indicate what appear to be their chief merits and defects." In the present volume, he confines himself to France and Germany, leaving to a future publication what relates to Italy and England.

The method adopted in the treatment of the subject, is well chosen. After an able general view of the field to be surveyed, and an indication of the line and aim of the discussion, Professor Flint traces, from a remote period, through a succession of eminent writers, the rise, and gradual development, of the idea of progress in the human race considered as a whole. Without this idea, the writer and the reader of history, could see before them only a vast mass of disconnected facts apparently determined by no law;—a confused aggregation of events, in which individuals and races, in their ever-changing fortunes; states and kingdoms in their wars and revolutions, their alternations of growth and decay, of civilization and barbarism; appear as if forming a hopeless domain of chance. The early historians, Hebrew, Greek and Latin alike, wrote without broad and comprehensive views of the true scope and significance of history. They described what had actually taken place; but as to the relation of one event, or series of events, to another, why they were as they were, and to what, taken altogether, they were tending, they raised no inquiry, except within the very narrowest limits. The conception, so familiar to modern thought, of the unity of the human race, of its

¹ "The Philosophy of History, in France and Germany." By Robert Flint, Professor of Moral Philosophy and Political Economy, University of St. Andrews. Scribner, Welford & Armstrong: New York. 1875.

steady progress through all changes, and of its place in a grand, providential plan, embracing all time, had not yet been reached.

Christianity brought in this important conception ; and the reception of it, was facilitated by the circumstance that just at that time almost the whole accessible world was subject to Roman power. Professor Flint, briefly, but with much discrimination, shows how, in the succeeding centuries, the idea of the unity of mankind and of the progress of the race, was gradually developed, both in the East and the West. With this introduction, he proceeds, in Book I., to the special consideration of the successive attempts to construct a Philosophy of History in France. He presents concisely, and criticises acutely, the views of the chief writers from the sixteenth century onward ;—Bodin and Cartesianism ; Bossuet, Montesquieu, Turgot, Voltaire, Condorcet, the Theocratic School, Saint Simon and Fourier ; Cousin and Jouffroy ; Guizot, Buchez and Leroux ; Comte, Michelet and Quinet ; De Tocqueville, Odysse-Barot, De Ferron and Laurent. The survey is comprehensive and careful.

In Book II., relating to Germany, the same method is pursued. After a preliminary chapter, he reviews the opinions of Leibnitz, Iselin, Wegelin, Schlözer, Von Müller, Lessing, Herder, Kant and Schiller ; Fichte, Schelling and his school ; Frederic Schlegel, Kranse, Hegel, Bunsen Lasaulx, Lazarus, Lotze and Herman. In both Books the author shows a profound study of the subject, a power of keen analysis and vigorous reasoning, and a truly philosophic spirit. He has the great advantage, too, of a Christian standpoint. A complete Philosophy of History without a recognition of God and Providence, as Christianity presents them, among the essential factors, is as impossible as a complete system of astronomy without a recognition of the sun and the law of gravitation. By presenting the opinions reviewed in connection with their respective authors, Dr. Flint adds a semi-biographical interest to his work which materially serves to stimulate the attention, and aid the memory, of the reader.

To students of history, this volume will prove of special value. By all who would attain to broad and luminous views of the course of human events—of the experiences and progress of the race hitherto—it can not fail to be read with interest and profit. The style is vigorous and clear, and the hand of a master is manifest throughout. The volume on Italy and England, will be eagerly looked for by those who have studied this.

THE ABODE OF SNOW,¹—as the author informs us,—is an exact translation of the Sanscrit compound "Himalaya," and the book which bears this title, consists of a series of interesting sketches of the topography, climate, scenery, and inhabitants, of a comparatively little known portion of South Central Asia. The Himalayas, aside from being the grandest and loftiest mountain range in

¹ "The Abode of Snow." Observations of a tour from Chinese Thibet to the Indian Caucasus, through the Upper Valleys of the Himalaya. By Andrew Wilson. New York : G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1875.

the world, are invested with additional interest because linked with the traditions of the ancient Hindoos, who,—as did the Greeks with Macedonian Olympus, in later times,—assigned to their inaccessible heights, the dwelling places of gods and demi-gods.

The field which Mr. Wilson has entered, is an exceedingly fertile one ; and his observations upon that portion of it to which he has chiefly confined himself—the upper valleys of the Himalaya—are full of valuable information. The book deals chiefly with affairs of the present, but occasionally, facts of interest in connection with the past, are presented in such a manner as to prove that the writer is no superficial observer. The writer's chief fault is a diffuseness in writing, which unnecessarily enlarges the volume. By a singular mistake the preface refers to the book as containing twenty-nine chapters, whereas it contains but nine. This part of the volume is also disfigured by a foolish attempt at satire, of which a writer, whom the author describes as his "*alter ego*," is the subject. The author's name is by no means an exclusive piece of property, and one of its many possessors may have committed the folly of writing a "stupid article" on "The Cuttlefish ;" but his offense is venial, compared with that of wasting a page and a half, of a book on another subject, in statements intended to suggest that its author is not as stupid as the ichthyologist who bears the same name. Most of the chapters composing the book have already appeared in *Blackwood's Magazine*.

THE CELT, THE ROMAN, AND THE SAXON.¹ This work has been improved by the addition of considerable new material, resulting from discoveries recently made, and affords exceedingly valuable information concerning a period in history, of which comparatively little has been written in a popular form. The expressed purpose of the author is "to make archæology walk hand in hand with history ;" and he has given us a manual of British archæology, which furnishes as satisfactory a history of ancient Britain prior to the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity, as can be found in a single volume. We find less information concerning the Celtic tribes than might reasonably be expected, and the Druids, regarding whom the investigations of the author would naturally lead him to say much, are dismissed with casual mention. But as the book does not pretend to historical completeness, the fact that its faults of omission are so few, is a matter for commendation rather than criticism.

THE ROMANCE OF NATURAL HISTORY.² The inartistic illustration, which faces the title page to this volume, produces an unfavorable impression which is, fortunately, dissipated upon turning its pages. The author writes in an easy and popular style, and of a great variety of subjects chosen from the

¹ "The Celt, the Roman and the Saxon." A History of the Early Inhabitants of Britain. Illustrated. By Thomas Wright, M. A., F. S. A. etc. Third edition, revised. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1875.

² "The Romance of Natural History." By Philip Henry Gosse, F. R. S. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1875.

various fields of nature. Mr. Gosse has made an effort, as he informs us, to "present natural history" from an "æsthetic" point of view; and the varied information which his book imparts, is presented in a manner which is at least suggestive.

RECENT GERMAN BOOKS.

DÜRER: HIS LIFE AND WORKS.¹—Herman Grimm wrote, ten years ago, "Dürer's fame, as to-day established, is of recent date. Only now has it come to be acknowledged that *Dürer* signifies an epoch—his works and his time together, form a work of art, these standing inseparable and called by that one name, Dürer." The history of Dürer's life and art, by Thausing, confirms both parts of this statement; for though the monographs on Dürer form a rich collection of material, and contain many single gems of criticism, there has been hitherto, in German, but one work that treated of this great master in a thoroughly scientific and authoritative manner—A. v. Eye's "*Leben und Wirken Albrecht Dürer*," published in 1860. The fourth centennial of Dürer's birth, however, in 1871, stimulated the production of a more complete and ample memorial of his fame, which is now given in this royal quarto of 537 pages, beautifully printed, and illustrated with more than fifty fine wood engravings, including the characteristic initial letters of the several chapters. In his estimate of Dürer, Thausing starts at the point where Goethe halted; Goethe wrote to Lavater:

"I honor more and more every day the work more precious than silver and gold of the man who, when one has learned to know him inwardly aright, in truth, loftiness, and even in grace had only the first Italians for his like. We will, however, not say this aloud."—"To-day," says Thausing, "we will say it aloud."

Though we may not rise to the enthusiasm of this utterance, we can hardly call it exaggerated, and the author certainly justifies it in himself, by his scholarly and impartial delineation of his subject. The glorification of Dürer is far from being the motive, or as Germans have it, the *Tendenz*, of his book; but the halo that surrounds the artist arises from the historical grouping of his life and works. And indeed, if we look to strength of handling in the actual, alike in form and feature, and to boldness and truth of delineation in projecting the real into the ideal, we find in Dürer something of the masculine power of Michel Angelo; if we look to range of subjects and diversity of gifts, as shown in his works on anatomy, geometry, proportion, fortification, we find in Dürer a counterpart of Leonardo da Vinci; and in his religious themes, we find much of the majesty of conception and fervor of

¹ Dürer, Geschichte seines Lebens und seiner Kunst von Moriz Thausing. Mit Titelkupper und mit Illustrationen gezeichnet von Joseph Schönbrunner, Holzschnitt von F. W. Buder. Leipzig: Verlag von E. A. Seemann. 1876.

feeling and something also of the sweetness of tone and grace of expression, that so charms us in Raphael.

After a preliminary chapter on the first schools of German painting, the author draws, in well-defined features, the Nürnberg of Dürer's time ;—there, in the geographical center of Germany, the Frankish stock had founded a German state, which united in itself, in select and congenial combination, what, in Swabia, was too abstract ; in Saxony too real ; in the Rhineland too mobile ; in Bavaria too set. Hence, Dürer, as a product of Nürnberg, the embodiment and expression of her life, was also the fittest representative of the genius and feeling of the whole German people. As Nürnberg was once Dürer, so Dürer is now Nürnberg, since the encroaching spirit of this materialistic age is fast destroying the quaint features of this fine historic city, and we must look to her great artist to see her as she was. Thausing describes, with critical detail, the life of Dürer, analyzes his works, both as artist and author, in every form of his manifold development, and in a way to give the reader full material for judgment, rather than to enforce a judgment of his own. Among the most interesting chapters of the work are the accounts of the famous visits to Venice and to the Netherlands ; the relations of Dürer to the Reformation, and the influence of his intellectual and moral development upon his art. We are glad to add that this beautiful and instructive volume will soon be issued in English, from the press of Mr. Murray.

HISTORY OF GERMAN ART IN ALSACE.¹—Without trenching upon the political question of the re-annexation of Alsace to Germany, we can not but recognize the lien which Germany had upon the province, through the art and literature of earlier times, and also the vigor with which she is prosecuting the intellectual conquest of the territory she has won by her arms. Dr. Woltmann's history of German Art in Alsace, is a good exemplification of both—the old German treasures being recovered by persistent German skill and toil. Woltmann, formerly of Karlsruhe, now Professor in the University of Prague, has been occupied for ten years in studies preparatory to this work ; visiting in person all the chief monuments of art in the province, and examining all archives and libraries that could furnish any illustrations of his subject. Those who know Professor Woltmann through his "*Holbein und seine Zeit*," will need no further introduction to an author of such conscientious diligence and approved competence. The central point of his work is, of course, Strasbourg, and especially its cathedral. This is treated with historical and critical fullness, as to plan, growth, style, proportions, and details of ornament—all profusely illustrated—and the two most magnificent creations of the Gothic style upon the soil of Germany, the Cathedrals of Strasbourg and Cologne, are contrasted with minute and careful analysis. The

¹ Geschichte der Deutschen Kunst im Elsass, von Dr. Alfred Woltmann, Professor A. D. K. K. Universität in Prag. Mit 74 Illustrationen in Holzschnitt. Leipzig : Verlag von E. H. Seemann, 1876. pp. 330, royal oct.

Gothic period is considered not only in architecture, but also in respect of plastic art, printing, wood-carving and engraving, glass-painting, and engraving on copper; and, with the discussion of these arts is blended a biographic and critical notice of the masters in each. In some points, the handling seems superficial; but in the main, the author is at home in his task.

Though the Gothic epoch, by the grandeur of its chief monument and the multifariousness of its remains, forms the central figure of Woltmann's work, the Romanesque period, and the earlier Gothic, are exhibited in cloisters, churches and towers—of which Alsace contains some of the finest specimens in Germany—and the volume closes with a chapter on the Renaissance, in which the author gives honorable praise to what Alsace accomplished in art, under the French dominion and the disabilities of war, but predicts that her future development can be only in sympathy with the spirit of the German nation. What that spirit is, has been strikingly shown in the rapid and vigorous revival of the Strasbourg University. The mechanical execution of Woltmann's book is in harmony with the style of the text, and the finish of the wood-cuts leaves nothing to be desired.

FIFTEEN ESSAYS, BY HERMAN GRIMM.¹ As an essayist, Herman Grimm, whose judgment on Dürer we have previously quoted, may well be called the Lowell of Germany. Though lacking the poetic genius of the Cambridge Professor, he is like him in the manifoldness of his gifts and culture, in the wide range of his studies in literature and art, in his generous sympathy with the highest phases of development in all nations, his keen discernment of character, works, and events, and that fine way of saying the best things that makes the essayist a cultivated conversationalist at our side. The new series of Grimm's Essays, just published, numbers fifteen, and embraces in art and archæology, Wiertz, Schinkel, Rauch, Raphael, Holbein, Cornelius, the Florence Galleries, the ruins of Ephesus, the Athenian mortuary vases; and in literary and philosophical criticism, Alfieri's *Mirra*, Shakespeare's *Tempest*, and Hamlet's character.

One is a little disappointed that the author, who is as much at home in Florence as in Berlin, and in the Italian as in the German, has not given a more complete artistic sketch of the Florentine Museums. Though his hints are suggestive and valuable, one must look for their amplification, to his life of Michel Angelo, and his forthcoming life of Raphael.

In the essay on Hamlet, Grimm attributes the failure of many to comprehend his character, to the attempt to harmonize opposites in one individual person and life, whereas the art of the poet lies in his incorporation of antagonistic principles without seeking to unify them as a personality. In this view, great actors may well be excused for failing to produce a real Hamlet upon the stage. We think, also, that Shakespeare was true to the deepest experiences of human nature, in the contrasts in Ophelia, that, in the construc-

¹ Fünfzehn Essays von Hermann Grimm. Neue Folge. Berlin: Ferd. Dümmler's Verlagsbuchhandlung.

tion even of Goethe, shock the sense of delicacy. One who has observed hysteria, or studied mental physiology, will have no difficulty in comprehending the poet. These essays should be translated.

INVISIBLE POWERS¹—Is the title of an historical novel of the present day, in nine volumes, by A. Mels. It goes back to the year 1856, and pictures that period of the reign of Napoleon III, when his power was more firmly established, and the sympathies of the French nation awakened for him, by the birth of the Imperial Prince. The efforts Napoleon makes to secure the throne of France to this son and heir, and also the means which support him and his party in these endeavors;—his relation to other monarchs, his struggles with the Catholic Church, and the persecution of his enemies, are vividly described. Whether the author uniformly proceeds upon a basis of authentic facts may well be questioned. But the principal statements are, in their outlines at least, historical, as, for instance, the circumstances of the “*attentate*” of Orsini, and, at the close of the book, the declaration of the Austrian war, in 1858, which agree with History;—but the space between these prominent points, is filled with the most fanciful pictures, and with events reflected in a mind which seems to know neither limit nor control in the use of its creative powers.

That the author has great brilliancy of style, especially in the dialogue, and also fine perceptive and discriminating powers, can not be denied; it is the more to be regretted therefore, that he is not skilled in the proper use of his talents. The book is written without plan, and characters are introduced, and dismissed, in an equally mysterious manner. The reader is taken from Paris, where he was led into the very heart of the systematically organized Secret Police of the Napoleonic Dynasty, to London, where secret societies and extensive conspiracies rival each other in baseness of means and purposes. Spies undermine all diplomatic relations with Berlin and Vienna, and when one gets through the most revolting scenes, it is difficult to understand why they were described at all. It is easy to see that the author is an enthusiastic admirer of Napoleon III, whose extraordinary intellect, and political importance, he wishes to place in the right light, and against a favorable background. That he does not always succeed in this endeavor, is owing to the faults of his work, which shows more capacity than perseverance. The author is to be commended for impartiality in his treatment of different nations, and those who do not exactly care to study history in the light of such a work, and who are familiar enough with the particulars of those times, may find a great deal of pleasure in reading “*Unsichtbare Mächte*.”

FEUILLETONS BY BLUMENTHAL.²—A keen satirist and witty rhymester is

¹ “*Unsichtbare Mächte*,” Leipzig: E. J. Günther.

² *Allerhand Ungezogenheiten*, von Oscar Blumenthal, Dritte Auflage. Leipzig, Ernst Julius Günther. 1876.

Plaudereien von Station zu Station von Oscar Blumenthal. Für alle Wagen und Menschen-Classen. Günther. 1 mark per vol.

Oscar Blumenthal, with something of Heine's epigrammatic sharpness, and a touch of his bitterness, though quite inferior to Heine in versatility of genius and delicacy of touch. As a *feuilletonist* he is clever and popular, and his sketches and bonmots, brought together in handy volumes, are very entertaining reading for the railway carriage and for leisure moments at the fireside. A few specimens of his wit may sharpen the reader's appetite for the cheap little series just published by Günther of Leipsic.

"Take it all in all, a man can commit no greater stupidity than to be a genius. Even the fact that he can not help it, is an insufficient excuse."

"There are epic poets whose only resemblance to Homer, is that they also nod."

"Satirists, like coquettes, laugh to show their teeth."

"The public of to-day reads the history of Literature more than literature; instead of eating, it studies the Bill of Fare."

"Many modern critics have received from the goddess of Justice nothing but blindness."

Some of Blumenthal's political caricatures and his hits at the Ultramon-
tanes, are capitally pointed; but he inclines too much to personality, and it is not without reason that he dedicates his latest book to his enemies. Travelers in Germany should not omit to provide themselves with his lively volumes for the railway.

THE ROSE, THISTLE, AND SHAMROCK.¹—A praiseworthy service to English and American Literature, is rendered by Ferdinand Freiligrath, and his enterprising publisher, Mr. Edward Hallberger, of Stuttgart and Leipsic. Hallberger's *Illustrated Magazine*, conducted by Freiligrath, reproduces the best things from the best English periodical literature, in attractive type, and with excellent illustrations. A selection of English and American poetry, made by Freiligrath with discriminating taste, has reached a fifth edition, and appears in pretty binding and with neat wood-cuts. Allston, Bryant, Bret Harte, Emerson, Holmes, Longfellow, Lowell, Whitman, Whittier, Willis, are all well represented. It is gratifying that this reproduction of English and American literature is appreciated in Germany, and both editor and publisher deserve the commendation of Americans.

PHILOSOPHY OF THE UNKNOWN.²—It is barely fifteen years since Schopenhauer died, full of bitterness and disappointment at the reception of his system, and to-day the idealistic pantheism, and the ethical pessimism, that are the logical sequence of his philosophy, are as much discussed in Germany as are the systems of Kant and Hegel. True, the followers of Schopenhauer are not numerous nor compact enough to be called a school; but the vigor and ability of some, and the pushing propensity of others, give to the system

¹ "The Rose, Thistle, and Shamrock." A book of English Poetry, Selected and Arranged by F. Freiligrath, Stuttgart: E. Hallberger.

² Philosophie der Unbewussten, von Edward von Hartmann, Siebente erweiterte Auflage. Berlin: Carl Duncker's Verlag. 1876.

a prominence that its founder could never have anticipated. The most recognized, prolific, and capable of Schopenhauer's disciples and expounders, is Edward von Hartmann of Berlin. His chief work, which first secured him a name among philosophers, "The Philosophy of the Unknown," has been so thoroughly canvassed in the past three years, that a minute examination of its substance and method would be superfluous. We therefore content ourselves with saying, that no one, who would comprehend the later tendencies of German speculation, can omit to study this work. Abstract as it is, profoundly metaphysical from beginning to end, it has already reached a seventh edition, in two octavo volumes of nearly five hundred pages each. Hartmann occupies a middle-ground between Hegel and Schopenhauer, and shows himself an original and profound thinker. Though Christian theists can not accept the drift of his philosophy, they owe him thanks for his masterly vindication of the Ideal, and the sphere of metaphysics against naked materialism ; for the application of the inductive method of natural science to speculative results, basing his metaphysics upon phenomenology ; for his demonstration of the necessity for an organic union of the results of natural science in the Ideal—since every thing physical has its metaphysical side ; and, though his negative predicate of *Unbewusstheit* does not give us the personal God of Theism, we must thank him also for his metaphysico-mathematical statement of the origin of the presumption of purpose in Nature, which we can apply for ourselves to the proof of the divine existence. The theologian who shall master Hartmann, will be none the less a believer for being made broader and stronger as a thinker ; rather he will prize Christianity the more, as the doctrine of life and hope.

THE LIFE OF THE SOUL.¹—It is another refreshing sign of the vitality of the spiritual against the material, in German science, that a second edition has been issued of the charming essays of Professor Lazarus (of the Berlin University) upon the Life of the Soul. Psychology, which the author styles "the mirror of the soul," is here pictured in contrast with the pursuit exclusively of physical science in its relations to personal culture and national development. Intelligence, morality, the love of the beautiful, in brief, the spiritual, the ethical, the esthetic, have closer and deeper relations to culture than the physical. These all have to do, primarily, with the individual, the personal, whereas the scientific deals with the universal ; and though the order, system, principle, law, and method,—in physical science,—contribute also to personal development, yet culture does not consist in packing the mind with knowledge, but in forming the soul itself, to the wise, the noble, the good. Here honor, fame, etc., play their part, and, so far from subject and object being identical, in estimating himself, every man is conscious, as it were, of a double personality ; he who judges his act of yesterday, distinguishes

¹ Das Leben der Seele in Monographien über seine Erscheinungen und Gesetze, von Prof. Dr. M. Lazarus, Zweite, erweiterte und vermehrte Auflage. Berlin : Ferd. Dümmler. Verlags buchhandlung. 1876.

himself to-day from himself of yesterday,—as subject, he pronounces upon himself, as object, is satisfied or dissatisfied. From the soul, as the subject and motive of personal culture in the individual, Professor Lazarus rises to the unity of the whole in the common consciousness, and the spirit of humanity in its historical movement. The ideal of society, he would find in the combination of the highest fervor and strength of unity in the whole, with the highest possible freedom and individuality of each.

INDO-GERMANIC INVESTIGATIONS.¹—Benfey was the first to compare the Latin nomina instrumenti, formed by the suffix *cru-m*, *clu-m*, *culu-m* with the Greek words on τρο-ν, the Sanscrit on *tra-m*. The Latin has this suffix also in its original form in the words on *tru-m*, *tulu-m* and it has besides even a third form, in the words on *bru-m*, *bra*, *bulu-m*, *bula*; but variation is the life of language, and if but the intermediate stages of the development can be proved to exist, or to have existed, and the change can be shown to be a legitimate one, the existence of other phases of development besides the one in question, is no obstacle at all to Benfey's suggestion. Ebel followed in his steps, and explained the change of *tr tl* in *cr cl*, by the desire for dissimilation, as *t* is nearer cognate with *r* and *l* than *c* (*k*), and the phonetic group, *tr tl*, therefore more difficult for pronunciation than the other group. Ascoli brought as new evidence certain Italian words on *cia*, *chia*, corresponding to Latin words on *tru-m* *tulu-m* and presupposing therefore intermediate forms with *cl*. The stringency of these analogies was however strongly denied by Corssen who maintained the old theory first stated by Bopp, viz., that *cro clo* were to be explained by Sanscrit *kara*. But new facts came to light from the Lithuanian, through Burda and Bugge, in favor of the change of *t* into *c* (*k*) before *l*, *r*, and it is the object of the first essay² in the present work to follow this change, in the affix in question, into its most remote and obscure hiding places. Mr. Osthoff shows himself fully competent for his task, and it is a real pleasure to wander, and to seek, with him. The second essay also, on *ra*, *la*, as an old instrumental suffix of the Indo-germanic languages, is very interesting, and does credit to his industry, as well as to his judgment.

ZUR GESCHICHTE DER INDO-GERMANISCHEN STAMMBILDUNG UND DECLINATION.³—Beginning from very subtle speculations on the influence of the pronominal bases *a* and *sa* on the formation of the casus affixes, Meyer proceeds to give lists of words, sustaining his former conclusions, on *a* as well as on *i*, or on *u*, or on all three vowels together⁴ and shows the interchange of such forms, even as constituting in the first declension, an integral

¹ Forschungen im gebiete der Indo-germanischen nominalen Stammbildung. Von Hermann Osthoff. Erster Theil. Jena, Herman Costenoble. 1875. P. 212.

² P. 1-152.

³ Zur Geschichte der Indo-germanischen Stammbildung und Declination. Von Gustav Meyer. Leipzig, S. Hirzel. 1875. p. 89.

⁴ P. 29-56.

part of the flexion itself (in the forms *gatena*, *gatebhis*, *gatayā*, *gatāyās*, etc.). He hints that even the locative *gate* may be nothing else than such a radical formation on *e*, which became used as a *casus*¹ and the Māgadhi nominative singular on *e* would fain share the same fate.² The discussion turns to the declension of the words on *i* and *u*, and the increase of their finals to *e* and *o*. Then follows a list of words on *va*, which are amplifications of finals still existing on *u*.³ There is also an addition to the flectional theme by a suffix *na* (*tanunā tanūnām*); here the author crosses the path of Osthoff (as above), but he takes a different, and in our opinion, somewhat more rational direction. He acknowledges first, that the firm fixation of this phenomenon is peculiar to Sanscrit⁴ but he finds the germs of it also already in the Indo-germanic period, yet not in the affix *an*, but in the addition of a suffix *na* to the nominal bases on *a*, *i*, *u*. After all, the words on *an* belong here, also; they are returning to such, on *ana*; and the author expressly declares that he is reckoning the so-called weak declension in German as standing in intimate connection with them.⁵ Finally, the ending *ns* of the accusative plural of the bases with final vowel, is explained from *nas*, where this same suffix *na*, is joined by the *s*, which serves commonly as exponent of the nominative plural.⁶ The little pamphlet is full of thoughtful research, but it fails to carry us throughout, to full conviction.

GERMAN ADJECTIVES.⁷—The old suffix *an*, (latin *on*), which formed originally only primary *nomina agentis*, is shown here as winning ground in the secondary formation of words in Latin, Greek and German, first by serving as a formative for secondary *nomina agentis*, then more generally as a suffix of individualizing, and with original adjectives of substantivizing, power. In German, the *pronomem demonstrativum*, *ta*, grows by steps into so intimate a connection with these substantivized adjectives on *an*, that when the *ta* afterwards takes regularly the function of the definite article, they in their turn fall back again into their use, as attributive adjectives. Hence the origin of the so-called weak declension of the German adjective. It is a very ingenious theory which Osthoff here proposes with much lucidity of style and great solidity of learning, but we have some misgivings as to its real soundness. For instance, the *n* in the Sanscrit and Zend genitive plural⁸ is not restricted to the words on *a*, but belongs also to those on *i* and *u*; it will be, moreover, rather difficult to separate it from the *n* in the feminine affix, *āni*⁹ which serves but as an addition to the final *a*, just as the *vridddhi* in *agnāyī* and *manāvī*, as well as from that *n* which plays so prominent a part in the postvedic development of the declension of the neuters, and in Prākṛit and Pali, also in that of the masculine nouns. To consider all this as “based on a borrowing from the declension, of the words on *an*”¹⁰

¹ P. 61.² P. 64.³ P. 76–79.⁴ P. 81.⁵ P. 85.⁶ P. 89.⁷ Zur geschichte des schwachen deutschen adjectivums. Habilitationsschrift von Dr. Hermann Osthoff. Leipzig, 1875. Pp. 60.⁸ P. 4.⁹ P. 9, 21.¹⁰ P. 4.

would be going too far, and this the more so, as these very words on *an* do not occupy, in Sanscrit, any peculiar position at all ; they are, on the contrary, of comparatively unfrequent occurrence. Sanscrit therefore must be left at one side, and cannot be used in sustaining the theory of the author.

COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY.¹—That lectures on the history of comparative Philology, should be delivered in Rumanic language, at a faculty of letters in Bukarest, is in itself a fact of sufficient interest to demand the full attention of the friend of human progress. The scientific qualifications of Mr. Hasden appear moreover, to be fully adequate to his undertaking, since he displays an almost astonishing acquaintance with all the different languages in-question, which he separates into the Indo-Perso-Tracic, Greco-Italo-Celtic, and Leto-Slavo-Germanic families. The systematic arrangement of what he says is rather defective ; there is a constant change of subject, and the red thread, which is to combine the single parts of each lecture, becomes often very dim, if it does not disappear altogether. The object of the first lecture, is the general importance of Comparative Philology ; the other lectures treat of its empirical period, first, with the Hindus, Greeks and Romans, then in the middle ages and the Hebrewizing period.

ROMAN TRAGEDY IN THE TIME OF THE REPUBLIC.²—In the time of Cicero, tragedy had long been one of the favorite shows of Rome. A great actor was more richly rewarded, both in honors and in money, then, than to-day ; and the language heard from the stage seems then to have exercised a much greater influence, not only upon common speech, but upon literature, than it does in our own times. It is true that the Latin drama was but an echo of the Greek ; and that its tragedies, like its comedies, were almost exclusively adaptations of works which had already become favorites at Athens. But they were none the less among the most potent agencies in the formation of the literary language, in the education of the popular taste, and in the awakening of those productive energies, which culminated in the Augustan age. They are all lost to us ; not so much as a scene, or a page, from one of them, is preserved. Only in the quotations made from them by more fortunate authors, and especially by the grammarians, have we any means of studying their language, style, and merits. Professor Ribbeck's first important work was a critical collection of the fragments of Roman dramatic poetry, the second edition of which, published in 1871, is now received as the standard text of these remains. In the preface to that edition, he announced that his explanatory and illustrative comments upon the fragments, were reserved for a future work upon the history of Roman tragedy, to be written in German ; and the book before us is the fulfillment of that promise. There are many

¹ Comparative Philology. B. P. Hasden, *Principie de Filologia comparativa ario floreea*. Cur tinut la facultatea de Litera si Filosofie din Bucuresci. Tom 1. Istoria filologiei comparative. Bucuresci, Thiel & Wein. Nos. 1-4, pp. 408.

² "Die Römische Tragödie" im zeitalter der Republik. Dargestellt von Otto Ribbeck. Leipzig : Trubner. 1875.

minds for which this bold attempt to reconstruct an entire branch of a national literature out of a thousand or more brief and scattered quotations, will have a singular fascination, for the sake rather of the processes than of the results. To such we commend Professor Ribbeck's essay as one of the most curious examples of literary divination yet produced. The industry with which he has brought together every scrap of information, bearing upon his subject, which could be gathered from the wrecks of antiquity, is only equaled by the persistent ingenuity with which he has wrought out in detail, for every problem it offers a solution at least plausible and suggestive. Many of his theories concerning the interpretation of the fragments, the structure of the plays, and their relation to Greek originals, certainly appear to the reader to be unsustained by evidence. Devout disciples of Niebuhr long ago learned to sit at that master's feet, and having asked him—

"What else *thou seest*

In the dark backward and abysm of time?"

took his answer for an undoubted revelation; and probably Ribbeck's vision, in literature, deserves to be the faith of a school, as fully as Niebuhr's, in history. But the world is more critical of proof than it was fifty years ago, and we can not expect that all of our author's combinations and inferences will be accepted. For instance, of the famous tragedy of Pacuvius, the "Teucer," which was a favorite on the stage and in the schools of Rhetoric in the time of Cicero, we have twenty-one fragments, amounting in all to about thirty lines, scattered through the works, mainly, of Festus and Nonius; though the longest passage, one of four lines, is a quotation made with high praise by Cicero himself. Out of these, Professor Ribbeck has formed a vivid and intelligent conception of the plot, style, and characteristics of the entire play, which he unfolds to us in a spirited essay of eight pages (223-231). It would be assuming too much to expect that the reader will regard the science of comparative criticism as equaling that of comparative anatomy in its claims on his confidence; so that he will accept Ribbeck's reproduction of a lost tragedy as he would Huxley's of an extinct animal, from fragments of proportional importance. But of one thing he may be assured, and it is of more moment than the precise accuracy of these detailed results—that the imagination which is at work in this reconstruction is no vague, wild fancy; but is an educated imagination, in the highest sense; that is, it is one which reproduces with surprising fullness of knowledge, and with vivid realization, the very "form and pressure" of the times when these tragedies were written and played. Hence, whether the student accepts or rejects the author's views of the several passages discussed, he will inevitably find this work one of the most stimulating and instructive, in the whole range of the history of Roman literature. We must add that in the chapters which treat of the lives of the several tragic poets, of the theater, the stage and its arrangements, the costumes, masks, and character of the actors, we are on firm ground; and all that is known on these subjects, is brought together with a fullness and accuracy of scholarship, and a graceful

vigor of style, such as are not, we believe, united to the same degree in any earlier work.

HISTORY OF AUSTRIA AND PRUSSIA, FROM THE PEACE OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.¹ Leopold von Ranke has just celebrated his eightieth birthday, but seems as full of conversational vivacity and of scholarly enthusiasm as we remember him at sixty. Though he has ceased to lecture, and, in consequence of infirmity of hearing, has pretty much withdrawn from society, his mind betrays no loss of vigor, and his pen is as busy as ever, either with fresh monographs, such as his edition of the correspondence of Frederick William IV with Bunsen, or with the revision of his complete works. The latest volume which has appeared is a contribution to the history of Austria and Prussia, from the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle to the peace of Hubertusburg. Ranke avoids two vices quite common to German historians—excessive dryness of detail, and the framing of speculative hypotheses. From his stores of solid learning, he knows how to select persons and events according to their moment, to describe them dispassionately and group them effectively. He is master, alike, of close critical analysis and of broad, candid, generalization.

This book is not a history of the Seven Years' War, but a contribution of materials toward such a history, with philosophical annotations and conclusions. The first sixty pages picture the state and court of Maria Theresa in 1755, upon the basis of the papers of Fürst; the remainder of the volume discusses the political and material interests of France, Austria, Prussia, England and Russia, the powers involved in the war, with the motives of each as exhibited in the subjoined *Analecta*. Ranke vindicates Frederick for striking the first blow, in view of the conspiracy to despoil him of his kingdom and reduce him to a Marquis of Brandenburg; and in the light of present events, shows that the establishment of the independence and power of Prussia, was a turning point in the history of Europe, and that the Austria of today owes her recuperation, to having followed the example of Prussia, in her economical, military, and civil organization.

UNIVERSAL GERMAN BIOGRAPHY.² Better than all the monuments of stone and bronze that Germany is rearing to generals and statesmen, and above all to "Victory," is the literary memorial which the Royal Academy of Munich is preparing of the men who have really made the nation what it is—all who, by their works or their doings, have contributed to the development of Germany in history, science, art, industry and trade. The first volume of the Universal German Biography completes the letter A, and closes with the title "Baldamus." As a rule, the articles combine fullness with brevity, and

¹ Zur Geschichte von Oesterreich und Preussen zurischen den Friedensschlüssen zu Aachen und Hubertusburg. Von Leopold von Ranke. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, pp. 383, price 7 Marks 20 pfg.

² Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, Erster Band. Heraus gegeben durch die Historische Commission bei der König. Academie der Wissenschaften. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot. Pp. 781. 1875.

preserve the relative perspective of the characters treated; some, as for instance, those on Albert, Bishop of Riga, Albrecht, Margrave of Brandenburg, Sebastian Bach, and others, run to the extent of distinct monographs. The list of contributors extends to upwards of four hundred names, and embraces the most eminent men of Germany, in all departments of literature, science, art and affairs. Each article bears the signature of the writer, in token of its authority, and the work, as a whole, is under the supervision of Baron von Liliencron, of Munich, and Professor Wegele, of Würzburg. Years will be required for this great undertaking, but as each volume is complete so far as it goes, public libraries should supply themselves with the dictionary of universal German Biography as fast as it appears.

HISTORY OF EGYPT.¹—Dr. H. Brugsch has largely rewritten his History of Egypt which appeared in 1854, for a new edition, now issuing in a more convenient form. The discoveries of the last fifteen years have added greatly to the materials for illustrating the Pharaonic period, and the official position of Brugsch-Bey has given him the best opportunity for his favorite studies. The changes apparent in this new edition, are a fresh warning against premature hypotheses in Egyptology, but they testify also to the diligence and candor of the author. It is to be hoped that he will now finish the work, the second volume of which was promised twelve years ago, and which is necessary to the just estimate of Dr. Brugsch's conclusions.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN.

CYCLOPÆDIA OF THE PRACTICE OF MEDICINE.²—The "*Handbuch der Speciellen Pathologie und Therapie*," edited by Dr. Ziemssen, of Munich, and now far advanced in the course of publication, is an attempt to bring together in one series, treatises on the nature and treatment of all known diseases, prepared by physicians eminent for their knowledge and capacity, and representing the present advanced state of medical science. In the German language, most, though not all, of the field it covers is already occupied by works which may be regarded as its rivals; yet even writers who are in chronic controversy with some of its authors, on questions of detail, will recognize it, as, on the whole, the most complete and satisfactory book of its class. But there is no other language in which any one work can be found to serve even as a respectable substitute for it; and of the systematic treatises on the practice of medicine of which the English language boasts, there are

¹ Histoire d'Égypte; par Henri Brugsch-Bey. Histoire des Dynasties I-XVII. Deuxième Edition. Leipzig: J. C. Heinrichs.

² "Cyclopædia of the Practice of Medicine." Edited by Dr. H. Von Ziemssen, Professor of Clinical Medicine in Munich, Bavaria. Vols. I. and II., Acute Infectious Diseases. Vol. III., Chronic Infectious Diseases. Translated from the German-American Edition, and edited by Albert H. Buck, M. D. New York: William Wood & Co. 1875.

none which are not either too meager, or too far behind the times, to be brought into comparison with it. Indeed, an American physician might spend years in collecting special treatises, and fail to secure as useful a working-library, one as sure to instruct him in so many departments of his duties, and to furnish him to such an extent with the substance of all that science has been able to discover for his guidance,—as is here offered in a single shelf-load. We say this in the expectation that the work will be completed with the same diligence and ability which have hitherto marked it; an expectation justified by the character of the authors engaged upon the few volumes not yet issued, and by the remarkable degree of uniformity in excellence attained by the completed volumes. Some, indeed, will find superfluous matter in Professor Thomas's minute discussions of measles; others will complain that Dr. Curschmann discusses too curtly some of the most interesting problems in the history and treatment of small-pox. But the instances of disproportion are so rare and unessential as not to impair the general character of the work; and Professor Von Ziemssen himself, the principal editor, in his treatise on "Cerebro-Spinal Meningitis," has furnished an admirable model to his associates, in an article so complete, clear, and intelligent that too much can hardly be said in its praise.

A translation of a work like this is a task attended by difficulties. Many arguments might be offered against attempting to transfer it, as a whole, into a language like ours, and for the use of a people whose climate, habits, food, and government, are so different. For instance, nearly the whole of the first volume of the original is occupied by an essay on medical police, and the care which the organized community must exercise over the health of its members. The subject is treated with the German habits of thought, engendered by life under a paternal government, and largely incapable of acceptance in a land of individual freedom. Probably for this reason, the American editor has begun his translation abruptly with the second volume of the original; passing over in silence the first, which was evidently designed as a general introduction to the whole. But similar difficulties arise throughout the work. The prominence assumed by the several articles is not always in proportion to the importance in this country, of the diseases described, and local and statistical information is presented from a German, not an American, point of view. Thus Dr. Hertz remarks of malarial diseases on this Continent, that "In the Middle States they are rare, and in the Northern States are probably unknown;"¹ a sweeping inaccuracy, more tolerable in Amsterdam than in New York. And sometimes the very regimen and diet, recommended in particular cases, savor of Teutonic society and habits of life. In short, were a similar work originally prepared, with equal resources, in this country, it would differ widely from Dr. Ziemssen's in style, arrangement, in the relative importance of its parts, and even in many of its special instructions. The temptation is strong to think that this book ought to have been, not translated, but rewritten, and adapted in all respects

¹ Vol. II. p. 562, Am. Ed.

to the thoughts and habits of the profession here. But no such recast could be made, except by the united and continuous labor of a large number of our foremost men, and this it is hopeless to secure, so long as our first medical minds are as overworked as now. And rather than attempt a reconstruction of the book by inferior hands, we think the American editor has done wisely in choosing simply to reproduce it, with no other change than that involved in the transfer to another language. The differences, indeed, between the German and the American method and style of treatment, are not wholly to be deplored. Since the faults of many of our own physicians, especially in districts remote from great cities—professional narrowness and bigotry, distaste for a rigidly scientific method, and the like—can be subjected to no more thorough and efficient treatment than close contact with the professional mind of Germany.

After a careful examination of the version, side by side with the original, we can not withhold our cordial approval. The translators are not, indeed, equal, in patient accuracy, or in ability to write good, clear English; but no one of them seems to have failed in understanding his author, or in conveying his meaning. Indeed most of the treatises thus far published are decidedly more accurate and more readable than is usual in translations, either of scientific or of literary works. Not so much can be said, however, for parts of the second volume, which seems to have been prepared with undue haste. Here we find not only sentences awkward in construction, and which it requires close examination to understand; not only clauses unskillfully condensed, or even omitted, which are essential to convey the author's full thought; but in some instances actual perversions of the original, which, though not of great importance, evidence gross negligence. For instance, on page 112, Dr. Thomas says of an epidemic of measles in Munich, there died "70 children under one year (out of 195), 119 at the age of from one to five years, 11 persons above fifteen years, (out of 185 sick); the mortality of the first five years was therefore 94.5 per cent. In Würzburg, it was, according to Voit, for the same years of life, about 93 per cent." The passage relates to the relative danger of this disease at different ages, nor can a reader of the original easily fail to understand its estimate, that, while at Munich 94½ per cent. of the deaths were of young children, at Würzburg 93 per cent. were of that class. Even the translation would be correctly apprehended, but for the following remark of the translator at the foot of the page, upon these percentages: "These are probably typographical errors; 24.5 per cent. being intended."

This translator assumes that the types are at fault, because he misunderstood them. He would have been more useful if he had shown more confidence in the figures of the original, which are remarkable for accuracy, and had, in several passages, read his own proofs by them with more care. A curious error of another kind occurs on page 8, where the author discusses varicella as a disease almost exclusively of young children. In a paragraph filled with proofs that adults are exempt from it, the reader is surprised by

the following sentence: "The explanation given by Kassowitz—a believer in the identity of variola and varicella—of the circumstance *that young children are almost never attacked by varicella*, is excessively forced." This remark stultifies the whole section, and the reader can only disregard it, or turn to the original. Here is found a very different statement—"the fact that varicella hardly ever makes invalids of young children;" in other words, the fact that chicken-pox is almost always a very trifling affair, is the difficulty to be explained by theorists who identify it with small-pox. A number of such errors occur in the same translator's work; and his use of the English language, too, is sometimes more amusing than instructive. For instance, we have such phrases as "children of advanced years," "elderly children," (page 8), and "children of an advanced age," with many other violent perversions of our idiom. In other parts of the work, offenses against either accuracy or good taste are much less frequent. Perhaps the repeated use of the word "attack" for "paroxysm" or "fit," (German *Anfall*) is the most striking instance; thus we are in one passage informed that cholera sometimes proves fatal "before the stage of attack has been reached."¹

It is only by calling attention to details like these, that criticism can hope to protect the public against the prevailing vice of careless translation. A large, and increasing, part of our scientific and professional literature, consists of transfers from German into English; and the good these may do us depends to a great extent on the standard of excellence exacted from the translators. It is but fair to say that the work in question, as compared with most of the versions of German medical works in circulation, deserves to be called faultless, since the passages are very few which do not convey the true sense, and perhaps none are seriously misleading. But there is no impossibility in giving us the thoughts of a foreign writer, in an English dress marked by the same scholarly precision and grace of language which a cultivated writer would seek in his own composition; and where the translator deliberately adopts a lower standard of style than this, he slights at once his author and his reader. Many of the essays in the "*Handbuch*" have a high literary as well as scientific merit; and of the former there are few traces left in the translation.

As the boldest and most important literary enterprise yet undertaken, in this country, in the service of the medical profession, the "*Cyclopædia*" deserves a hearty welcome; and we shall watch its further progress with interest. Its successive volumes will be eagerly sought, and studied, by all practitioners and students who appreciate the comprehensive and progressive character of the science they profess.

¹ Vol. i. p. 429.

ART IN EUROPE.

MR. RUSKIN, in *Fors Clavigera*, has had a little outburst of self-praise, in one of the most remarkable pieces of eloquence he ever committed to paper. He tells the public that he has passed his life in giving alms, and not in running after fortune ; that he has always labored for the fame of others, and not for his own fame ; that he has preferred celebrating the genius of Turner, rather than exhibiting his own skill ; that he has reduced his income, and improved the condition of his tenants rather than take from them the necessities of life ; that he has never disobeyed his mother ; that he has exercised kindness and gratitude even toward the undeserving, and that he has respected women. Then, after enumerating all these virtues as his own, he says that because of them, all the hacks of literature and art, speak disdainfully of him and his effeminate sentimentality.

The passage is a fine bit of indignation, but I need hardly observe that it is much more eloquent than exact. The simple truth is, that, until he told us, we were absolutely not aware that Mr. Ruskin had reduced his income to benefit his tenants, or that he had never disobeyed his mother ; and, certainly, no writer whose opinion is in the least worth caring about, would treat Mr. Ruskin either with censure, or ridicule, because he had been a kind landlord, and a dutiful son. We supposed, as a matter of course, if we ever thought about the subject at all, that Mr. Ruskin respected women, for English gentlemen very generally do so. We are not at all surprised to learn that he is very charitable, for the general belief about him, before he told us, was that he had a kind and generous disposition. With regard to his indifference to fame, I rather imagine, without questioning the perfect sincerity of Mr. Ruskin's declaration, that he was not quite so indifferent to it some years ago, as he himself supposes. The first impulse to write upon art was certainly, in his case, the desire to make people do justice to Turner, but the whole of his writings have not been devoted to this purpose ; the three volumes of the *Stones of Venice*, for example, did not relate to Turner. The truth seems to be that Mr. Ruskin began his career as a writer on art, quite disinterestedly, but that, rather later, the sense of power became agreeable to him, and he attempted to set up an autocracy in art-criticism. In this he very nearly succeeded—I mean in England—and might have succeeded completely, at least for a time, if there had not been an immensely powerful and influential school of art just across the channel, within a day's journey of London, which worked in complete independence, and disdainful ignorance, of English opinion and criticism. Our present relation to Mr. Ruskin may be explained in a few words. We read with interest what he has to say, and we have a cordial respect for him, personally ; many of us, indeed, have quite an affectionate respect for him ; but his influence upon opinion, is not now that of an autocrat. One proof of this will suffice. Mr. Ruskin has always spoken of Constable with contempt, and yet the general estimate of this artist

has been steadily rising, so that the present prices of his works are fifteen or twenty times what they were before Mr. Ruskin condemned them. Constable is now considered to be one of the great masters, both in England and on the Continent, though Mr. Ruskin said that he was only an industrious amateur, whose pictures had neither chiaroscuro, nor anything else, to commend them. Perhaps the real source of the sensitiveness which is apparent in some of Mr. Ruskin's later writings, may be the feeling that he is not so powerful over opinion as it may seem to him desirable, in the interests of art, that he should be. But even if a single critic could have knowledge enough, and sufficiently wide sympathies, to be a beneficent autocrat of art, such a despotism would not be so good for it as the present freedom of opinion and discussion.

The French critical public has been generally complaining of the mediocrity of the last *Salon*, and this led to the proposition, which was happily negatived, that there should only be a *Salon* once in every three years. The advocates of this change imagined that it would raise the quality of art, by leaving more time to the artists for the production of their works; but they did not see that the real cause of hurry in the profession of painting, is not the frequency of the annual exhibitions. The real cause is generally either poverty, or idleness. A very poor artist, pressed by his creditors, has to turn out pictures faster than is consistent with good quality, because his prices are so low, and the proportion of work that he can sell is so small, that he must produce many, to get a little money. An idle man, begins work late in the day, and smokes and dawdles instead of getting on with it, so that he does not really give it so much time as he supposes, and it is insufficiently thought out, or slightly executed. In either case, the annual *Salon* is not responsible for the result. There is plenty of time, in twelve months, to produce two good pictures, if artists could and would devote it to something really worth doing. Again, the annual *Salon* does not compel every artist to exhibit annually. He may exhibit once in three years under the present system if he chooses. It is a fact that several of the best living artists never exhibit at all. Rosa Bonheur, Diaz, and others in France, have long since ceased to exhibit, though they paint as much as ever. Rossetti and others, in England, never send anything to the academy. There is, in fact, an increasing tendency among artists of established fame, to avoid the risk of exhibiting. They have nothing to gain from criticism, and much to lose; for criticism can both make and unmake artists, as Queen Elizabeth could bishops. Nobody dreads criticism so sensitively as an artist of established reputation, for the slightest expression of doubt about his greatness, may spread skepticism among the public, and lower his name in the market. An artist who has a position, even dreads the chance of being badly hung, for the public may infer that he is not such a great man, if his pictures are disrespectfully treated. I once asked a well known painter why he sent his most important works straight to the buyers without exhibiting them, and he told me frankly that the risk was too great, that he could not afford to incur

the danger of making a purchaser dissatisfied, that there might be harsh bits in the newspapers, and that the hangers might treat him without sufficient distinction. The tendency among French artists of the present day, is to regard the *Salon* as a place good for the winning of fame, but dangerous to its preservation. French criticism is less and less respectful. The critics, for the most part, seem to think that the more disdainfully they write, the more knowing they will appear; they go to the *Salon* not to enjoy but to find fault, and they have at last really succeeded in persuading the public that French art is in a very bad way. The truth seems to be that there is in it, as Byrón said of the literature of his own time,

“ Little that’s great but much of what is clever.”

The French look back to 1830, and ask how they are to bring back the time of stirring and powerful works, or in other words how they are to produce geniuses, and make geniuses do their best. No arrangement about exhibitions, however judicious, can achieve this. The difficulty is in the temper of the age, and in the habits of modern life. The expenses of living have greatly increased and artists are becoming more and more like other people, so that they require tolerably good incomes. The art which is grand and sublime rarely yields a good income. Profitable art in these days is very clever, very pretty, and on a small scale to suit small rooms. As in literature we write stories and review articles instead of epics which aim at sublimity, so in painting, the small well-finished *tableau de genre*, interesting but not sublime, is what pays the artist’s Christmas bill. There is a scheme for having a Salon of an exceptional character every fifth year, to consist of the best works produced in the interval whether already exhibited or not. This idea seems good but I believe that such a test of national power in art would have greater importance and effect if applied only once in ten years. The rules for the Salon of 1876 appeared about the 1st of December. Only two pictures of each exhibitor will be admitted. This rule is a good one, in some respects, but there is one objection to it, which has never, to my knowledge, been stated. The objection is that it induces many artists to paint larger pictures than those which their own taste and talent would suggest to them, merely that they may not be overlooked. It seems absurd that Meissonier should only be allowed to exhibit two pictures, which, as he paints them, can never occupy more than a very small space, when Gustave Doré may show canvas enough to cover a house-front.

In connection with the Salon of 1876, I may mention the institution of a new prize which is to be called the *Grand Prix de Florence*. This is to be offered every two years to some exhibitor in the French Salon, who, being under the age of twenty-six, may seem to have given most serious evidence of talent and originality. The new prize is bestowed by the big art-journal *L’Art*, and will consist of five thousand francs. There is no restriction as to the nationality of the young artist to whom the prize is to be given, but unless he happens to be an Italian, he will be obliged to live at Florence for

two years—if Italian, he may live in Paris. He will have to present a specimen of his skill, not to the proprietors of *L'Art*, but to the city of Florence, before he leaves it. I have just learned that the authorities at Florence have determined to do something, on their part, for the prizemen, but what they will do, is not yet quite decided. No doubt they will give him every possible facility, with the usual intelligent Florentine hospitality. The real object of this new prize, is to contend against the benumbing influence of official teaching, and encouragement, in Fance. Possibly, at the same time, there may be a legitimate desire to extend the influence and reputation of the journal. I can not say that I approve of the system of giving prizes, whether they be medals, or ribbons, or money, to artists *in their maturity*; such a practice is objectionable in many ways, but a prize is a great encouragement to a young man, and a few thousand francs may be an immense help to him. The givers have well selected the city where the prizeman is to spend his two years. In many respects it is a better place than Rome for a young artist, and it will be impossible to pass two years there without coming under high and potent influences whose effects will last through life.

P. G. HAMERTON.

SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS.

NEW ASTEROIDS continue to be announced with unwelcome frequency, the number now known being one hundred and fifty-eight, of which seventeen were discovered in 1875. The rapidly lengthening list of these small bodies is already becoming a serious embarrassment to astronomers. Arrangements have been made at the observatories of Greenwich and Paris for systematic observations of them in alternate fortnights; and at the observatory of Berlin, where they have for a long time been made a specialty, Dr. Tietjen has begun the publication of a fortnightly bulletin for the purpose of rendering available to astronomers, observations, with ephemerides or corrections of them, in order to facilitate the prosecution of the work.

A NEW and interesting relation between electricity and light has been discovered by Dr. Kerr, of Edinburgh, and is announced in the *Philosophical Magazine*, for November and December, 1875. In his experiments the poles of an electrical machine, or induction-coil, were formed of small wires which were inserted into the substances examined in such a way as to leave a small interval between their ends. It was found that when glass, resin, and the like, as also some liquids, were subjected in this way to an intense electrostatic tension, they acted upon polarized light like doubly-refracting media; and that, when placed between two crossed Nicol's prisms, they restored the light which had been extinguished by the prisms. The substance was so placed that the luminous ray traversing it was perpendicular to the line of electrical action. With solids, the effect gradually rises to a maximum, and dies away slowly on the cessation of the electrization. In liquids it begins

and ceases with the electric charge. Glass, olive oil, and some other substances, comport themselves with respect to the light like carbonate of lime or other negative crystals; resins, carbon disulphide, and so on, like positive crystals. The experiments indicate a polar arrangement of the molecules in the lines of the electrical influence, and that these are lines of compression in the former class of bodies, and of extension in the latter class.

PROFESSOR E. EDLUND contributes to *Poggendorff's Annalen*, vol. CLVI., an experimental proof that the resistance to an electrical current is dependent upon the motion of the conductor by which it is conveyed. By means of an apparatus in which a voltaic current was passed through a circuit of which a part was composed of a fluid electrolyte, with arrangements by which polarization of the electrodes was either made null or of no effect, it was found that the resistance is diminished if the conductor and the current move in the same direction, but is increased when their directions are opposite.

THE SUPPOSED DISCOVERY of a new force, as resulting from some experiments made by Mr. T. A. Edison, of Newark, the well-known electrician, has given rise to much discussion in the daily newspapers, though the matter has received little notice as yet in scientific journals. From all accounts thus far published, it appears that there is absolutely nothing new in the phenomena observed, and that all the effects described may be very simply accounted for. It is a fundamental law in electro-dynamics that a conductor, as a wire or bar of metal, in the neighborhood of an electrical or magnetic field of force, is traversed by an electrical current whenever the intensity of the force in such field is varied, or when the current producing it is either broken or closed, a direct current being produced in the wire in the former case, an inverse current in the latter. If the change in the primary current is sudden the induced current is instantaneous. If the primary current is closed and instantly broken again, as by touching an ordinary break-circuit key, the two induced currents are almost simultaneous. When only a single wire passes through the electric field, the current induced in it is very feeble. These facts sufficiently explain the failure of the experimenters to get appreciable effects with delicate galvanometers, or to perceive any sensation when the current was passed through the body. Had they used a coil or helix of wire with sufficiently numerous turns, they would have produced a current intense enough to affect the most pachydermatous organization. The phenomena in fact are almost identical with those which may be observed in the operation of an induction coil, except in the matter of the lower intensity. In an article in the January number of the *Journal of the Franklin Institute*, Professor E. J. Houston calls attention to the fact that he published an account of very similar phenomena as long ago as 1871, and showed that they were readily explainable by the ordinary laws of induction.

M. LECOCQ DE BOISBAUDRAN communicates to the *Comptes Rendus* of the French Academy for Dec. 6, 1875, the results of further investigations respecting the new metal Gallium, which appear to put the reality of the discovery beyond doubt. By electrolysis he has obtained the element in the

metallic form as a deposit upon a negative platinum electrode. It is a hard lustrous metal, whiter than platinum, and capable of taking a polish under an agate burnisher, though with difficulty on account of its hardness. It does not oxidize readily in the air, at ordinary temperatures, nor even at a temperature of nearly 200° C. It decomposes water, acidulated with hydrochloric acid, with a brisk evolution of hydrogen. Both in its physical properties, and in its chemical functions, the new metal appears to resemble aluminum.

IN A previous number of the *Comptes Rendus*, for Nov. 22, Mendeleeff calls attention to his memoir upon the law of periodicity of the chemical elements, a translation of which was published in *Liebig's Annalen* in 1871. In this memoir, which seems to have received far less attention than it deserved, and which is likely to serve as a starting point for numerous researches in chemistry, the author pointed out the fact that this remarkable law indicates the existence of several unknown elements, and renders it possible to predict their properties and chemical functions. He particularly specified two, which he called eka-aluminum and eka-silicium, and described in detail the properties which they might be expected to exhibit if discovered, even going so far as to assign their atomic weights, specific gravities, and formulas of some of their compounds. The characteristics of the new metal, so far as they are determined, seem to confirm these predictions in a remarkable manner, and to indicate that the law announced by M. Mendeleeff is a fact in nature, and may lead to important discoveries.

DR. W. F. HILLEBRAND and Dr. Norton have published in a recent number of *Poggendorff's Annalen* an account of some researches, undertaken by them in the laboratory of Prof. Bunsen, in Heidelberg, upon the metals Cerium, Lanthanum, and Didymium. Using material placed at their disposal by Prof. Bunsen, and following methods devised by him, they succeeded in obtaining, by electrolysis, considerable amounts of the pure metals, in spherical masses, some of which weighed five or six grammes. They find that metallic cerium has the color and luster of iron, and is readily polished. It fuses at a strong red heat, and after having been fused has about the hardness of pure silver. The metal can be easily hammered into plates, or rolled out into foil, and when warmed can be pressed into wire. It takes fire in the air more readily than magnesium, so easily, in fact, that on scratching it with a needle or scraping it with a knife, the minute particles removed are inflamed and thrown off as brilliant sparks. The wire kindles at once when thrust into a flame, and burns with even greater splendor than magnesium. Metallic lanthanum and didymium resemble cerium in their general properties, but are harder and less ductile, and tarnish more readily. The latter of them has a perceptibly yellowish color. The authors intend to determine the specific heats of these elements, in order to fix their atomic weights; and their investigations have a special interest in view of the changes in the received atomic weights made by Mendeleeff in assigning them their places under his law.

ARTHUR W. WRIGHT.

THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW.

MAY, 1876.

THE REFORM IN HIGHER EDUCATION.

THE graduate of the highest school for general culture, in the United States, strong at home in the possession of his college diploma, finds that precious document almost a matter of ridicule among teachers and students in a German university. He finds, to his astonishment, that few educated Germans have ever heard of his alma mater. He begins with violently defending her honor as being also a university; he is met with contemptuous or patronizing smiles. At last he comes, with much reluctance, to the knowledge that the graduate of the Gymnasium, or German preparatory school, who is sitting by him in the lecture-room, and who is, probably, just about as old as he was at the time he entered college, is sounder, on almost every point, than himself; perhaps he has not read quite as much Latin and Greek in quantity, but he has *learned* Latin and Greek in a way our graduate has only dreamed of, in those delusive moments at the beginning of a term, when he hoped for inspiration and help, from his teachers, and found neither. The ex-gymnasiast has been obliged, every day since he was ten years old, to write his Latin exercise, and for his final examination has had a Latin dissertation to prepare. Our graduate, has had, perhaps, an hour or two a week for a few terms, an exercise in Latin composition, dreaded by teacher and scholar alike.

He climbs his three flights of stairs, after the conversation with his German neighbor, in a reflecting mood. Indeed it is a little startling. He has had the best his country afforded. At home, he can not go higher, and here is a man, starting now, ahead of him, with three or four years of discipline to go through before he can dare claim the privilege of being submitted to the searching

examination which is the condition of his being allowed to teach, or take any share in the intellectual labor of his country. Yet our graduate was, at home, "fit to be a teacher," could have begun the work with its impossibility of further development, and continued, to the end of his days, a highly respected instructor without dreaming of his incompetence. But his eyes have been thus rudely opened; he suffers a while from attacks of despair, then sees where the fault lay, in the false methods of his education, and sets himself to remedy it. It is of small comfort to him to reflect that the gymnasiast has never seen a boat-race, nor caught a ball; that he wears bad linen, and has absolutely no taste in neckties; that he eats with his knife, and does not know how to behave himself in company; that, in all common ways of life, he is incorrigibly "green," in short, that his books have taken out of him pretty much all the humanity he ever had. The dismal fact remains, that this fellow has been better trained than himself in all those respects for which systems of education are made. That the graduate would rather be almost anybody rather than this machine of a man, does not help away the fact that it is a remarkably good machine for doing the very things our young citizen has set before himself for his life-work. Nor does it do for him to say he is good enough for America. He sees, clearly enough, that there is a something in this training, which works, and spreads, and will, unless he is careful, take the ground away from under his feet.

These are the patent results which stare us in the face as we compare the two systems. Let us examine the causes of the difference and how we are to do away with it. We have already hinted at the first cause, the absence of prepared teachers. Let any one honestly look back over the period of his school and college life, and count the teachers who have been more help than hindrance to him; who have really, out of their own knowledge of a subject or of the best methods of studying it, done more for him than he could have done for himself with the help of the text-books. He will find the fingers of one hand sufficient for the calculation. Yet it is unquestionably true that our public schools and colleges have the best teaching material there is. It consists largely of men of inferior training, who have begun to teach because they could not afford to study further after leaving college, and having once begun, continue on by the force of inertia. The first-rate men go into professions where a wider field for ambition and enterprise is opened to them, leaving this most important of callings in the hands of men, who, tried by the highest standards, are, as a class, wanting. Not every man who knows

the Latin grammar by heart, and has read the usual quantum of authors, is fit to teach Latin, even to lower pupils. Perhaps it has never dawned upon him that there is a great science called Philology of which he has been studying a certain small part, and into which it is his duty to lead others. He has, himself, had no training in these broad points of view, and why should he see the need of it for others? How many college students have been taught that this science of philology has become the mightiest lever of modern research into the history of the past? The inspiration which comes from contact with men capable of directing them to such points of view, is wanting to our students. They grope in the dark, from week to week, laying many pages of books behind them, but getting no farther into the depths of their subject, receiving no impulse to independent study, finding no new ways opened to them, and are disgusted at the end. We recall our reading of Greek plays under the amiable gentleman who stands, perhaps, as high in his profession as any one in America. It was so many lines of Greek dramas daily, but seldom a word about the drama itself, of its place in the intellectual activity of that marvellous age, of its development, of the lives of the dramatists, of the thousand relations which should have formed the subject of a course of lectures, of which the reading of the plays should have been the illustration. And this was the highest instruction attainable in America at that day.

The community in general little knows how bad the teaching in our higher schools is. Only comparisons can make it plain, and this is not an exaggerated one. The head professor in one of the principal departments in one of our very highest colleges, enjoys the reputation of a finished scholar, and, except among his students, of a successful teacher. The unfortunates who have sat before him a term or so, have learned how false his position is. They have come to him with enthusiasm, hoping for encouragement and help, and to profit by contact with a man of learning who will open up to them points of view they could not reach of themselves, who would show them the meaning of their study, its place among other studies, its history, its bearing on the progress of science. These were their reasonable anticipations, and in return, they were more than willing to do their part, by learning from day to day, such portions of the book studied as should serve for the text of what the professor would give them. They have been disappointed. They have found in the far-famed teacher a petty tyrant, whose sole apparent object is to trip a student who has not prepared his "lesson," who goes long ways around to make a scholar ridiculous before his mates, but if any one asks a

question, extinguishes him as effectually as possible. What attention he can spare from these amiable occupations, is concentrated on a sheet of paper lying on his desk, upon which the comparative standing of his students, indeed, in many cases, their collegiate existence, depends. The insulted student must see this go on for many days and weeks. He feels that there is something altogether wrong in it all, but he has not had our opportunities of forming comparisons, and he knows it is the best there is to be had.

Let us look at the other side. Professor Curtius, in Leipzig, lectures, in a given semester, four times a week, on abstract Greek grammar, to an audience of from three to four hundred students. These are under no obligation to come to him; neither he nor any officer of the university knows who is present or absent. The professor has no charm of oratory to attract hearers, but sits quietly at his desk, or occasionally writes upon the black-board, and never departs from the simple, and to the uninitiated, intolerably dry, narrative of the history and development of this or that root or ending. He has no connection with his individual hearers, nothing to withdraw his attention from that absorbing subject which has been the study of his life. The visitor to his auditorium at the close of the term, finds the three hundred students still in their places, and is the only man in the room who is not writing as if his life depended on it. What is the force which has held these men together? Simply the sense of power which comes from contact with a man capable of giving all one seeks and having always a reserve fund. The changes and developments of a Greek root become, in Curtius' hand, living movements, bearing upon the nature and history of the people. Every line of explanation opens, to the student's mind, new possibilities and new interests. We have drawn this comparison because the positions of the two men are precisely analogous. There is absolutely no condition for the one which does not hold true for the other. The same demands are made upon our professor, as upon the German one, but his pupils, already, be it understood, as old as their German cousins, must needs wait four unsatisfied years, and then go over to sit upon Curtius' benches, and receive what they ought to have had given them at home.

Nor does the evil end with the head of the department; it spreads down to the young tutor, himself fresh from college, with no time for widening his knowledge of men and things, or making himself, in any special manner, ready for his work. The remedy must come by filling the ranks of teachers with men whose eyes have been opened by some such unpleasant comparison as we have just made

The process must, of course, be a gradual one, and in the direction from demand to supply, not in the reverse. The practical question of the hour is, therefore, how to create the demand which shall force the supply to show itself, for we have not drawn dark pictures to give an idea that there is not a bright side to them. We have endless faith in the results of the new methods, and await the dawning of a new light, that shall send back its rays to warm and inspire the older systems from which we now must draw the materials for the flame.

Let us consider the present position of a college instructor, a little more closely, what the demands actually made upon him are, and how the doing away with some of these, and the substitution of others, would force him into a position so different that he would necessarily become another sort of man. These demands, which determine the position, and limit the working capacity, of the instructor, are so closely connected with each other that they must stand or fall together. Most of them arise out of the relation of the student to his college, at which we therefore first look.

The student, entering college from the school where he has been nobody but Smith, is informed, with more or less ceremony, that he has now become a man and will be treated as such. It is not too much to say that this promise, which he accepts in good faith, is systematically broken from that day on. It was only a harmless joke of the faculty. He is called Mr. Smith, by his teachers, and in case he is arraigned for any particularly boyish freak, is informed that such conduct is unworthy his position as a man, but with these exceptions he might as well never have been told he was grown up, for all the evidence he has of it. On the contrary, he finds the supposition, at every turn, that he is still a child, and requires—always, of course, for his own good—to be hedged in with rules and regulations, none the less degrading and annoying because their working is distant and silent. He finds himself subjected to a complicated code of laws and penalties, in which moral and mental transgressions are mingled into a jumble which it would be the despair of any jurist to explain. If he basely stays away from morning prayers, his standing suffers just as much as if he had committed the intellectual enormity of preferring to learn ten pages of the text-book at once, instead of five to-day and five to-morrow. If he is unwell, and stays away from recitation, he must not only explain himself, even to telling what was the matter, but must produce the testimony of some one else to prove he is not, as it is presupposed would be the case, telling a lie about it. If he does not choose to attend church, he must be exempted at the

request of his parents or suffer the severest penalties. He is watched in his movements about the grounds, and in his own dormitory. In place of the ruder discipline of the school, where the teacher's voice or hand was always ready to keep him in a proper sense of his own youthfulness, he has become the victim of a system none the less grinding because it works without noise and makes itself felt by penalties which touch only his sense of manhood. It is not to be wondered at that the student, thus constantly reminded of his boyishness, gives up his innocent determination to accept the responsibilities of being a man, and accommodates himself to the miserable presumption that he is only an older sort of boy. But of the evil effect upon the student this is not the place to speak. Some day or other the long-delayed responsibility will come, for him, and bring its elevating influence. Still worse is the effect of this attitude of the student upon the instructor. Every belittling of the former, belittles him, in the process, and the opportunity of correcting the tendency never comes. This is the real kernel of the matter: the teacher in Germany is there to teach; the teacher in America is there to do almost everything but teach. Let any one imagine the disgust of the youngest German tutor, if his university should demand of him even to keep a list of his hearers and mark their attendance. His answer would be of the clearest description, that such matters were the business of a janitor, not of an instructor. His business is to spend his days and nights on that course of four lectures a week which is to prove or disprove his ability to fill, some day, the higher places of his department. He has no time for playing policeman. The other side of the picture should make thoughtful Americans blush. In one of our colleges which is most free from this degrading espionage, and where the tone is steadily toward higher views of the objects of education, we have known of tutors being posted behind trees in the grounds to give chase to the expected rioters, on a certain night, and if need be to come to close quarters with them. At the same college we know that another tutor, not more than three or four years ago, sprang upon a student, who was singing in the yard at night, and tried to throw him to the ground in order to recognize him. And these men were called teachers, had their regular classes every day, and gave large numbers of students their impressions of what college work meant. When the system of elective studies was introduced, that first dawning of better things, nothing was more common than for students to choose such branches as would give them the best opportunities to gain rank. The reputation of the teachers was not

for anything one might learn from them, but for fairness or unfairness in ranking. The main object in study was not to learn; that might come if it would; the first aim was to make such an appearance in the recitation-room as would force the instructor to put a high mark against one's name. The whole working of the class, tended toward the publication of the rank-list, and never a term went by without a conspiracy among the students to capture that document before the day of issue. It would seem to require but a moment's reflection to show any one how these demands of discipline and ranking overcame at the outset, the capacity of any teacher for effectual work. Before long these assume for him the place of the real objects of his life. In the recitation-room, his mind is fixed upon that fatal paper before him. While the student is reciting, instead of watching to help him, and the rest, to amplify and explain, in one word, to *teach*, he is balancing whether this be a slip of the tongue, or a want of knowledge, whether this recitation be a shade worse or better than that of a rival student, whether he himself may not, by an involuntary injustice, lose popularity, and perhaps injure the prospects of one of his scholars for some college honor. On the one side, he is cramped by his duty to his employers of presenting that sheet of paper, filled out in due form, at the end of the term; on the other, by his wish to maintain pleasant relations with the students. It is impossible for any man to fill such a place with justice to himself, and to the high calling he has chosen. Either he does what the most do, becomes a recitation-hearing, and marking, machine, or gets disgusted with the whole thing and throws it up for some profession where he may, at least, be his own man.

The reform we would urge, therefore, would be the absolute doing away with, of these worse than useless trammels between teachers and taught, leaving each free, either to assert his position, or to abandon it. This is the case in the German universities; and that such freedom is also capable of being abused we shall hope later to show. The changes we advocate would be all in the direction of setting the student on the footing of a free man, with that most powerful of motives, which every man feels when he knows that to himself alone is he responsible for success or failure. And of these changes, the first, should be the abolition of marks and ranking. The honest supporters of the system have but one advantage to claim for it, that of inducing students to work who would otherwise waste their time. On any other ground it would be utterly unjustifiable, and we believe it to be equally so, on this. This much is certain, it is an appeal to lower aims. It presumes that study in itself, can not be

made attractive enough to supply the student with that impulse from without, which it would be absurd to deny, every student and every man needs. The question is, whence that impulse shall come. There are two answers: by degrading the student, or by raising the teacher. Up to this time, the former plan has been followed; it is time the other had its turn. The student has been treated as a child, incapable of comprehending the ends for which he works, and the quality of his teachers has corresponded to this low estimate of their position. The rank-list is the refuge of incompetence. Teachers are able to maintain themselves with it, who could not keep their places a day if they were thrown upon their own resources, to interest and encourage their pupils. So teachers cling to the system as to an anchor of safety, and those—for we have such—who are capable of supplying, from their own learning and character, the required stimulus, find themselves hampered and cramped at every turn.

We are told that this system of university freedom may do for Germans, but would never work in America. Such a lame defense can only come from those who have never made comparisons. No German student can begin to have that motive to energy which our young Americans have. The visions of advance, of position, of influence, which fill the mind of every American, are unknown to the German. Let our young men learn that power, and place, are the rewards of thorough preparation, as in the end they are, and a motive is there, than which none can be more powerful. We have heard from German professors, that Americans are among their best students, from the energy with which they take hold of their work. It is simply because the young American matriculated at a German university, finds, for the first time, that the presumption of manhood is not only made, but carried out with alarming consistency. The appeal to himself, which ought to have been made four years before, at the beginning of his college career, comes to him now with irresistible force, and sweeps him on to effort and success. Our students at home have never been allowed to try what they can do. Let any one look back at his college-days, and say which instructors held the interest and respect of their students most firmly; always those who made the least talk about marks and discipline, who could afford to do away with these artificial aids. By keen instinct, the student knew his superiors, and let himself willingly be led by them. This putting the student and teacher on their own responsibility, is the characteristic of the German method. It is so simple as to be almost startling. It makes the teacher depend for his existence, as a teacher, upon his

success in the lecture-room. If he can offer anything which any one is willing to hear and pay for, he may keep on lecturing; if not, he may stop. That is the whole story. On the other side it is equally simple; if the student chooses to do good work, he finds the first minds of his country waiting to help him. If he be in earnest, he draws from daily contact with such men inspiration for his own work, and when he can prove that he has earned it, he receives the certificate of his diligence; if all this has not been worth working for, he simply drops out of the lists, and nobody knows it. It is false that the American student is not ready to put himself under the influence of these same motives. It is the teachers who dread it, as revolutionizing their position, and compelling them to exertions for which they have perhaps lost both inclination and ability. We are aware that this subject has been already discussed *ad nauseam* under the name of "recitations or lectures," but this phase of it must of necessity change with the abolition of ranking. Recitations have been seriously defended as a means for determining the relative position of students, as if this were an object worth the sacrifice of their best time and energy. With the doing away of ranking, the recitation, as a means to this end, falls of itself, and assumes its legitimate place, with the text-book, as the basis of the instructor's activity. With these new demands would come a new class of men to answer them, men trained in the methods of study, who would not view teaching as a respectable and profitable way of tiding over the first few years after college, but who would devote themselves to it as their life-work. These would be the demands which should take the place of those others, whose abolition we have been urging. The practical order of reform must be, from the doing away of ranking, toward the lecture system; the reverse effort, as it has been thus far attempted, must prove futile, because it fails to strike the root of the trouble. First set the student on the footing of a responsible man, and you have given him the motive which makes all further steps possible. So long as you insist upon his being a child, so long he will remain so; and if he enjoys the irresponsibility, and keeps along just within the bounds of what is demanded of him, as every child does, it is not his fault, but that of the false methods which have forced him to it.

We have spoken of the relative position of teachers and taught in our American colleges, and of the necessity that these relations should be, in their very nature, changed by setting aside whatever barriers stand in the way of the greatest freedom of action on both sides. As the first of these hindrances to be removed, we designated

the system of marks, and ranking, as failing in its purpose of encouraging the student, and as an insurmountable obstacle to the free activity of the instructor.

A second change, of scarcely less importance, would be to make attendance at all college exercises free to the student without giving account of himself. The same reasons hold for this as for the previous step in the reform. The rules for attendance are designed for the student's good, to insure his not losing any of the good things with which his visits to the recitation-room are supposed to supply him. As with the ranking, so here, his lower nature is appealed to. If he stays away from recitation, the result held up before him is not loss of time or knowledge, but loss of credit among his fellows. If he knows he can do more for himself in that hour, by working at his books, than by listening to the stumbling comments of his neighbors, and watching the dexterity of the "teacher" in catching them napping, no matter; he must appear in his place or be set down as a hardened criminal. Strange that it never occurs to the wise ones to begin at the other end, to make those hours in the recitation-room so useful to him, that he will see his own profit in being always on hand. We have seen German students going, day after day, to a professor whose manner of delivery was so bad that one had to compel oneself to endure it, and that on a subject upon which not one in twenty would ever be examined. In spite of these unattractive manners, they knew that at every lecture they were sure to learn something new and valuable from him, and no motive could be stronger to insure their attendance. Instead of professors giving, outside of college hours, "popular" lectures to the students, would it not be better worth the while to think of making *all* college exercises popular, in a higher meaning of that word? It will, of course, be said that our American students would never attend lectures without compulsion, and indeed we confess that the sudden abolition of the rules for attendance would probably produce some very queer results. Some excellent instructors who, by the help of rank-list and compulsion, had deceived themselves for years into the fancy that they were doing highly respectable work, would find themselves, some fine morning, before empty benches, while struggling tutors, trained in the methods of real work, would have to enlarge their boundaries. Here, again, it is not a question whether a motive be necessary; no man enjoys attending a recitation or lecture for the mere form of the thing. The question is which motive shall be applied, and again the answer is, either degradation of the student, or elevation of the teacher. It

is time that the easier plan be discarded and the more difficult one carried into effect. The argument that American students are either too careless, or too stupid, to know when a good thing is offered them, we leave unnoticed, calling attention only to the experiment now being tried in an institution whose lead is fairly sure of being followed at a greater or less distance by all the rest. Certainly the least zealous student would only need to know that his examination for promotion depends upon what he will learn in the lecture-room to insure his attendance more securely than any rules can do it. But then this examination must be in the hands of some other person than the instructor, lest he substitute some line of comment of his own for a thorough discipline in the subject.

A real danger is that instructors may be induced to attempt, by showy oratory, to attract hearers. In Germany, though instructors of this sort exist, they have never become dangerous. The difference between brilliant speculation, and solid learning, is one which, however much it may blind the ignorant, is felt and acknowledged by the real seeker after knowledge. It is worthy of remark, how this matter works in a German university. A brilliant speaker upon a popular subject draws to his "public" lectures an immense audience in the largest auditorium. For his "private" course, which must be paid for, he chooses himself a modest lecture-room, knowing well that the workers among the students in his department will prefer the slow-going old "Lorscher," who will fit them for that examination which is the goal of their academic aims. And so it would soon be with us. The matter would regulate itself, and each student, feeling his fate in his own hands, would be his own best monitor to diligence. One other objection we would answer here. It is no uncommon thing in Germany, that a student, after matriculation, lets himself be inscribed for one or two courses, and sees nothing more of professors during an indefinitely long residence. We shall be asked if we propose to allow the possibility of such a disgraceful state of things at home. Decidedly not; this is the point where the university should say, with unmistakable clearness, "we offer the student complete freedom in his attendance upon college exercises, but a student, in the true meaning of that word, he must remain." Let such cases of reckless indifference be noticed, and let there be but one swift and simple penalty, expulsion. If the student will, he shall have, with his freedom, every possible direction and assistance; if not, he is in the wrong place, and the sooner he finds another, the better for all parties. Decision of this sort would show at once the attitude of the college, and a class of

men, such as the decaying German "Junkerthum" sends to the Universities, would never come into being. Upon the question of the comparative advantages of recitations, and lectures, this would bring the verdict of the students, in a very distinct manner, to the front, and not exactly as most persons would expect. At first the voice would be overwhelmingly in favor of lectures, but time would show, as it is now doing in Germany, the real place of each. It sounds strangely but is the fact, that admission to the so-called "Uebungen" exercises, the nearest approach to recitations in most departments, is a privilege eagerly sought for and only granted to the most zealous students. Men find the necessity of a more intimate contact with the instructor, and with each other, than lectures can give, just as they found in lectures more of such contact than recitations, conducted in the ordinary manner, can give. The making attendance free, with the consequent effort to make it more of a privilege than an obligation, is a step rendered safe by its very necessity, and we wish the trial already mentioned, the removal of compulsion in the senior class of one of our great colleges, the success it deserves.

We come to the consideration of a third change, lying, it is true, so far in the future, in spite of its crying need, that it may seem foolish to agitate it now. We refer to the intimate relation of religion and education in our country. How intimate this relation is, may not be evident at first glance, but it is a fact that the two words have been almost identical in their meaning, in all the educational efforts we have made. By the side of the other partial view of the subject, the "practical," the "classical," the "business," the "American" education, we have had much to hear of a "Christian" education. As if there were danger in our day and land of any one receiving a heathen education! The wonder of all foreigners, is our religious activity, and the extent to which it penetrates every department of our national life. In no other civilized nation, not even in those where the Catholic Church holds sway, is there anything resembling this peculiar energy. We lament, sometimes, the want of unity in our American churches; it is this division which has been the source of their life and power. Men have devoted themselves to this or that utterly unimportant dogma, with an energy which the cause of religion in itself could never have called forth. In religion, the maxim has, from the beginning, been reversed; not in union, but in division, has always been the strongest and most powerful element of strength. The explanation is clear; the religious demands of men are different. What one finds in one church, another finds in another,

and so all are kept in an activity which an universal church would infallibly destroy. So long as this sectarianism confines itself to religious affairs, it may go to almost any extent without serious injury. The moment it leaves the domain of dogma, and asserts itself in the common affairs of life, it becomes fatal to the highest progress. Such a transgression of its limits, has sectarianism committed in the matter of education. We have spoken of the unparalleled display of individual liberality and energy in the foundation of our collegiate system. All honor to the men who saw so far into the future, as to lay their offerings on so worthy a shrine; but unfortunate for us that their vision did not include the prospect of a mighty state called upon to take its stand by other states, and measure its forces with them. The uncounted millions of private wealth that have gone into our colleges, have been given, not in the first place for education, but for religion. Undoubtedly before the mind of the donor was some indistinct vision of science as a means of elevating his country, but the near and controlling motive has been, especially in the earlier portion of our history, the cause of religion. It is not to be wondered at. The founders of our state were men to whom the welfare of their souls was the all important object of their life, and to whom intellectual progress was a secondary consideration. The end of education, as of everything else, was the glory of God, and whatever seemed to those iron-hearted men to interfere with a right perception of that aim, no matter how essential a part of education it might be, must fall away. Thank heaven for the Puritan spirit, and that what was best in it—the sacrifice of everything to gain an end—has not died out from among us; but the day is past when the line between religion, and education, can be left in so confused a state. The trammels which this peculiarity of our nation has laid upon our whole higher education, must be removed, if we dare hope to reach the highest. to take our side by the side of other nations in this field, as we have already surpassed them in others. The rivalry of the American churches, has been the life of the American church; the rivalry of education will be the death of education. Indeed, the expression is an absurdity; there can be no rivalry of education, for the thing itself is one, and admits of no division.

Educated men, to whom the question where they shall educate their sons is simply where they will have the best advantages for study, little know the anxiety of the uneducated but conscientious father, when the same question comes to him. With him it is a question, not merely of intellectual, but also of moral bearing. He

knows nothing of the progress which this or that college has been making, nothing of the men who are the controlling powers there ; what impresses him vastly more is, that here his son will have to attend prayers but once a day, there twice ; that here he may be allowed to attend church outside the college grounds, that there he must hear two sermons every Sunday from a clergyman who will be sure to preach the same dogmas his son has heard all his days in the paternal pew. These are things the father understands, and, inasmuch as the welfare of his son's soul is more important than that of his mind, he decides the momentous question on these grounds. He has acted honestly, with a prayerful desire for his son's highest welfare, but we know with what a fatal confusion of two utterly distinct, almost irreconcilable principles. This is the process which every year passes in the minds of hundreds of parents, and so the sectarian schools are kept filled, and the evil of division is perpetuated.

A similar logic governs most of the bequests which are made in the name of education. A successful merchant has amassed a fortune, and, when he has no further use for it, fancies he can do nothing better than apply it to the assistance of some struggling institution of learning. He has consulted his clergyman on the subject, and learned that it is a place where attempts are being made to give young men a "Christian" education. Of course no "unchristian" doctrines, that is, none differing from his own, will be taught there. Or, a man who has gotten still higher up into the millions, thinks nothing can be finer than to found some new school with his name upon it, and the protecting mantle of some religious sect thrown about it. All such plans sound well, and it seems a paradox to assert that such efforts tend rather to impede, than to advance, the cause of the highest education. It is, however, the case. They serve to spread a certain sort of education over a wider field, but do not lead to the result toward which all our reforms should be directed, the educating of our schools to such a standard that the present annual migration of our young men to Europe will no longer be a necessity. While these new institutions are springing up all about us, absorbing in the first necessary expenses, generally, a large percentage of their capital, the older colleges, even the wealthiest of them, are struggling to meet their current expenses. In these older colleges are already on hand the first necessities, buildings, teachers, and books, and up to a certain distant point, the number of students could be increased without new expenditures in these directions. Then, whatever private liberality might add, could be devoted to such

improvements as the time demands, and which can now be afforded by none. The new colleges reach, perhaps, the point to which the older ones have come, and then all stand still at this level for want of the concentration of forces which would forward the whole cause. It is in this sense that the multiplying of schools retards the progress of the higher education. Each one of the many, feels itself cramped in just the directions in which it should have unlimited freedom. We have spoken of the fact that our best men are attached to other spheres of labor, and the ranks of our teachers filled with second-rate material. How true the statement is, the efforts bear witness, which our colleges are making, to draw from the professions men of distinction, to take the place of teachers. It is the best that can be done, but vastly better if such men could see their advantage in beginning in their youth the academic career. As it is, one may easily fancy what a mental struggle is necessary, in our country, before a young man of ability will make up his mind to sacrifice the prospects of a brilliant career, and ultimate wealth, as a lawyer or doctor, for a thousand a year as a college tutor, and the chance of waiting a dozen years for some one to die before he can be promoted. Meanwhile, to live, he must give private lessons, which take away from his work the time and thought necessary to its successful performance, and we have the teaching we have. Yet it is a calling demanding no less ability, not merely of the cramming order, of the kind which keeps a man at the head of the rank-list, but of the same sort which will give a man success in other professions. We believe, with all heartiness, that our colleges are paying as high salaries as they think they can afford. They are forced to every expedient to keep themselves above water, even to the fatal one of raising the prices of tuition, and the cost of living for the students.

One instance of this mutual learning process among our colleges, would seem to show the absurdity of it in so glaring colors that no time should be lost in doing away with so anomalous a condition of things. Almost within a stone's throw of one of our largest universities, is another college, making the same pretensions, obliged to keep up the same appearances, to support proportionately more teachers, and all to what purpose? In order to furnish a kind of education to the sons of people who hold a certain theological dogmatic quibble, differing from that particular quibble which the larger school is supposed to represent by so fine a distinction that the finest theological hair-splitter has not yet succeeded in finding it. The smaller college condemns itself to insignificance; the larger could absorb the pupils

of the former and give them at least as good an education without perceptible increase of expenditure, while the revenues of the smaller, freed from the useless struggle for existence, could be applied so as to lift the combined institution to a higher plane, to the advantage of both. This is perhaps the most striking instance of the injurious effect of confounding religion with education. We would carry work still further, to the point of uniting the colleges of each state into a combination which should be infinitely more of a power than all together can now exert. Let there be in this combined institution, religious teachers of as various shades as there are denominations for them; let the students have the privilege of following, in this respect, whomsoever they please. The sectarian preachers would here have a field vastly more attractive than now, when they know that the majority of their hearers are already on their side, and the unsectarian could safely trust to the influence of the highest education to show the difference between learning, and believing. That rivalry, which we have called the life of religion, would be increased; the rivalry which must prove the death of the best education, would be removed. The motive for supporting sectarian scholars has vanished with the years. The pretense that this or that study must be avoided as dangerous to the true faith, and that to this end separate schools must be founded where the scholars can be treated to an expurgated edition of education, has no longer the attraction it once had. It is a suggestive sight to see, at Leipzig, a number of young American calvinistic clergymen, listening to men whose doctrines they must believe to be utterly false, for the sake of combating error with its own weapons. Such a combination of educational forces as we have been suggesting, would be dangerous to any dogma, only in so far as it had already degenerated into a superstition.

We know what a storm there would be about the giving up of individual interests if such a plan should ever be seriously discussed. Such arguments remind one of the long resistance to unity of the little German states, each condemned to absolute impotence, and each as tenacious of its own interests as if it were a power of the first rank in Europe. There can be here no diversity of interests. The ends pursued are identical; the single question is how shall the means at hand be most effectually applied, without consulting for a moment what particularism will have to say. We have been told, it is no use urging such a reform as this; the particularistic spirit is too strong; each will hold by his own. Indeed, one might, at first glance, be almost tempted to sigh for a central power that

should say "it shall be so." But rather a thousand times let our education stand where it is, and our young men be driven across the water to complete their preparation, if need be, than run the greater dangers which a central controlling agency would bring with it. Europeans say of us, we can do anything of which we see the profit to our own pockets, but that if it should come to sacrificing interest for principle, and for far distant goods, we should fail. We could fancy no more convincing proof of the falsehood of this charge than such an effort as we have been suggesting. It would stand, with the late war, among our grandest assertions of our purpose to make a state, where material prosperity shall but serve as the means for carrying us up to the farthest heights of moral and intellectual greatness.

We have endeavored to point out the various steps by which, in our opinion, the highest educational ideal is to be attained. First, the acknowledgment to ourselves that we have no other objects to reach than other peoples have, and that we dare not be content with anything less than the highest. We must then put the student upon his proper footing as a man, with the right which belongs to man's estate, of choosing what he will study, and from whom; at the same time providing him with every possible assistance and direction in his choice. Following this first necessary step, would come the doing away with all barriers, between teacher and taught, which hinder the free exercise of the powers of each; then lectures in the place of recitations, with their possibility of larger classes, and higher demands upon the instructors. Last of all, the sharp division between religion and education, doing away with every reason for the maintenance of our present multitude of sectarian schools, and bringing the possibility of that union by which the resources of all can be applied with tenfold profit. These changes, each of them, depend upon the previous one. They must follow each other, in that order, in the irresistible progress toward the highest. We confess our backwardness by sending our sons to other schools after we have sent them to the best we have at home.

It has been our attempt to sketch the outlines of a plan, by which, in gradual progression, and with some sacrifices of minor interests, this great end may be attained. We have needed no presidential message to assure us that the condition of our existence, is the spread of education among the masses of our people. Already we are seeing the accomplishment of this first condition, with most satisfying rapidity. The problem as yet unsolved is as to how we are to provide for the higher, and highest, education of those who will give to their country the results of their training.

DEAN SWIFT.

JONATHAN Swift remains what he was a century ago, the sphinx of English literature. Prominent in his own line, as probably no other author ever was before; the observed of all, as the bosom friend of the leading wits and statesmen of the most classic modern age; the most illustrious polemic that the modern world has ever seen, he yet stands to this day, the greatest mystery among distinguished men of letters. Even the secret of Junius, yields, in importance and interest, to that which attaches to the name of the Dean of St. Patrick's. Gifted with the capacity to entrance the intellect of men, and intrall the passions of women, he seems to have been at home in ridiculing the former, and in bringing down the love of the latter to despair. Who, on regarding the portrait of him left by Jervas, which exhibits a noble and placid expanse of brow, serene eyes, and a mouth not noticeable for its bitterness or agitation, could imagine that one of the most restless spirits which ever inhabited a human breast found lodgment there? All the biographers downward, from the blundering Earl of Orrery, to Sir Walter Scott, and in our own day, Mr. Forster, have endeavored to penetrate beneath the veil which kept the true soul of Swift unfathomed and ungauged by his contemporaries. The mighty satirist, however, looms before us like some dismantled palace—here and there only a pillar stands erect, to show the magnificence of the building and its splendid proportions. Never was the story of a similar life told in the world's history. The endowments of a god, failed to procure him the emoluments of the ordinary time-server and the politician. He who had compelled the Prime Minister of the British Empire to beg for his forgiveness, who had insulted the nobles and duchesses of the Court of St. James, was compelled to retire, a miserable and disappointed man, to the obscurity of an Irish deanery, while men with a tithe of his natural gifts found their elevation to the bishop's see, and the archbishop's mitre, facile of accomplishment.

Perfectly to gauge the mind and feelings of a man like this, one must have gone through the purgatory of expectation, and been cast

from thence into the hell of disappointment. Like Prometheus of old, he seemed to have plucked at the fire from Heaven, and afterwards to have suffered the keenest anguish at the vanity of human wishes. No cheerful note breaks the gloom and monotony of his existence. With him it is the "Dies Iræ," and the "Kyrie Eleison," from the day when first he beheld the light of Heaven, to that other, when he wrote to Bolingbroke, "It is time for me to have done with the world, and so I would if I could get into a better before I was called into the best, and not die here in a rage like a poisoned rat in a hole." It was the duty of the author of this language to administer the consolations of religion to others; but who, from the time of the first apostles downwards, could have administered consolation to him? He regarded life as a farce, or a comedy, while his own was a most terrible tragedy. More incongruous elements, with less of that ingredient, found in humanity generally, which touches the whole, at some points, into happiness, were never beheld in mortal flesh. To him, the heavens were as brass, and the earth had no beauty.

Pope accurately described Swift when he declared that he had "the best brains in the nation." His lack of real sympathy for others, made him a satirist, with a fearful armory of pungent wit at his command, but with little of that genial humor which shines in Montaigne, and makes him the beloved of all humorists. The intellect made Swift, the intellect and the heart combined to make Montaigne. Swift's proposition respecting the best method of dealing with the superfluous children of Ireland, never had its equal for the cold-bloodedness of its conception, or the calm manner with which the hideous plan is worked out. He had lived so long in Ireland, and had witnessed so much of the oppression of his countrymen, that his soul was on fire at their wrongs, and he vented his wrath in such a manner as to make English statesmen feel the force of his satire most keenly. Still, a light is thrown upon the dark abysses of his great mind, by the *sang froid* with which he could issue his "modest proposal for preventing the children of the poor people in Ireland from being a burden to their parents or country, and for making them beneficial to the country." The opening observations of this pamphlet are such as to make one's flesh creep.

"I have been assured," says the author, "by a very knowing American of my acquaintance in London, that a young healthy child well-nursed, is at a year old a most delicious, nourishing, and wholesome food, whether stewed, roasted, baked or boiled; and I make no doubt it will equally serve in a fricassee or ragout."

He then goes on to propose that of the hundred and twenty thousand children computed to be existing in Ireland, twenty thousand may be reserved for breed, of whom the fourth shall be males, and

“that the remaining hundred thousand may, at a year old, be offered in sale to the persons of fortune and quality in the kingdom; always advising the mother to let them suck plentifully in the last month, so as to render them plump and fat for a good table. A child will make two dishes at an entertainment for friends, and when the family dines alone, the fore or hind quarter will make a reasonable dish, and seasoned with a little pepper and salt, will be very good boiled on the fourth day, specially in winter.”

Thus for the children; as for the great number of aged poor, Swift has not the least pain upon that matter :

“because it is very well known that they are every day dying and rotting, by cold and famine, and filth and vermin, as fast as can be reasonably expected.”

Young laborers were nearly in the same condition; they were so starved that if they obtained common labor they could not perform it, so there was every prospect of the country ridding itself of its evils. Turning from this unexampled pamphlet to the one upon Lord Wharton, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, we find the power of broad and general satire giving way to the personal and minute. His lordship is a Presbyterian in politics, and an atheist in religion; he has some years passed his grand climacteric without any visible effects of old age, either on his body or his mind; and this in spite of a continual prostitution to those vices which generally wear out both.

“The ends he has gained by lying appear to be more owing to the frequency than to the art of them; his lies sometimes being detected in an hour, often in a day, and always in a week. He was never yet known to refuse or keep a promise; but here I desire to distinguish between a promise and a bargain; for he will be sure to keep the latter, when he has the fairest offer.”

These were some of the hints which Swift contributed toward a life of his Excellency, and it may be assumed that neither before, nor since, have a man's characteristics been more fearlessly distinguished. In both of the satires from which we have just quoted, there is a more savage spirit perceived than in either the “Tale of a Tub,” or “Gulliver's Travels.” Unmixed gall was the liquid with which he penned the former. In his longer and more elaborate works, such smiles and such laughter as this remarkable writer was capable of, can clearly be perceived, but in his Irish propositions and characters, nothing of these is visible. A surgeon in the dissecting-room was

never more calm and business-like, and the surety of his knife yields in accuracy and precision to the scalpel of Swift.

What was the reason of all this extraordinary bitterness? We have had satirists who were brilliant and effective writers, but none who seem to have so left all consanguinity with humanity, behind. His pride, which kept him aloof from the rest of mankind; his ambition, foiled almost at every turn, except as regarded his literary triumphs; his love for Stella and Vanessa, which he constantly appears to have been reproaching himself for cherishing—all these doubtless embittered his existence; but do they account for the anathematizing and ridiculing of every sentiment dear to his fellow-men? We think not; and after the numberless volumes which have been written in elucidation of his character, we still find ourselves asking for the real key to it. We are convinced that there is more than disappointment with mundane affairs, to account for the maimed life of this great man. Thackeray also pointed to some such thing when, referring to him in his "English Humorists," he remarked:

"He goes through life, tearing like a man possessed with a devil. Like Abudah in the Arabian story, he is always looking out for the Fury, and knows that the night will come and the inevitable hag with it. What a night, my God! it was! What a lonely rage and long agony—what a vulture that tore the heart of that giant! It is awful to think of the great sufferings of this great man. Through life he always seems alone somehow. Goethe was so. I can't fancy Shakespeare otherwise. The giants must live apart. The kings can have no company. But this man suffered so; and deserved so to suffer. One hardly reads anywhere of such a pain."

But there is all the difference in the world between the loneliness of a Goethe, or a Shakespeare, and that of Swift. The first two were lifted by Nature beyond the ranks of men; but when they desired it, they could descend and commune with the lowliest. Prattling childhood, and the music of the humblest songster of the woods, could fill the heart of Shakespeare with joy—he whose intellect towered above the rest of the world. There was in him, as it were, the soft ripple of the ocean as it kisses the shore, and those terrible billows which rise like mountains lashed by the fury of Heaven. In Swift, there is nothing but the restlessness and sadness of the ocean; the waves that sweep over his soul never subside; it is fury and tempest at the beginning, and still fury and tempest at the end.

In that portion of his "English Literature" which deals with the Classic Age, M. Taine gives us to understand that he has grasped the character of Swift, and thoroughly comprehended its spirit and

issues. But then M. Taine would wish us to believe that he has a special aptitude for the solution of literary problems. His writing is always earnest, and very frequently eloquent, but we humbly take leave to doubt whether he has always successfully grappled with English literary giants, and among the number of such, is Swift—with whom, indeed, M. Taine has not so much in common, as any Englishman of the same caliber as himself—a fact which must be apparent from the very nature of things. This is what the French critic, in his usual emphatic and picturesque manner, says of Swift :

“The greatest of the classical age, the most unhappy in history, English throughout, whom the excess of his English qualities inspired and consumed, having this intensity of desires, which is the main feature of the race, the enormity of pride which the habit of liberty, command, and success has impressed upon the nation, the solidity of the positive mind which habits of business have established in the country ; precluded from power and action by his unchecked passions and his intractable pride ; excluded from poetry and philosophy by the clear-sightedness and narrowness of his common-sense ; deprived of the consolations offered by contemplative life, and the occupation furnished by practical life ; too superior to embrace heartily a religious sect or a political party, too narrow-minded to rest in the lofty doctrines which conciliate all beliefs, or in the wide sympathies which embrace all parties ; condemned by his nature and surroundings to fight without loving a cause, to write without taking a liking to literature, to think without feeling the truth of any dogma, warring as a *condottiere* against all parties, a misanthrope disliking all men, a skeptic denying all beauty and truth. But these very surroundings, and this very nature, which expelled him from happiness, love, power, and science, raised him, in this age of French imitation and classical erodation, to a wonderful height, where, by the originality and power of his inventions, he is the equal of Byron, Milton, and Shakespeare, and shows pre-eminently the character and mind of his nation. Sensibility, a positive mind, and pride, forged for him a unique style, of terrible vehemence, withering calmness, practical effectiveness, hardened by scorn, truth and hatred, a weapon of vengeance and war which made his enemies cry out and die under its point or its poison.”

There is considerable truth in this passage, notwithstanding the misrepresentation of the Anglo-Saxon race of which M. Taine is guilty. Some of those traits which are attributed to Swift, and which he undoubtedly possessed, are not distinctive of the English nation. Enormity of pride, and intensity of desires, are qualities which would be much more accurately described as belonging to the Gallic race. But in some other respects, the composite mind of the great satirist has been truthfully delineated.

After this, and all other estimates, however, which we have read of Swift's character, there is still one great cardinal defect in his soul

and intellect which has escaped attention, and which seems to us very largely to account for this most brilliant failure in the political and literary world. We refer to his lack of sincerity. In his works look wherever we may—whether those penned in his happiest, or his most diabolical, moods—he seems to us to be wearing a mask, and to be conscious that he is doing so. We do not refer to a mask which either prevents him from seeing the truth, or from going straight at it, in his writings, but a mask over the inner man, with its affections, its desires, and its ambitions. He appears to us to be constantly saying that everything, by which he is surrounded, is a sham, and that he is compelled, also, to follow the same course of false appearance. This absence of sincerity destroyed his happiness, as it does that of humbler men. The soul that constantly wears a cloak, comes to lose all sense of its own condition, and does not indulge in self-examination; the rest of its life is given up to vituperations and imaginary terrors. Some such sadness fell upon Swift, and deadened his heart to whatever was really pure, great, and noble, in the world. He had affections, but for years endeavored to smother them; he had ambitions, but his pride forbade him to cry out when they dissolved into thin air. All this time, however, these things were silently eating at his spirit like a canker-worm. There were none to approach him, for none could probe the depths of so powerful a mind, racked by contending forces. All they could do was to pity him afar off, while, with Job of old, the mighty one cursed the day of his birth.

It was this same defect, upon which we have been insisting, that was so perceptible in Byron, and which prevented him—as it did Swift—from taking his place in the front rank of the immortals. “Childe Harold” was conscious, all through his career, that he was posing, in the presence of the world, and his extreme sensibility, being directed into a purely personal channel, embittered his whole existence. No man will ever attain to the highest greatness, without sincerity. It is the true life of the poet’s soul, for it enables him to see himself and other beings, and nature herself, in the only clear and perfect light. Sincerity, is that by which the soul really breathes; without it, genius can never accomplish its destined purposes, for humanity and the world thereby become hideous distortions. Insincerity, was the real darkness of Byron’s life; he turned to the unholy love of women to assuage the anguish of a spirit, enraged, both with itself and the world. In Swift, the same quality took other forms of expression. It made him the bitter foe of many,

and drove him to indulge unmitigated contempt for the whole of his species.

The biography of this unique man, promised some years ago by the late Mr. John Forster,¹ was looked forward to with considerable interest. Now that the first—and, as events have proven, the only—portion of it has appeared, we are compelled, in some respects, to own to a sense of disappointment; not with what Mr. Forster actually accomplished, but because the hope indulged, that a new light would be thrown on the former half of Swift's career, has been shattered. Errors have been corrected, and many batches of new and interesting letters written by this fine epistolary genius, have been discovered, but as regards the principal facts of his history, they remain, thus far, in the same condition as when Sir Walter Scott wrote his delightful memoir. One conclusion on a very important matter, nevertheless, Mr. Forster was compelled to arrive at, viz., that he could find no evidence at all reasonably sufficient, of a marriage between Esther Johnson and Swift. This statement will be received with regret, for we had hitherto hoped that this act of reparation, at any rate, had been done by the Dean of St. Patrick's to one of the two women whose hearts he was responsible for having broken. If it should be the case that there really was no marriage, we can understand how Stella came to pine away, and die, in absolute wretchedness of soul. To say that she was happy during her relation with Swift, is to express but half a truth; she was happy only in the sense in which the moth, is happy, which flits round the candle, and which can not extricate itself from the fascinating flame till it falls withered and dead.

It is not our intention to detail the life of Swift: the main incidents in his career, are already matters of common history. Our purpose, rather, is to tread untilled ground, and to engage in the pursuit of discovering the key to his actions. We have to deal with one who found himself thwarted from the very beginning of his life to its close; and yet, judging from the nature of his superlative endowments, we should have imagined that there was no height to which he might not have attained, socially, politically, or in the literature of his country. A sentence he once wrote to Pope, gives an insight into his mind, and the incident it records seems almost prophetic. He wrote to the poet at Wickersham: "I remember when I was a little boy, I felt a great fish at the end of my line, which I drew up almost on the ground, but it dropped in, and the disappointment vexes me to this very day, and I believe it was the type of all my

¹ The Life of Jonathan Swift. By John Forster. Vol I. 1667-1711.—London. 1875.

future disappointments." This fate pursued him with all the prizes of life, and he may well have believed that he was born under an unlucky star. Notwithstanding his researches, Mr. Forster was unable to dispose of the fact that Swift did not take his degree at college in the ordinary way, but by the method described as *speciali gratiâ*. This mode may have been, as Mr. Forster has said, not uncommon, but how does that help Swift? Whether it means much or little—and in the case of genius like Swift's we care very little about it either one way or the other—the fact that a derogatory thing is of frequent occurrence, does not help the individual case, especially when, as in the instance of our author, a man is gifted by brilliant natural endowments. All the investigations with regard to Swift's college career, appear to us, to demonstrate only that he was a somewhat careless scholar, and not that there was much of an objectionable nature attaching to his private character. One interesting document discovered by Mr. Forster, viz., the college roll for Dublin University, Eastern Term, 1685, shows that Swift was marked *male* for science, *negligenter* for divinity, and *bene* for classics only. This certainly can not be construed into an argument tending to prove that Swift was devoted to his academic studies. The great probability is, that during this fledgling time, he was "nourishing a youth sublime," not with the fairy tales of science, but with all the ambition of an aspiring adolescence. Till it is proved upon better evidence than we at present possess, it would be both unwise and unjust to assume that because Swift showed manifest inattention to the ordinary dry routine of knowledge, he was therefore leading a riotous and ungodly life. What we are more concerned to know, is that Sir William Temple afterwards discovered his genius, and that the stories of his life at Moor Park, adopted by Macaulay, are to a great extent fictitious. It is now shown that Esther Johnson was not a servant in Temple's house, being in fact his natural daughter, and that Swift did not make love to her on taking up his residence at Moor Park, seeing that Stella was then but eight years old. It is understood that much remains to be known respecting this connection, but nothing that will materially alter the story, as it has for some years been accepted, of Swift's political life. Of the weary journeys between Dublin and London, of the heart-burnings and the regrets, of the oscillation between despair and the highest hopes of preferment in the church which a man may indulge, nothing requires to be said. But surely servant never labored more assiduously for his master than Swift did for the Whigs, and afterwards for the Tories. The result

is a sad moral for those who hang upon the skirts of political leaders, eagerly waiting for the crumbs which fall from their tables. The celebrated Harley, addresses his familiar friend, servant, and adviser, as "Jonathan," and then thrusts a fifty-pound note into his hand as the reward of his invaluable literary services. We can well understand that if there was one drop of blood in Swift's body that had not already turned into the waters of bitterness, this act on Harley's part operated as the transmuting power, and Swift was henceforth a very well of Marah. As he says himself in his journal—

"They call me nothing but Jonathan, and I said I believed they would leave me Jonathan as they found me, and that I never knew a ministry do anything for those whom they make companions of their pleasures, and I believe you will find it so; but I care not."

Swift reads human nature here for the benefit of succeeding political aspirants. When he says he does not care, it is only to cover the wretchedness of disappointed hopes. He has once more inculcated the lesson taught in far distant ages—"Put not your trust in princes."

Swift, notwithstanding his great disappointments in a political sense, was still able to bear himself as the equal of those who had betrayed him. Nothing could break down his pride, and his indomitable spirit. Having on one occasion noticed that St. John appeared cold to him, Swift warned him that he would not be treated like a school-boy; that he expected that every Minister who perceived anything in him to his detriment would immediately let him know, for he could bear many things from a literary friend which he would not bear from a political individual. He was anxious to let the Prime Minister know that he could not use him as he could use an ordinary political agent. More than that: in his journal to Stella, he told her that he would not see the great Minister until he made amends. Thus he went on, triumphing in his literary influence, making many enemies, but few friends. Everybody admired his talent and his power, but few admitted his capacity to bring within the scope of reason those who were determined upon their own political course of action. Thus it came to pass, with regard to the man possessing the greatest literary and polemical talent in England, that as soon as this became apparent, and also the fact that he had the greatest originality of any satirist England had hitherto produced, few dared engage his trenchant pen in their service; and even when, peradventure, one had done so, it was with misgivings as to the ultimate result.

Swift knew that those who had attempted to neglect him in years past, would be compelled to return to him. To the titled ones of the earth, he assumed a right of address that had never been arrogated, even by those who had the entry into the most select circles. He desired to go into literary and political coteries, and to become a dictator, there, with a power that had hitherto been unknown. In all his disappointments, and he had indeed many, he consoled himself by giving vent to his anger in writing the celebrated "Drapier Letters," from one of which we have already quoted, and which gave him a reputation second only to that which he had already achieved. Unquestionably, the fact that his friend Addison was able to feather his nest comfortably out of politics, and still have time to pursue his literary proclivities, was more than he could bear. If he could have found enjoyment in literary fame, it would have consoled him, to some extent, for the disappointments he had to encounter; but failing that, he desired to make a respectable figure as a literary polemic—and there is little doubt that one of the bitterest experiences of his life, was that in which his supposed friends ignored his talents, and led him to imagine that his capacity for satire, was exercised in vain. Swift must have astonished the regular frequenters of Button's coffee-house by the extraordinary conduct he pursued; indeed, he reminds us of Coleridge, who, in later years, though in different circumstances, made people wonder whether he was in his own mind or not, when he pursued his little peccadilloes at the strand coffee-houses. But Swift had not that great gift which comes to most men of genius—the gift of resignation. His "Drapier Letters" prove that at the time he was writing them, he was uncertain whether it was the most politic thing to do. When he was in the lowest straits, Swift seemed to be at his best, intellectually, and his crushing satires upon the conversations of every day life, must have sorely tried the patience of those with whom he was constantly thrown in contact. Sir William Temple, his bosom friend, occasionally turned upon him the cold shoulder, but Swift ignored the insult—indeed whenever such an obvious shelving was attempted with him, Swift was more than equal to the occasion, as both his enemies and quondam friends discovered. In his letters to Stella, and during the early part of his acquaintance with Sir William Temple, Swift details how he used to be cast down if his patron but frowned upon him for a single day; this feeling, however, wore off, and Swift came to be regarded, in the light he ought always to have been considered, by those who might have understood his genius, viz., as the first man of letters of his time.

He found it, as any man of similar talents will ; difficult to win this position, but it is certain to be gained in time if they have but the courage to persevere. A man who was insulted for twenty years, however, knew how to prepare himself for his revenge. The Earl of Berkeley, his own familiar friend, having led him to expect the Deanery of Derry, gave it to another person. This was one of the operating causes which drove Swift to political writing. There is no imputation, during this bitter period of disappointment, upon his love for his cherished Stella, which appears to have been the one great, noble passion of his life. Yet this was not all. He was responsible for having touched the heart of another sensitive woman to the quick, and for having inspired her with a love which she had never felt before, and to which he, notwithstanding his romantic attachment to Stella, had been hitherto a stranger. What this extremely sensitive man must have felt when Stella died, is known to himself alone ; but we are able to gather from his recorded utterances, that he mourned as one without hope. He believed that there was no consolation left to him upon earth, and that the sooner he closed his accounts with the mundane sphere the better. Certainly, no man, with his power of intellect, ever allowed himself to be so swayed by simple human ambitions to the same extent ; and it is an extraordinary fact, that while he was boasting of his imperviousness to sentiment, he was all the while exhibiting the most touching form of it.

Jonathan Swift, though writing upon the gross side of human life, was a writer, nevertheless, who was conscious that he was treading the paths of greatness. Had he always received due encouragement, and had the burden of his life been lightened, there is no knowing to what height he could not have attained in the roll of letters. On the severe and thoroughly caustic side of satire, he has no equal ; he is a giant wielding the weapons of ridicule ; and had not his existence been so overshadowed by disappointments, it would be hazardous, we repeat, to affirm what triumphs he might not have achieved in English literature. As it is, he enjoys the position of one of its finest and most honored classics.

SOME CHECKS AND BALANCES IN GOVERNMENT.

“**I**S there,” said John Adams, “a constitution upon record more complicated with balances than ours? In the first place eighteen states and some territories are balanced against the national government. . . . In the second place, the house of representatives is balanced against the senate, and the senate against the house. In the third place, the executive authority is, in some degree, balanced against the legislature. In the fourth place, the judiciary power is balanced against the house, the senate, the executive power, and the state governments. In the fifth place, the senate is balanced against the president in all appointments to office, and in all treaties. . . . In the sixth place, the people hold in their own hands the balance against their own representatives, by biennial, which I wish had been annual, elections. In the seventh place, the legislatures of the several states are balanced against the senate by sextennial elections. In the eighth place, the electors are balanced against the people in the choice of the president. And here is a complication and refinement of balances which, for anything I recollect, is an invention of our own and peculiar to us.”

This is a formidable enumeration of constitutional balances, but the venerable ex-president had discovered that there may be some which are extra constitutional. He was then in his seventy-ninth year, and there had been opportunity to learn something of government, or at least of those who manage governments, since he wrote so voluminously of the American constitutions, boasting of their checks and balances, so like those of Great Britain, and defying any one to point in history to “a single example where the laws were respected, and liberty, property, life, or character secure, without a balance in the constitution.” He had found that there may be constitutions and balances of which the written law takes no notice, but which may possibly control the written law. “All these wheels within wheels, these *imperia* within *imperiis*, have not been sufficient to

satisfy the people. They have invented a balance to all balances, in their caucuses. We have congressional caucuses, state caucuses, county caucuses, city caucuses, district caucuses, town caucuses, parish caucuses, and Sunday caucuses at church doors; and in these aristocratical caucuses, *elections are decided!*"¹

So formidable an array of balances ought, it would seem, to deter any one from an attempted usurpation of power, were it not the experience of the world that in governments the most secure protections too often prove futile. What, at this time, is the condition of all those checks and balances, which, in 1787, the writers of the *Federalist*, and those in sympathy with them, relied upon as constituting the sure defense, not less than the necessary condition, of liberty? What has become of them in Great Britain, where the monarch no longer ventures to withhold his assent to a law; and where the house of peers no longer dares to refuse assent to a bill which any strong public sentiment, represented in the other house, imperiously demands? Can it be said that either monarch, or house of peers, is any longer a considerable check—much less a balance—to a house of commons, whose sentiments control not legislation merely, but executive action also? And who will venture to assert that in this country the balances Mr. Adams enumerates have not been very seriously disturbed in recent times, or that—to speak of nothing further—the American senate has not been, gradually but surely, appropriating to itself some measure of the authority, not only of the lower house, but of the president, until, to a considerable extent, it has become the dominant power in the government, only in a less degree than has the popular branch of the legislature in England? If this is true, it is certainly a striking and very important fact, that while power in the monarchical country has been passing steadily, and by no means slowly, into the hands of the body most directly representing the people, and most sensitive to public opinion, in the republic, it has tended in the direction of the body farthest removed from the people, and which, by its constitution, the mode of election and term of office of its members, was intended to be less directly answerable to public sentiment than even the president himself.

There is little question as to where, at the present time, one must look, in Great Britain, for the effectual balance. It is certainly not to be found in any nice adjustment of authority, as between queen, lords, and commons, for no such adjustment exists. The balance of

¹ Letter to John Taylor in response to his "Inquiry."—*Works*, Vol. VI., p. 467.

parties is much more effectual, and is usually sufficiently close to render it necessary that the party in power shall be exceedingly circumspect in its action; and, above all, that it shall not venture rashly upon any measure of great importance. Where the effectual balances are to be found in this country is not very clear. The inquirer would be certain to find that Mr. Adams' caucuses are very active and very powerful, but whether he could trace their invention to the people, or demonstrate that, in any proper sense, they are caucuses of the people, is by no means so sure.

The purpose of the present paper is not to discuss the broad general subject of checks and balances in this, or any other, government, but to call attention to a few considerations only. These, in the main, affect the executive and the judiciary, rather than the legislature; and they will serve to show, perhaps, that neither of them can always, and under all circumstances, rely upon any very sure protection to its legitimate powers. It is one thing, unfortunately, to put intricate machinery in motion, and another, and quite a different, thing, to make it, under unforeseen occurrences, work out the intended results.

The assertion is often made that the power of the executive is greater, more active, and more pervading, in this country, than it is in Great Britain. Undoubtedly this is true; but it is also true that the power depends very largely upon the enormous political patronage. A great inroad was made upon this, for the benefit of the Senate, by the Tenure of Office Act, and while that act remains in force, the available authority of the president will depend on other circumstances than the written law. With a friendly congress, or a congress nearly balanced between the parties, his authority will still be powerful; but an overwhelming majority against him in congress may at any time reduce him to a condition little better than that of a ministerial agent, compelled to commission officers, the appointment of whom is, in effect, dictated by the senate, and to put in force the laws passed over his head. At best he can only bargain with the senate for a share in the offices, and the share allowed him will be likely to depend upon the strength of his party, and the hold he may be supposed to have upon the people. In a time of violent party passion and excitement, when the president would need protection most, he might find none at all, except such as might rest in the good sense and caution of his adversaries. The violent partisan may be ready enough to find a "high crime and misdemeanor" in any attempt to thwart the party purposes; and the president may pos-

sibly find that he holds his position on condition of strict obedience to party behests, and must not venture to interpose "checks" or "balances" to the will of the party as expressed in congress. This is undoubtedly to suppose a very extreme case, but it is for precisely such cases that there is most occasion to provide balances.

In any contest between congress, on the one hand, and the president, on the other, if the latter shall be found to need support or protection in his just authority as against the inroads of violent passion, or of cool, but reckless, party schemes, the judiciary can not render it. The judiciary is sometimes said to be the chief conservative power in the government, but it has no conservative authority for such a case. It may exercise a conservative influence by keeping on quietly and peaceably in deciding causes between man and man, and by setting the example of a careful observance of the constitution and of the laws; but that is all. Its utterances, even though legitimately expressed in actual legal controversies, on questions that might divide an excited congress and a powerless president, would be utterly futile for good, and might even tend to fan the flames of passion, and possibly result in bringing retributory legislation upon the court itself. Whatever may have been any one's theories, the truth, sufficiently manifest at this time, is, that the reliance of the president, in the exercise of what he believes to be his just powers, and in the performance of what appears to him to be his duty under the constitution, must be found, not in any balance which the judiciary can interpose, but in such a balance of parties as will enable him to have a voice in legislation, and as will protect him against a mere partisan impeachment and conviction.

The judiciary—from the very nature of its powers, and from its dependence upon the other departments, not only for the law that it is to administer and that shall govern in the administration, but also for the means of enforcing its own judgments—is, and must always be, less capable than the other departments, of protecting itself, either in its *personnel* or in its jurisdiction. In some cases, the provision made for protection is only such as assumes that legislation will always be wise, and that the electoral body will never be actuated by passion, or have unworthy ends in view. Such has been the case in some states where the judicial elections were annual, making the steady retention of public favor essential to the continuance of the judge in his position. Under such a system, the judge who cares to retain his position is much less independent than is either the chief magistrate, or the legislator who holds office by like tenure. A

member of either of the political departments is not confined to the administration of definite rules, which he should apply without fear or favor, but he assists in making rules, and he may study policy, consult the varying phases of public opinion and desire, and by a judicious trimming of sails, may sometimes recover himself when the squall seems at first to have capsized him. Besides, he is enabled to mingle with the people; he can appeal to them in person, or through the newspapers, in explanation or excuse of his course; and if he has ability and tact, it will be surprising if he does not succeed in inducing an offended constituency, as Henry Clay did once under like circumstances, to "pick the flint and try the trusted rifle once more." The judge has no such resources, even if he were disposed to make use of them. In securing and retaining the public esteem and support, his reliance, if he is a fit judge, must be upon his own integrity, his attention to his duties, and such force of reasoning as may appear in his written opinions. If these fail him, there would seem to be nothing else of which a judge could properly make use, or rely upon to sustain him.

The constitutional history of the United States, using the word now in its judicial, rather than its political sense, opens in Rhode Island, with the setting aside of a bench of judges, for venturing to declare the law when the popular passion demanded that it should be perverted. The period was one of general indebtedness and heavy taxation, both made more burdensome by general stagnation in business. The circumstances demanded "relief" for the people, and the available relief seemed to be an issue of paper money, by means of which public and private debts, alike, might be paid. The average legislator, who can levy taxes, create and fill offices, and then abolish them, impose restrictions on trade, even to the extent of destroying it—if he shall please to do so—is slow to believe that there is any law of political economy operating among those over whom he is set as a ruler, which he can not, or should not, compel to bend and conform to such enactments as the good of his constituents may demand, and as he may devise for their welfare. And if there be such laws, which his constituents have found to work oppressively, what more effectual device could be invented for thwarting them, than that of punishing such as may be obstinate enough to observe them?

Paper issues have often been based on nothing more substantial than faith and hope, but in this instance the ultimate reliance was upon fear. The issues were to be kept afloat by penal enactments,

under which every man who refused to take the paper money, at its face in gold, was to be arrested, summarily convicted, and punished. In some quarters there were persons who doubted the rightfulness of such laws, and for that reason, or, perhaps, because of the possible delays that might result, jury trial was denied to accused parties. In this denial lurked the danger to the judges. The colonial charter made jury trial a matter of right, and the judges, if they heeded their oaths, were compelled to hold that the privilege could not be taken away. And this, like honest men, they did. But the judges were got rid of, and the purpose of the paper issues was accomplished, to the extent of a substantial repudiation of the public debt, and of private debts also.

The moral deducible from these transactions is no different from that which may be drawn from many others, equally well remembered. They only demonstrate what needed no proof, that obedience to the law, purity of motive, and honesty in action, can not protect an officer whose integrity has been exhibited in a refusal to yield to an imperious popular clamor. It does not placate an angry people to assure them that a judge who has resisted their demands has obeyed the law: what they want, under such circumstances, is a judge whose facile principles will allow him to indicate a way by which the law may be evaded, rather than one who is disposed to heed the admonitions of conscience. The case mentioned is a striking, rather than an anomalous, one. It is not often that so bold a repudiation of the law, and of those chosen to administer it, occurs: but the instances are sufficient to prove that whenever circumstances favor the attempt, there will be no lack of interested parties ready to lead in making it. In several of the states, if the records were complete and truthful, there would be facts recorded of a like repudiation of faithful officers; and in some instances, with much less excuse than in that of the people of Rhode Island, impoverished and burdened as they were by the pressure of public and private debts.

The first occasion of note when the judiciary and the executive came in conflict, was on the accession to power of the Republican party under the lead of Mr. Jefferson. An examination of the facts will serve to show how helpless must be the judiciary, whenever the executive feels sufficiently strong with the legislature, to be secure in setting the courts at defiance. Two occurrences attract particular attention here: the setting aside of the circuit and district judges, who had been appointed and confirmed for life, near the close of Mr. Adams's administration, and the failure to obtain, from the supreme

court, a writ of mandamus to compel the Secretary of State to deliver commissions, which, though actually made out and sealed, had not been delivered when Mr. Adams retired from office.

By the repeal of the Judiciary Act, a large number of judges, appointed in the last days of the Adams administration, were deprived of their offices. There were no longer courts in which they might sit. The constitution itself provided that the judges should hold during good behavior, but though accused of no bad behavior, their tenure was terminated. There might be a question whether they were not still entitled to their salaries, but this would be all. The right to these was denied, and no attempt was made to collect them. It was on the occasion of this repeal that congress was first dazzled by the genius of John Randolph. "I am free to declare," he said, "that if the extent of this bill is to get rid of the judges, it is a perversion of your power to a base purpose: it is an unconstitutional act. If, on the contrary, it aims not at the displacing one set of men, from whom you differ in political opinion, with a view to introduce others, but for the general good, by abolishing useless offices, it is a constitutional act. The *quo animo* determines the nature of this act, as it determines the guilt or innocence of other acts." He compared it to an impeachment, and denied that it was admissible to draw arguments against the power from its capability of being put to flagitious uses by an unscrupulous majority. Every government presupposes a certain degree of honesty in its rulers.

Yes, and every government presupposes a certain degree of honesty in its people. It is a species of impeachment when a judge is assailed for his opinions upon being named for a reelection. It is a species of impeachment when a concerted assault is made upon him in the papers for something he has said, or done, or left undone. Several able judges have been convicted and removed on such impeachments—convicted of not finding the law to be what their assailants desired. The question does not so much concern the tribunal of impeachment, as the probability of a just trial in it. It is this that concerns judges most; the probability of being treated fairly when called to an account. And on this point those who have planned and theorized have usually left out of view one important consideration: they have not taken into account the power of the caucus; not so much, perhaps, the power of the town or city caucus, as that of the legislature, which has sometimes displayed an ability to bring about a unanimity of praise or censure to which the inferior caucuses were totally inadequate. It would require a considerable

degree of boldness to say that the judiciary is safer in the hands of partisan majorities in the legislature, than in the hands of partisan majorities in a popular vote. It was the legislature which brought the Rhode Island judges to account, and New England can present other instances in which a party majority in the legislature has refused a reelection to judges who have faithfully, honestly, and ably performed their duty. But this subject is aside from the constitutional power to abolish offices conferred in freehold. Upon that effective arguments have always been found in numbers, and the precedents, state and federal, favor the power.¹ When a man's right to appropriate what his neighbor possesses depends on the *quo animo*, the neighbor may as well surrender it without making difficulty.

The case of the attempt to compel the delivery of commissions to officers appointed by Mr. Adams presents some points which are now, and probably always will be, of interest. Marbury with others had been duly nominated, and confirmed by the senate, as a justice of the peace for the District of Columbia. Nothing but the formal commission was wanted to clothe him with official authority, and the delivery of this had been delayed. He applied for it to Mr. Madison, the secretary of state, but the delivery was refused. He then applied to the supreme court for the compulsory writ of mandamus. The supreme court, having for its mouthpiece Chief Justice Marshall, then just beginning to exhibit his remarkable powers in that tribunal, decided that it must deny the writ, because the issue of it would be the exercise of original jurisdiction in a case in which, under the constitution, the court could not be clothed with original jurisdiction.

When this conclusion was reached, the case was necessarily at an end. Under such circumstances, a court usually refrains from the expression of an opinion on the merits, because it can be nothing more than extra-judicial. Nevertheless the judges of the Federal supreme court have sometimes deemed it advisable to express important opinions in cases thus circumstanced. They did so in the case of Dred Scott, and they did so in this case of Marbury *versus* Madison. The reason in each instance has generally been assumed to have been the same—to influence the action of the political departments of the government by judicial opinions on questions of constitutional law. In neither instance was the purpose accomplished, nor would it be likely to be under any similar circumstances that might arise hereafter. Such opinions can only come as advice offered to

¹ Similar legislation had previously been had in Maryland and Virginia, and was afterwards had in several states; probably never without a protest against the right.

parties who have not requested it, and who will be more likely to resent the giving of it than voluntarily to follow it. The chief justice must have assumed the contrary when he prefaced his decision that the court had no jurisdiction to grant the relief with the unanimous opinion of the court that by the signing and sealing of the commission Mr. Marbury became legally entitled to the office, and "that having a legal right to the office, he has a consequent right to the commission; a refusal to deliver which is a plain violation of that right, for which the laws of his country afford him a remedy."¹

What was that remedy? It is certain that Mr. Marbury never found it, or, at least, that he never made it available. Mr. Madison disregarded the *obiter* opinion, and Mr. Jefferson treated it with contempt. "The federal judges," he said, "declared that commissions signed and sealed by the president were valid though not delivered. I deemed delivery essential to complete a deed, which, as long as it remains in the hands of the party, is as yet no deed. It is in *posse* only, but not in *esse*, and I withheld delivery of the commissions."²

What would have been done had the court reached the conclusion that it might, in the exercise of its original jurisdiction, issue the writ of mandamus, is a question of more than mere curious interest. It involves, first, the probable action of the court, and second, the probable action of the secretary and the president. Would the court have ventured to issue the writ of mandamus to the head of a department in a case of this peculiar character, and to have attempted its enforcement? The responsibility, it must be admitted, would have been very serious. It is as certain as anything of the kind can well be, that Mr. Jefferson would have instructed his subordinate not to obey such a writ. He would have regarded the delivery of the commission as an executive act, in the performance of which the secretary would be his agent merely, and holding, as he always did, that the executive had a right to construe the constitution for himself, he would have declined to take the law from the supreme court, or from any other court. The chief justice, it is not improbable, knew this at the time, and he certainly had every reason to believe that in directing a refusal to obey the writ of mandamus, the president would be supported by the approval of congress.

The writ of mandamus is an exceedingly serviceable writ where mere ministerial duties are neglected, and is often employed to compel the performance of duty by inferior officers, or even by heads of

¹ *Marbury vs. Madison*, Cranch's Reports, 137; Flanders, *Lives of the Chief Justices*, 354.

² Letter to Judge Roane, Sept. 6, 1819; Works, Vol. VII., p. 135.

departments. But whether it may be issued to the executive himself, or to one of his subordinate agents in the performance of an executive duty, is the question which would have confronted the court in *Marbury's* case. The question has often arisen in the state courts, and sometimes the power has been exercised, and sometimes denied. Mr. Chase, when Governor of Ohio, submitted to the writ in several instances; but it is believed that in each case the governor only desired to obtain an authoritative exposition of some law under which duties had been devolved upon him, and did not care to examine the questions for the purposes of an independent opinion. Where the courts have examined with deliberation the question of their power, they have generally denied its existence.¹

Is the executive above the laws? has been the query in these cases. Is not every man who is wronged entitled to a remedy, just as much when wronged by the executive as when wronged by an inferior officer or by an individual? Yes, doubtless, every man is entitled to his remedy, and the executive must be subservient to the laws. But every wrong can not be redressed by the courts. Some wrongs are political, and must be redressed, if at all, by the people themselves. Some wrongs can only be redressed by the legislature. A state wrongs her creditors when she refuses to pay the interest on her debts, but the courts can not help them. The forum of redress is the legislature, and if they apply there, and can obtain none, they are remediless. A court sometimes, through error or perverseness of judgment, turns a just cause out of court, and the plaintiff, though wronged, obtains no remedy. And yet neither legislature nor court is above the law. In the particular cases they are to administer the law, and they decide against the remedy applied for.

Now the governor of a state is an independent department of the government, as much as the legislature or the judiciary. He has his duties assigned to him by the constitution, and the departments to which duties of a different nature are delegated can not, by virtue of such delegation, interfere with them. Presumptively, whatever he does, as executive, will be rightly and lawfully done, and will deprive no one of a lawful right. If he denies the application of any private person, it is to be assumed it was because the applicant had no lawful right to have it granted. If he is an independent department, this presumption must apply in his favor, just as it must be in favor

¹ This subject was briefly referred to in an article published in the last volume of the *INTERNATIONAL REVIEW*, p. 57 et seq., but its importance seems to justify some further attention.

of the final action of a court. To subject him to the process of the court, would be to render him subordinate, just as a court would be made subordinate, if the executive should set aside its conclusion and direct a different judgment. The independence of a department is destroyed when another department may overrule its action. The latter is no longer a check or a balance, but has become a master.

Besides, who is to enforce a writ of mandamus against the executive? This is a pertinent question, at least, for mere advisory powers are not usually conferred in government, and are not likely to be respected when they are. A writ of mandamus can not deprive the executive of authority, or paralyze his powers. He will still be the chief conservator of peace of the state, with ministerial officers under him. He will be commander-in-chief of the military forces of the state. If disorder breaks out, the law contemplates that it shall be quelled under his orders, and if the process of one of the courts is resisted, it is the executive who is to be called upon for its enforcement. When, therefore, a court undertakes to subject him to its mandatory process, it is proceeding against the officer who is himself the representative of the force of the state, and who may make use of the peace officers, as well as of the military power of the state, with all presumptions of law in his favor. It is but too manifest that he has only to refuse obedience to such a writ, and it becomes ineffectual; or that, if the attempt is made to enforce it, the power to compel will be insignificant, as compared with the power to resist.

An assertion of a power in the courts, then, to issue coercive process against the executive, would be the assertion of a power every exercise of which would invite collision; and in every collision, the executive would come off triumphant. This must be true as a rule. An exception might exist when the popular voice happened to approve the judicial action, and was sufficiently pronounced to render it politic for the executive to listen to it. Undoubtedly a governor would consider with some care what a hostile legislative majority would be likely to do, before he would venture upon a collision. A conflict with the legislature might be a much more serious thing, to the executive, than a conflict with the judiciary. The legislature makes laws and adapts them to the circumstances; and the boundary between executive and legislative authority in the control of the army is not so clearly defined as to warrant the executive, under any circumstances, in trying extreme conclusions with the legislature. Besides, he would be in conflict with the body having the impeaching power, and this must lead him to pause.

All this does not prove that any officer or department is above the laws. The constitution supposes that all will do their duty. But it nevertheless provides for official crimes and misdemeanors, what is supposed to be, the adequate remedy of impeachment. The same remedy is provided for corresponding offenses, whether committed by judge or by governor. In this manner the constitution preserves the independence of the departments, and at the same time preserves, over all, the dominion of the law.

Some of the questions which have been touched upon have pointed application, at the present time, to a controversy which has arisen in the state of South Carolina between the executive on the one side, and two persons who assert their title by election to certain state judgeships, on the other. The constitution of the state provides that the election shall be made by the legislature, and it has been so made. But the constitution also provides that the governor "shall commission all officers of the state,"¹ and this, in the case of these persons, the governor refuses to do. The refusal is put on the ground of their dishonesty, profligacy, and notorious unfitness for the position.

This controversy is referred to, not for the purpose of considering how it should be decided or disposed of, but only to show that there may be occurrences in government for which no adequate provision can be made in advance, and when one department will exercise a power which was perhaps never intended to be conferred. Of course, if the governor is correct in asserting that one of the newly elected judges is a mere ignorant adventurer, and that both are notoriously dishonest, he is not to be censured if he employs all legitimate means to prevent their induction to office. He could not well do otherwise if he regards the good name of his state, and takes pride in her judicial annals, on which are inscribed the names of many very able jurists. But the question of the fitness of the candidate for an office is for the body which elects, and unfitness does not defeat an election regularly made. The questions that arise in this case seem to be, *first*, whether the rights of the claimants have been fixed by the election, and *second*, what remedy they may have to enforce their rights if they shall be found to have any. The first question seems to depend on whether the issue of a commission is necessary to complete the title to the office. Chief Justice Marshall held, in *Marbury's* case, that the title of the office was perfected when the commission was signed and sealed, and that the commission was only evidence

¹ Constitution of 1868, Art. III., § 17.

of the title which might also be made out by other evidence. But here no commission is either signed or sealed ; there is only an election. There is indeed one distinction between this case and *Marbury's* : here, the body that elects has done all that was necessary to the complete expression of its will in the election : there, the officer having the power of appointment had withheld the final act which was to evidence his intent that the appointee should have the office. But whether this is a controlling circumstance will doubtless be made a question. It may be urged, with some force, that the constitution does not, usually, impose mere ministerial duties on the chief executive, and that the requirement that he shall commission officers, carries with it some presumption that, in his discretion, he may refuse.

But when a governor takes such a position, whether legally right or wrong in doing so, the noticeable fact is, that, so far as he is concerned, the parties are without any effective remedy. If the legislature sympathize with the claimants, they may possibly impeach him, but impeachment could not give them their office if he still retained his. Possibly, however, an efficient remedy might be in their own hands, consisting in their taking possession of the offices, at the proper time, on an assumption that the commissions were wholly unnecessary to their title. The difficulties that might be encountered in so doing will be alluded to further on.

In considering the position of the judiciary, it is worth while to bear in mind that its power may, sometimes, be very effectually paralyzed by the refusal of executive aid in enforcing its judgments. Illustrations in the history of the federal government are found in the *Cherokee cases*, arising in the state of Georgia. In those cases the judicial authorities of the state were enabled to set the federal supreme court at defiance. Obedience to its judgments could not be compelled without a resort to force, and force required the aid of the executive. Jackson is reported to have said : " John Marshall has made his decision ; now let him enforce it." One man was hung, and others were sent to the penitentiary by the judgment of the state courts, for offenses committed in territory which the federal supreme court had decided was excluded from state jurisdiction by the treaties with the Indians.¹ One can readily understand what a

¹ *Worcester vs. Georgia*, 6 Peters' Reports, 515. Mr. Niles in his Register, Vol. 39-44, collects the various documents on this subject, and short accounts appear in *Flanders' Lives of the Chief Justices*, p. 430-437 ; *Kennedy's Life of Wirt* ; *Sargeant's Public Men and Events*, Vol. I., p. 177, and many other books. In the *Bench and Bar of Georgia*, by S. F. Miller, Vol. I., Ch. VI., is an account of Judge Clayton, the state judge by whom the

farce it would have been to attempt the control of President Jackson by the employment of the writ of mandamus.

In Merryman's case, the futility of judicial attempts to control the action of the executive was also illustrated. This man was arrested by military orders in Maryland, on charges of treason, and was confined in Fort McHenry. Congress had not yet suspended the privilege of the habeas corpus, and on the petition of Merryman, Chief Justice Taney issued the writ to inquire into his detention. The officer having him in charge declined to produce him, alleging, as a reason, that he had been authorized by the president to suspend the habeas corpus for the public safety. The chief justice being of the opinion that the president could not confer any such power, directed an attachment to issue to bring the officer before the court to answer for his contempt in refusing to obey the writ. But the attachment was not served, and could not have been. The chief justice conceded this, and dismissed the case with the remark: "Under the circumstances I can barely say, to-day, I shall reduce to writing the reasons under which I have acted, and which have led me to the conclusions expressed in my opinion, and shall report them, with these proceedings, to the president of the United States, and call upon him to perform his constitutional duty to enforce the laws; in other words, to enforce the process of this court. This is all this court has now the power to do."¹ *Inter arma silent leges.* But this is all the court would have had the power to do, at any time, with a president inclined not to submit, and a congress sympathizing with him in his refusal.

That the judiciary has no power to control the political action of the executive, has twice been formally decided by the federal supreme court, in cases in which the reconstruction acts were called in question, and the endeavor was made to prevent their enforcement as unconstitutional. The decisions are sufficient to show, if it were not otherwise thoroughly demonstrated, that the judiciary is not always the final arbiter of constitutional questions; and as to some questions, from their nature, can not be. Some of the practical difficulties are stated by Chief Justice Chase in the case of Mississippi. "Suppose the bill filed and the injunction prayed for allowed. If

state decisions were rendered, and of his action in these cases. The persons sent to the penitentiary remained there until they solicited for a pardon, which was granted. A report of the Georgia legislature reviewing the cases appears in Niles' Register, Vol. 42, p. 58.

¹ Macpherson's History of the Rebellion, 154-158; Prof. Samuel Tyler's Life of Chief Justice Taney, Appendix.

the president refuse obedience, it is needless to observe that the court is without power to enforce its process. If, on the other hand, the president complies with the order of the court, and refuses to execute the acts of congress, is it not clear that a collision may occur between the executive and legislative departments of the government? May not the house of representatives impeach the president for such refusal? And in that case could this court interfere on behalf of the president, thus endangered by compliance with its mandates, and restrain, by injunction, the senate of the United States from sitting as a court of impeachment? Would the strange spectacle be offered, to the public world, of an attempt, by this court, to arrest proceedings in that court? These questions answer themselves."¹ In the case of Georgia, decided a little later, it was more distinctly declared that the judiciary can not protect even the vital rights of states against the encroachments of the political departments.² Indeed, whenever in any case of considerable importance it has been insisted that the action of the president was in excess of constitutional power, the courts have been powerless to act. Mr. Jefferson thought he had no authority to acquire foreign territory; but when he had acted, and the two houses of congress had approved his action, the judiciary could only recognize it. It was immaterial what the judges might think as to his right.

Returning now to the case of persons claiming to be chosen as judges, but not commissioned, it may be remarked, if seats are vacant upon the bench, that they may possibly meet with no impediment in occupying them. If, however, the executive refuses to recognize their right, the end, if we may judge by experience, can be easily foreseen. But this assumes that the executive shall be able to sustain himself with the legislature: if he fails in that, he must fail entirely.

A judge may be such, *de facto*, or *de jure*. If he comes in by color of authority, and actually exercises the judicial power with public acquiescence, his acts, in that capacity, can not be questioned collaterally. This seems to be almost a necessary rule in any good government; and it had the approval of Chief Justice Chase in cases of convictions before judges disqualified by the fourteenth amendment to the constitution. But the controlling consideration in such cases is the acquiescence referred to—the public recognition of official

¹ State of Mississippi *vs.* Johnson, 4 Wallace's Reports, 475, 500; Macpherson's History of Reconstruction, 239.

² State of Georgia *vs.* Stanton, 6 Wallace's Reports, 51.

character ; and wherever that is wanting, the person must rely upon his actual title to the office. The question whether he has a right is, undoubtedly, a judicial question where no method of determining it, finally, has been prescribed by the constitution ; and one asserting the right, is entitled, in such cases, to a judicial trial. But there may be judicial questions which, from the nature of the case, it is impossible to submit to a judicial tribunal.

The Federalists of New Hampshire, in 1813, following an example set by the Democrats of Massachusetts in 1811, proceeded to abolish and reorganize courts, in order to get rid of Democratic judges. Among those abolished was the supreme court, the judges of which denied the validity of the legislature, and persisted in retaining their places. For a time there were two sets of judges, each claiming lawful authority, and each assuming to act. Who should decide between them ? Manifestly neither of them was competent to decide finally upon its own right, and in the absence of any tribunal empowered to adjudicate their claims, the controversy could only, at last, be settled by circumstances, and by public acquiescence in the pretensions of one of them. But when the right to an office is to be determined by circumstances, the most important must always be the recognition, by the political departments of the government, of one claimant, to the exclusion of the other. Usually, this must be conclusive, because it will determine the public acquiescence. If the executive were alone in his recognition, and both legislature and people were against him, it might be otherwise, as the royal judges in Massachusetts discovered a century ago ; but cases can not often occur, now, where the executive can be so powerless. In New Hampshire there was no active interference by the governor, but the old judges soon abandoned the contest as hopeless. A fiery and impetuous governor would, perhaps, have sent a squad of men to break up their sittings, as was done in one state, under somewhat similar circumstances, after the breaking out of the late civil war : and while this violence would have been wholly unnecessary, it is difficult to discover any means of calling him to account. His action might have made the next election more heated, and possibly have led to the defeat of his party, but the political remedy would have been the only one by means of which he could have been reached. The assertion of one set of men that they constitute the judiciary of the state can not give them practical authority, as such, when the other departments refuse to recognize them. And this suggests a difficulty that may at some time be encountered, in some state, where

the whole bench of judges constituting its highest court is changed, at one time, by popular election. It is easy to suppose a case in which a contest might arise between the old bench, claiming to have been reëlected, and a new set of men, claiming to have been chosen to their places; and unless there were careful provision for a determination of the controversy by some political tribunal, it would almost certainly be determined by the recognition of one set of claimants by the executive, unless he should be confronted by a hostile legislature, who should recognize the contestants.

Something has been said in this paper regarding the dependence of an elective judiciary on the popular favor, but it was not meant to open any discussion regarding the proper method of selecting judges. That subject is a very broad, and very difficult, one, and the evils which the several methods have developed within the last few years, have not made it any less difficult. Some ugly facts have been brought out, which theories had not prepared us to anticipate. We have found it possible for politicians, as well as popular conventions, to insist upon the selection of men because of their unfitness, as well as because of their fitness. In this, all would agree. But on another point there is a popular misapprehension, namely, that the federal judiciary, after the appointment and commissioning of the judges, is practically independent of political control.

So far as the inferior federal courts are concerned, it was made manifest in Mr. Jefferson's time, that their organization was entirely within the reach and control of congress. A sudden and very great change in parties, at some presidential election, might, at any time, be followed by some very startling changes in that regard. Nor is the supreme court beyond the reach of congress. It is a constitutional court, it is true, and therefore can not be abolished, but congress may increase the judges indefinitely, and it is consequently never beyond the danger of having its action controlled by adding to its numbers. It is still more assailable in its jurisdiction.

In *Marbury's* case, Chief Justice Marshall asserted very positively that the petitioner not only had a right, but that he also had a remedy, in the law. The implication was that he might obtain this remedy in an inferior court. But it was never obtained, and the whole batch of abolished federal judges submitted to the action of congress while protesting its invalidity. Mr. Van Buren finds a reason for this acquiescence, in the power of congress, at any time, to strip the supreme court of a large portion of its jurisdiction; a power which he asserts the leading federalists of the day feared might

be exercised if the removed judges made any attempt to resist the will of congress.¹ We can not now know how much there is to this suggestion, but it is not many years since this very power was exercised by congress, lest the supreme court should pass upon a question on which its opinion, at the time, was not desired by that body; and the competency of the action was affirmed by the court, though it took away jurisdiction of a pending case.²

Enough has been said to show that the checks and balances which are to protect judicial independence, are not so perfectly arranged, and so complete in their provisions for probable cases, as may have been supposed. Sometimes, one or the other political department becomes, for the time being, supreme. Sometimes, the judiciary may be wronged in such a way that no redress will be open to it, except such political redress as a reasonable balance of parties may give hope for. And this renders it necessary that the judiciary should have a strong hold on the public favor and respect; for in this, after all, must be found the true basis for an independent judiciary.

Judicial independence does not consist, wholly, in a secure tenure of office. It is to be found, rather, in that combination of circumstances which neither compels the judge, nor invites him, to swerve, to the right hand nor to the left, when the path of his duty is plain before him. A secure tenure of office is one important circumstance, but it is not always the most important. Hope is often more powerful than fear; and a position longed for may influence, improperly, when the dread of losing the present position would be comparatively without influence. Whatever, for this, or any other, cause, tends to lessen the influence of the judiciary, is of very serious consequence, since the effect is to weaken a conservative power which is peculiarly liable, through no fault of its own, to have its just powers encroached upon, and sometimes resisted and nullified.

We might be tempted again to quote from John Adams, that to say it is extremely difficult to preserve a balance in government is no more than to say it is extremely difficult to preserve liberty. But it might be said, with some reason, that such remarks became trite half a century ago. We take the balance for granted, because we have provided for it by our constitutions. But it can not be unimportant to know that there are many cases in which the balance is liable to be thrown out of adjustment, and that some of these may be of very serious consequence in government, unless receiving wise and cautious treatment by the people, as well as by those set over them.

¹ Van Buren's Political Parties in the United States, 306-8.

² McCardle's Case, 7 Wallace, 506.

THE AUSTRIAN CURRENCY QUESTION.

THE finance minister of Austria has lately made known the desire of the government to resume specie payments at as early a date as possible, and at latest, at the time of the renewal of the Bank Charter. The present is, therefore, a favorable moment for considering the monetary system of the Austro-Hungarian empire. The charter of the Austrian National Bank, the only institution which has the privilege of issue in Austria and Hungary, expires at the end of 1877. The treaty of confederation between the two parts of the empire expires about the same time, and as a feature of its renewal, Hungary demands such a reorganization of the national banking system as shall, in the opinion of Hungarian statesmen, be more favorable to the interests of that country. The greater number of these desire the establishment of an independent Hungarian bank of issue, while the more moderate would be satisfied with an extension to the bank note system of the sort of dualism which prevails in political affairs.

The existing government issue of paper money which amounts to 330 million florins,¹ and which circulates equally in Austria and Hungary, is a temporary debt common to both countries. The reorganization of the bank, which issues a further sum of \$1,450,000,000 in its own notes, can not, therefore, take place until this debt has been settled or consolidated, or until, at least, the steps necessary for such a measure have been agreed upon by both countries.

In the discussion of this subject, the two governments will have also to decide as to the standard which it will be best to fix upon, for the future, in case of a return to specie payments, in view of the present condition of the circulating medium in other European countries.

¹ About 150 million dollars. The Austrian silver florin, which is the basis of the currency, was, under the United States law of March 3, 1873, regulating the value of foreign coins, fixed by the director of the mint for the year 1876 at 45.3 cents. We shall, for convenience, in the present article, convert it into American currency at 45 cents.—ED.

Aside from legal tender paper money, which has existed since 1848, Austria has, at the present time, a silver standard in use since a very early period, and retained at the time of the introduction of a new standard in 1859. It is true that gold pieces are coined of the value of four and eight florins, containing the same quantity of gold as French pieces of ten and twenty francs,¹ but for purposes of payment, there is but one legal tender coinage, which must be accepted to an unlimited amount; namely, the pieces of one and one and one-half florins of silver. The latter is called a *thaler*, or a *vereins-thaler*, from having been coined as the equivalent of the Prussian *thaler*, in pursuance of a monetary convention with Germany.² No one can be forced to accept gold coins in payment, for the reason that the gold coins of Austria are, in a strict sense, only merchandise, and subject, like other merchandise, to constant fluctuations of price. The quotation of these coins in foreign countries is nearly identical with that of their French equivalents.

Before coming to the question, whether, on a resumption of specie payments, it would be more profitable for both the government and people of Austria to retain its present silver standard, or to adopt a standard of gold, as at present adopted by England and the United States, and such as has been legalized, and will soon be introduced throughout the German empire, it will be necessary to review the present situation of the Austrian currency. We have already stated that the forced circulation of paper money was introduced in 1848. Since that time the circulating medium of Austria has consisted of government paper and of bank notes, besides the token currency used for small change. Twice already—in 1859 and 1866—efforts have been made to return to hard money, but on both occasions they were frustrated by impending wars.³ The present condition of things dates from 1866, when the Minister of Finance was authorized to issue government notes, as a means of defraying the expenses of the war with Prussia, which was declared in June of that year. In May, 1866, \$54,000,000 of this currency had been issued, and it rose to \$100,000,000 by the end of the year. Its highest point was attained in May, 1873, namely \$170,000,000. At the present time, as has

¹ \$2 and \$4.—ED.

² The treaty here referred to was that of January 24, 1857, concluded by Austria with the Zollverein, for the establishment of a uniform monetary system, and the fabrication of common coins. It was carried into effect by Austria, under an Imperial decree of September 19, 1857.—ED.

³ The first of these was the war with Italy in 1859, and the second, the war with Prussia, in 1866.—ED.

already been stated, the circulation of the government paper amounts to about \$150,000,000.

In February, 1866, the premium on silver had fallen to one and one-half per cent., but in consequence of the preparations for war, it rose by April to six and one-half per cent. Upon the suspension of specie payments in the following month, it went to twenty-five; and it reached its maximum of thirty per cent. in 1867. In this connection, it is important to revert to the changes which the premium on silver has undergone from 1848 to the present time. In these changes, we see the political life of Austria graven as it were on marble tablets. In February, 1848, the notes of the Austrian National Bank stood at par with coin. The premium on silver first made its appearance after the outbreak of the revolution of February, at Vienna.

At the time of the disturbances in Paris in June following, it had reached seventeen per cent., but it fell again in August to six and one-half per cent. During the war in Hungary it rose to twenty-two, and it sank to seven on the restoration of peace. While the difficulties with Prussia lasted, it rose to thirty-three per cent., but when they were harmonized in 1853, it again fell to eight per cent. The Crimean war sent the silver premium again to thirty-nine; but the extraordinary development of all branches of industry which succeeded the peace between Russia and the Western powers, created such a demand for the circulating medium, that although the circulation had increased between 1854 and 1856, the premium on silver fell again to one and three-quarters per cent. The commercial crisis of 1857, which caused a general stoppage of business throughout the world, could not but react on Austria, although the country did not directly participate in it; and again the silver premium rose to eight per cent. At the end of 1858, however, it stood at a lower point than it had done for ten years—touching one and one-eighth per cent. In 1859, clouds again darkened the political horizon, and the storm burst in the Italian war. At that time the premium on silver rose to forty per cent. In 1861, when the complications with Hungary had assumed their most menacing character, the highest premium was attained—namely fifty-two and one-quarter per cent. At the same date, the note circulation of the National Bank reached its maximum of \$217,500,000, while its metallic reserve amounted to only \$40,250,000, its gold discounts to \$2,700,000, its paper discounts to \$25,000,000, and its advances on securities to \$27,500,000. From that date, however, the premium on silver began slowly to fall, the Fürstentag

(Assembly of Princes) at Frankfort in 1863, and the united action of Austria and Prussia against Denmark in 1864¹ having dispersed the fears of a general conflagration. Treaties of commerce, at the same time, gave a new impulse to business, and foreign trade began to assume proportions never before anticipated. The circulation of bank notes declined by \$67,500,000, and the discount line advanced to \$48,000,000. Thus, in the month of February, 1866, the premium on silver had again fallen to one and three-quarters per cent.; although war had already been decided on. A few months later, when war had been formally declared between Austria and Prussia, and the emission of Government paper money had been authorized, the premium on silver rose to twenty-five per cent., on the first appearance of this currency. It reached its maximum of thirty per cent. just before the political arrangements with Hungary were consummated.²

Owing to the excellent harvest of 1858, it again fell to eleven and one-quarter, while it gradually rose again when the political skies darkened, and on the outbreak of Franco-Prussian war, advanced to thirty-one per cent. In the following years, 1871 and 1872, the premium on silver again declined, until it reached five and three-quarters per cent., although the volume of the circulation was \$315,000,000, with a metallic reserve of not more than \$65,000,000, bills discounted payable in coin of \$560,000, and discounts payable in paper of \$72,000,000.

In the following years, notwithstanding the crisis which did so much to arrest business, silver fell to four per cent. This remarkable fact is due to the fall in the price of silver which took place at the beginning of 1873, in consequence of the German Currency reform. From that time, the premium on silver began to differ from that of gold, until

¹ The Assembly of Princes was held at Frankfort July 31, 1863, on the invitation of the Emperor of Austria, to take into consideration a Reform of the German Bund. Nearly all the greater and lesser sovereigns of Germany attended except the Kings of Prussia and Denmark, and important results were accomplished for the protection of German interests. The united action of Austria and Prussia against Denmark, in 1864, was in the Schleswig-Holstein war, which arose out of a question as to the succession to the Danish crown on the death of Frederick VII in 1863, and which was terminated by the Treaty of Vienna of August 1, 1864, under which the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein and Lunenburg were relinquished by Denmark to Austria and Prussia.—ED.

² The present system of *dualism*, by which Austria and Hungary are united under one government, each having a separate Administration and a separate Parliament, while a central ministry presides over affairs common to both countries, dates from 1867, and was to continue for ten years. Herr Wirth alludes, in the early part of his article, to its expiration next year.—ED.

the difference reached six per cent. Owing to this decline in the market value of silver, its premium fell in Austria to one per cent., while that of gold rose to eight or nine per cent. We should further remark, that while undergoing these important fluctuations, the price of silver in Austria is subject also to small daily changes, so that the premium seldom remains at the same point longer than two months at a time, and it generally fluctuates several per cent during a period of from one to four months.

The prices of commodities, and the rate of wages have always a certain correspondence with the fluctuations of a forced circulation of paper money, but they are generally higher than the excess of currency would justify, in order to protect the sellers of merchandise against a still greater advance in the cost of production. They must always be prepared for a still higher premium on metal, when stocks of raw materials have to be renewed. This premium is a great disadvantage to countries using a legal tender paper currency, as compared with those which use hard money, or notes convertible into it. Prices and wages in the former are higher than those of the latter, even after the premium on coin has been deducted. The consequence is, that the paper money country can neither compete successfully at home, nor send its products abroad to advantage. Such is the condition of Austria and Hungary to-day. Before proceeding to give in detail the experience of those countries, we must explain the elements which enter into the question of circulation.

It is strange, but nevertheless true, that after all that has been said and written since the time of Adam Smith, as to the distinction between capital and money, there are still many persons, even in business circles, of high intelligence, who do not comprehend the difference. The fate of the "assignats," during the French Revolution, sufficiently proves that landed property can not be coined into ready money; yet in times of commercial and political crises, there are not a few persons who seem to believe that a country's stock of money is potentially as boundless as its possession of capital and wealth. What confirms them in this error, is that real money is indeed a part of that capital, and that all capital, in the process of transition, is measured, represented, and exchanged by it—money being both the measure of the value, and the instrument of exchange.

It was due to this misconception, that in Austria, during the two years which succeeded the crisis, many people seriously proposed to add a full third to the circulating medium, as a means of lifting the business of the country out of its depressed condition. In every dis-

cussion of this subject, it is, therefore, important to remind the reader of the economic axiom, that money is only a representative of business transactions. Now as these transactions can not be increased at will, but depend entirely upon demand and supply, it necessarily follows that the demand for money or currency must be limited in the same way.

There are no limits to the accumulative power of capital and wealth; and the heights to which both may rise may transcend all calculations. Transactions, however, are limited to the amount of capital available, and the extent of them must necessarily fall below it, as all capital can not be perpetually in transition. On the other hand, the volume of ready money must not exceed the limits of transactions, as any excess would have to lie idle, and would be useless. Moreover, the amount of the circulating medium must be only sufficient to carry on the transactions of a limited period, within which they are consummated. Thus, a country does not require as much money as will represent its business for a year, or even for three months, because most business operations are repeated over and over again, and the same sum of money serves for each repetition. It is only in commerce with the antipodes that a single transaction can occupy an entire twelvemonth, while the total annual amount of the business operations of a country greatly exceeds the money required to carry them on. We endeavored, at one time, to estimate the proportions of capital, transactions, and money in different countries, and found that in Austria and Germany the circulating medium does not exceed ten per cent., and in England is less than five per cent. of the transactions carried on in those countries during a year. We also found that in Germany and Austria ready money constituted but two per cent., and in England only one per cent. of the country's total wealth. The greater relative efficiency, and consequent smaller volume of money in England, is owing to the use, in that country, of bank accounts, checks, and clearing houses. As the limits of circulating capital are fixed by the volume of transactions calling for its use, these limits must also correspond to the expansions and contractions of business; and must depend very much on the efficiency of the substitutes used for money in various countries.

If the circulating medium of a country consists only of coin, the rise and fall of transactions will have the following effect: If business is dull, a great deal of ready money accumulates, especially in the vaults of banks, and a portion of it becomes free to be disposed of in the form of capital. The rate of discount falls, and if it remains for

some time at a low point, capital in the form of money will flow out to foreign countries, to be there invested in securities, mercantile paper, or whatever else will yield a return of interest. This state of things will continue until the equilibrium between transactions and circulating capital is restored in the home market. Under such circumstances the overabundance of money often stimulates business, and leads to a rise of prices, which is taken advantage of by foreign producers to flood the country with their merchandise, and drain it of its coin.

The equilibrium between prices and transactions is thus restored. If the volume of business increases in a country to such a degree that there is no longer ready money enough to carry it on, the demand for money increases, prices fall, the rate of discount rises, and all these circumstances combine to draw money again into the country until the due proportion is again established.

Side by side with these alternations in the supply and demand of money, we find movements of capital in the form of merchandise, the precious metals, bills of exchange, shares, debentures, and other property, which often coöperate with the circulating medium in affecting prices, and which must never be lost sight of in studying causes which influence them. In countries which maintain specie payments, the balance of trade with foreign countries is regularly adjusted and convulsions are avoided. The regular movements of trade produced by supply and demand as well as by *arbitrage*,¹ tend to establish a sort of international level.

In countries which use a circulating medium consisting both of coin and of bank notes convertible into coin, and therefore at par with it, the balance between the volume of circulation and transactions can be kept up by increasing or diminishing the notes, according as they are required. As transactions increase, more notes will be needed to carry them on; as they diminish, the notes will return of themselves to the establishments whence they were issued. This method of relief is practicable when the increased demand is only temporary. If the expansion of business is permanent, it can only be met by a corresponding increase of metallic money.

¹ *Arbitrage* is a process nearly unknown among American bankers, but one largely availed of in all European money markets. It is a mode of drawing on, or remitting to one foreign country through the intervention of a third; as for example, when sterling is relatively dearer in Paris than in New York, by remitting bills on London to Paris. It is often much more complex than this, several operations and markets being used to accomplish a direct result. It is used both to adjust trade balances and for speculative purposes, and its influence is to promote the equilibrium of markets.—ED.

It is quite a different matter, however, when a country has suspended specie payments. Governments usually resort to this method of exacting a forced loan from the people without interest only in extreme cases, as in time of war, or upon the failure of all other resources. As legal tender paper has little or no value beyond the limits of the country issuing it, hard money goes out of the country and abandons the field to the paper; or if it remains, it is locked up in the vaults of banks and ceases to circulate. This expulsion of good money by bad may even drive out the small change, if the emission of paper be sufficient to take its place. Whenever the amount of paper money in circulation exceeds the requirements of business, the notes lose a part of their value when compared with gold and silver, and a premium on the precious metals makes its appearance. As under a paper money system there is usually a tendency to a lower rate of interest, all changes in the value of money and capital, both in domestic and foreign trade, are expressed by the rise and fall of the premium on the precious metals. The greater the excess of paper, the higher the metallic premium, and on the other hand, the larger the volume of business, while the paper circulation remains the same, the lower the premium. But the premium on gold and silver signifies more than the superabundance of paper in circulation; it includes also an insurance against possible losses resulting from the fluctuations of the premium itself.

These phenomena touching the circulation repeat themselves with the regularity of a natural law; they have appeared in all countries which have had to deal with irredeemable paper money; and they have shown themselves very clearly in Austria and Hungary. The depreciation of the currency did not manifest itself in all branches of business, nor in all kinds of transactions, at once. A rise of prices was first perceived in those branches of industry which are immediately influenced by foreign competition. All articles of foreign commerce, both exports and imports, were soonest affected, and next to them, all merchandise dealt in at wholesale; after these came the retail trade. The last things to rise were wages and salaries, and years elapsed before the incomes of officials and government clerks, established by law, were adjusted to the actual value of the circulating medium. Whenever the premium on gold and silver fell for any considerable period, and the value of paper money was enhanced, a movement of prices in the opposite direction could be perceived. The first prices to fall were those of merchandise at wholesale, next those of the retail trade, and finally wages and

salaries; if, indeed, the low premium on gold and silver had not ceased to exist before these last were reached.

The constant recurrence of these facts has reconciled manufacturers to the forced paper circulation; for they are not in the habit of looking forward to remote results, and for the time being, the paper circulation has acted as a sort of protection to their interests. When the premium on gold and silver first appeared, and as it gradually rose, they exacted higher prices for their goods, although the price of labor had not risen. The profit, of course, went into their own pockets. When, at a recent period, the premium on silver has seriously declined, they have been compelled to lower their prices, but without being able, at the same time, to reduce the price of labor, so that they have had considerable losses to encounter. Comparing these losses with their former profits, they have taught themselves to believe that a return to specie payments is prejudicial to industry, and therefore oppose it. They do not care to confess that the extraordinary gains which they realized on the rising market were quite unjustifiable, and that it is only just to forego them when the course of things has taken another turn.

The more experienced manufacturers, however, have at last found out, that the fluctuations of the metallic premium and of prices, coupled with the necessity of always anticipating that the premium will go still higher, and of covering this contingency by a further addition to prices, place them at a constant disadvantage with foreign competitors, who manufacture at a lower cost. Austrian industry suffers by foreign competition, not only because, under an irredeemable currency, the materials and labor are higher, (at least wages are higher than in Germany and Switzerland,) but also because it is subject to all the vicissitudes of the foreign money market.

Between March and July, 1875, the premium on silver fell from five per cent. to three-quarters per cent.; by the middle of October it stood again at five per cent., and at the end of October it had fallen again to three and three-quarters per cent. Such enormous changes in so short a space of time can not but check production; for it is impossible for prices of merchandise to adjust themselves to these changes, nor to the competition which results from them. Under such circumstances competition becomes indeed impossible. These violent fluctuations in the price of silver grew out of the German Currency Reform, and of the means adopted by the German government to adjust the business of the country to it—namely, the raising of the rate of discount. Instead of beginning with the coinage of silver,

nickel and copper, which would have taken a much longer time, they began by coining gold pieces. Then instead of storing up these gold coins until a sufficient quantity was in hand, to enable them to withdraw the old silver coinage, and especially the thalers, the government put them into circulation, little by little, without withdrawing a corresponding amount of old silver. The excuse for this measure was the saving of interest on the gold. Thus the metallic circulation of the German Empire has grown by 250 million thalers, or 750 million marks.¹ While the payments of the French Indemnity continued, and the exchanges were in favor of Germany, the only consequence of this mistaken policy was to raise prices and wages.

It also encouraged speculation before the outbreak of the crisis. The price of silver kept continually falling, but silver thalers still stood at par with gold—as they do to this day—and German gold manufacturers began to melt the new coins, and use them for raw material. As soon as the payments of the French Indemnity ceased, the exchanges turned against Germany, and the Imperial gold pieces began to be exported. Large amounts of them were melted up in Brussels and Paris, and went to swell the gold accumulations of the Bank of France. After these operations had attained large dimensions, the Imperial government began to withhold both its coined and its uncoined gold. Although both the Bank of Prussia and all the other German banks of issue assisted the government in this measure, as it was greatly for their advantage to do, by making all payments in silver, it nevertheless compelled the Imperial Bank to raise the rate of discount to a point usually resorted to only in times of crisis. There was, however, no other means of protecting the capital and reserve of the bank against the operations of *arbitrage*. At the end of September, 1875, the rate of discount of the Bank of Prussia stood at six per cent., while that of the National Bank of Austria had not moved from four and one-half per cent. It was not unnatural therefore that a stringency should extend to the Austrian loan market, especially as that market is accustomed to receive a large portion of its capital from Germany. Unfortunately, advantage is always taken of a forced paper currency, to compel the National Bank of Austria to discount freely at a very low rate of interest. The last reduction from five to four and one-half per cent. was insisted on against the wishes of its able manager, Herr von Lucam. Such a reduction is much to be regretted, when we consider the course of things in the remote future. It is all the more to be regretted

¹ \$178,500,000.

because the rate of interest under an irredeemable currency, is not required to adapt itself to all the changes of the international money market. Having no metallic resources to be protected, the bank is not called upon to raise its rate to protect a drain, and if more discounts are demanded, they can always be supplied by a further issue of notes. Under such a currency, there seems to be no better course, than to make the rates of discount depend on the price of foreign exchange, and the metallic premium.

After the Bank of Prussia had raised its rate to six per cent., and the flow of German capital into Austria was arrested by the difference of one and one-half per cent. between the two countries, the demands for discounts on the Austrian Bank grew stronger every day. In the month of October, 1875, the discount line had increased by thirteen millions of florins (\$6,000,000). As the rate of interest had not been changed, a rise in the premium on silver was unavoidable, and it accordingly rose from one and eight-tenths to five per cent.: that is, three and one-fifth per cent. in the short space of three weeks. At the end of October, it again fell to one and one-fifth per cent., and this owing to the effect produced by the raising of the rate of discount by the Bank of Prussia, which put an end to all extraordinary demands.

All those evils produced by a forced paper currency are understood, not only by the government, but by the representative power, although at the time of the crisis, some were still of opinion that a further inflation of the currency would be the best remedy for the emergency. There is no doubt that all well informed and thoughtful people are now agreed that inconvertible paper money is an unmixed evil.

Nearly everybody now believes that a return to hard money would be of the greatest advantage both to the State and to private business. Opinions differ, however, as to the expediency of taking steps in that direction at present. Some, and chief among them the manufacturers, strongly object to so doing, because they regard the premium on the precious metals as a sort of protective tariff, without which they can not get on in these times of general business depression. A return to hard money would, without doubt, also, cause a contraction of the currency, and as a consequence of this, a rise in the rate of discount. Others think it impossible to accumulate sufficient means to carry a resumption of specie payments into effect. Others, again, fear that any sacrifices sustained in such an effort would be useless, if an interruption of peace should again take place, as the government could

not meet the emergency of war in any other manner than by again having recourse to a forced loan, in the form of an inflation of paper money.

The first of these objections we have already combated. Manufacturers will certainly encounter some losses in the process of returning to hard money, as prices must immediately fall to an extent equal to the premium on silver; and wages will be slow to accommodate themselves to the new value of money. But of this they will have no right to complain, since they pocketed large and unexpected profits not long ago, when the forced paper currency was established. They will again receive their normal profits when wages and prices fall to their natural level. When they cease to be subject to the perpetual changes brought about by the premium on silver, they will no longer need to insure themselves against the risk of those fluctuations; and will be able to manufacture at prices which will render competition with foreigners possible. There is certainly danger that the rate of discount will be increased, but this is only because the present low bank rate is an unnatural one, occasioned by the depreciation of the currency. Austria is still, in spite of its agricultural productivity, a country poor in capital, and has to rely for the means with which to develop its industries, on the savings of other countries. Should the present low rate of interest continue for any length of time, that is to say, a rate lower than that of Germany, it would keep German capital out of Austria. The disadvantages of such a result would be felt most of all by the manufacturers. We can not, therefore, approve of the opposition made by this class to a return to specie payments.

The objection on the score of the danger of war, is also, if rightly considered, equally illusive. We see in it an argument for, rather than against, a return to hard money; for it is only when the currency is metallic that the government in an emergency, can have recourse to a forced loan by a new issue of paper money. If war occurs when the currency is already depreciated, a new emission of paper on a large scale, would only provoke the fate of the French assignats. The immediate advantage of such an emission would be inconsiderable, and it would have to be paid for later by immense sacrifices.

The only serious objection to immediate measures looking to resumption, is the difficulty of providing the means. Would it be possible for Austria to effect a loan adequate to the retiring of \$156,285,000 of notes, at a time when there is a deficit in the budget for the coming year, amounting to \$11,325,000 for Austria, and

\$8,150,000 for Hungary, of which amount less than six millions can be raised by extra taxes, and the remaining thirteen millions and a half must be raised by a financial operation? To this it may be answered, that the financial administrations of Austria and Hungary would gain such advantages by a return to cash payments, that they might manage, out of other savings, to pay the interest on the loan required. We have been told by competent authorities that such was the result of an inquiry recently instituted by the Austrian minister of finance. Austria alone pays the interest on the debt common to both countries, while Hungary sends her portion of such payments to the Vienna exchequer. For this purpose, Austria has to spend millions of florins every year in premiums on coin with which to pay the interest on its silver *rente*. The amount of these premiums has varied from two to seven millions of florins annually. On the other hand, Austria has to purchase all the materials for the equipment of her army, at much higher than specie prices, if bought at home, and if bought abroad, the coin premium has to be added, which comes to the same result. A return to specie payments would put an end to this artificial enhancement of prices; and the revenues of the state would be larger if paid in coin than they now are, paid in paper. This *damnum cessans* and *lucrum emergens* would annually place at the disposal of the finance minister a sum sufficient to pay the interest on a loan of 200 million florins;¹ a sum sufficient to carry into effect the financial operation required.

Another circumstance has of late appeared, which would render the operation in question either more difficult or more easy, according to the decision adopted. Since the beginning of the German Currency Reform, and the fall in the price of silver, the premiums on gold and silver have shown a wide divergence. The quotations of these premiums on the Vienna Bourse show that, from a difference between silver and gold of less than one per cent. at the end of January, 1873, the breach has widened, month by month, until, at the end of July last, it amounted to ten and three-eighths per cent. These premiums were, at the dates given, respectively as follows: At the end of January, 1873, silver stood at 107½, gold at 108¾; at the end of July, 1875, silver stood at 100¼, gold at 111⅛; at the end of October last, silver stood at 103⅞, gold at 113; a difference of 9½ per cent.

If, with the present price of silver, Austria should reëstablish specie payments in silver, the task will not be a difficult one. The

¹ \$91,000,000.—ED.

average premium on silver during 1875 did not exceed two and nine-tenths per cent., while the highest point reached was six per cent., and the lowest three-quarters per cent. Even assuming double the highest point, that is to say, twelve per cent., as a basis for the calculation, and estimating the combined circulation of bank and government paper, also, at the highest figure attained during the last year, namely, 700 million florins (\$317,000,000), we may safely assume that specie payments could be resumed if 84 million florins (\$38,000,000) of government notes were called in and destroyed. A reduction of the paper circulation by that amount would, under the present circumstances, and with the continuance of peace, be certain to cause the premium on silver to disappear, and along with it would also disappear all the fluctuations which are now so dangerous to commerce. The maintenance of the metallic standard could be increased by degrees, even against the contingency of war, not only through the natural growth of the population, which in the course of time brings with it an increase of transactions, but also through a general increase of the wealth of the country, through the disappearance of notes destroyed by accident or otherwise, and finally, by the application of any surplus revenues to the withdrawal of a further amount of notes.

We do not believe that it would be very difficult to effect a loan for an operation of this kind; but we must not conceal the fact that by returning to specie payments in silver, only half the work has been accomplished. Since so many other countries of Europe have adopted the gold standard, our commerce with foreign nations would gain little if we should stop with resumption in silver. The premium of gold would continue in Austria, although its fluctuations would certainly be less than those of silver are at present. They would, however, be sufficient to continue on a smaller scale all the present disadvantages and losses which are referable to paper money. The interest on the public debt of Austria now payable in silver, would necessarily continue to be paid in that metal. But it must not be forgotten that Austria will for a long time to come require the use of German capital, and that it will therefore be obliged to meet the demands of German capitalists, and accept any conditions which the money market of Germany may prescribe. If, therefore, the use of foreign capital is to be hereafter availed of, the interest on future loans will have to be paid in gold. This necessity will impose new expenses and losses similar to those now sustained, though on a smaller scale. More important than the losses of the State will be those of private

individuals in their commerce with foreign countries. It must be borne in mind that while the budget of Austria for 1876 is estimated at 403 millions of florins (\$182,500,000); and that of Hungary at 234 millions (\$106,000,000); that is to say, at a total for the whole empire, of 637 millions (\$288,500,000); the total exports of the country amounted in 1872 to \$278,000,000; in 1873 to \$264,000,000; and in 1874 to \$256,000,000; an annual amount not much inferior to the expenses of the United Empire, of which, however, but a sixth part is paid to foreign countries. Under these circumstances it is plain to see that Austria and Hungary, in returning to specie payments, ought to adopt the gold standard. Notwithstanding its advantages the gold standard has, as yet, only a small party in its favor in this country. The reason is that the capital required for returning to specie payments would amount to 200 millions of florins (\$91,000,000), instead of 84 millions (\$38,000,000); and serious doubts are entertained whether Austria will be able to negotiate so large a loan at the present time. We look almost with envy upon the United States, which already have a gold standard, and which, out of their annual surplus, could easily pay the interest on a loan sufficient to immediately retire enough paper money to insure the disappearance of the gold premium.

If we estimate the losses to the exchequer and to private commerce in Austria, in the years to come, in case it adheres to a silver standard, in contrast with the increasing wealth of other countries under existing currency laws, we can not but believe that those losses will far exceed the interest upon such a loan as would be necessary to establish specie payments in gold. The commerce of Austria is now suffering from the preparations going on in Germany for the introduction of the single standard of gold.

In England and the United States the single gold standard has existed for a long time; while in Holland, France, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, Greece, and Roumania, the double standard of gold and silver is still in use. In Switzerland, as a consequence of the double standard, gold has been almost entirely replaced by silver, and has become, so to speak, an article of commerce.

The same results would appear in both France and Italy, if the forced paper currencies, existing in those countries, did not prevent it. The *cours forcé* is to be abolished in France in the year 1878. France may, at that time, expect the same inconveniences from which Germany is now suffering, under the influence of a temporary double standard. Whenever the foreign exchanges become unfavora-

ble to France, gold will flow from that country in great quantities, as silver did from a similar cause from 1855 to 1865. France has not yet had the courage to renounce the double standard, and notwithstanding the opposition of Belgium and Switzerland, it has imposed its opinion upon all its associates of the Latin monetary union. It could not, however, altogether shut its eyes to the existing danger of an over coinage of silver, and it has, therefore, agreed to the restrictions on the coinage of silver, imposed by the Latin union on its members. This restriction must be regarded as the first step on the road which leads to a single gold standard.

We are quite sure that the associates in the Latin union will have speedily to go a step farther and forbid the coinage of five franc pieces altogether, while they increase the amount of subsidiary coins. Holland has led the way by refusing to coin silver for the account of private individuals. Scandinavia has of late introduced the gold standard. Silver now remains the exclusive standard only in Austria and Russia. Austria would stand alone among specie paying nations, if it should retain the silver standard after returning to hard money, and its power of competition would be almost as much restricted as under the present forced paper currency. Under these circumstances the present deficiency in the budget should not be regarded as a sufficient reason for not attempting to return to specie payments by the help of a loan. The interest could certainly be paid out of the economies realized by the State in its payments to foreign countries, and out of the surplus derived from taxes paid in hard money. The nominal amount of taxes would remain the same, but what is now paid in bank notes would then be paid in coin. Prices and wages will fall, and the expenses of the government will decline, at the same time the country's power of competition will improve, commerce will expand, and the revenue from imports will grow larger. To all these arguments in favor of the resumption of cash payments in gold, it is to be added that while specie payments are suspended, the single standard of silver may be changed to a single standard of gold, without any disturbance to commerce.

UNITED STATES LAND GRANTS.

FEW persons, who have not taken the pains to examine the statistics, are aware of the vast extent of the territory which has been granted and given away by the United States government within the past thirty years. Prior to that period, the wide expanse of public domain lying in the Mississippi Basin, and beyond, was regarded as a national patrimony—an inheritance of future generations—the value of which was steadily increasing, and which was held as a sacred trust. Indeed, that portion of it east of the Mississippi ceded by the original states claiming it under royal charters, was tenaciously held and reluctantly surrendered to the federation upon the express condition that it should be retained as the possession of the whole people, and used for the common advantage. The successive acquisitions from France, from Spain, from Mexico, and from Russia, having been brought about by conquest at the national expense, or by purchase from the public treasury, were, in the same degree, pledged to the same general purposes. The writings of Washington and Jefferson carry the idea that this unoccupied territory was to be the scene of new and populous States, made up of the overflow from the Atlantic slope and from Europe.

The public lands were for a long time looked upon as a sort of reserve field of the nation; a cumulative sinking fund compared with which hoards of gold and silver were trifles; and some of the best citizens were accustomed to purchase tracts of what were known as "wild lands," as the safest and best investment of surplus capital. Many of the large fortunes of our day are traceable to this forethought of individuals half a century ago.

With all the impatience and impetuosity of a youthful heir, the nation has, of late, made haste to enter upon and enjoy its landed estates. No young legatee could be more eager to make "ducks and drakes" of an inheritance than the United States has been during the past generation, judging from a review of its legislation on this subject. The natural growth of population, reinforced by a mighty element of immigration, and the normal expansion over the rich, virgin

territory—though without parallels in the history of the human race—would appear to have been too slow and irksome for the impulsive spirits of our people. The stimulating process was resorted to, and the advancing wave of migration was tempted onward and westward with accelerating speed by the offer of superior lands for little more than the trouble of asking them.

The following table will show, approximately, the area of settled territory, and the average density of the population, at the respective dates from 1790, to 1870, the date of the last census. Territory having less than two persons per square mile is excluded from the calculation. The area is given after deducting vacant spaces within the frontier limit, and adding the area of settled tracts lying outside of the continuous frontier limit.

TABLE showing area and density of settlement of the United States at different dates.

YEAR.	Area of Settlement. Square Miles.	Population.	Average Density per square mile.
1790	239,935	3,929,214	16.4
1800	305,708	5,308,483	17.3
1810	407,945	7,239,881	17.7
1820	508,717	9,633,822	18.9
1830	632,717	12,866,020	20.3
1840	807,292	17,069,453	21.1
1850	979,249	23,191,876	23.7
1860	1,194,754	31,443,321	26.5
1870	1,272,239	38,558,371	30.2

It would appear that, notwithstanding the extraordinary concentration of population in our large cities, at the *foci* of immigration and at the manufacturing centres, the average density of the population in the cultivated territory has not quite doubled in eighty years. Of the growth of this tendency of population to huddle in cities some idea may be formed by the approximate statement of Prof. Walker, that in 1790 one-thirtieth of the population was found in cities; in 1800 one-twenty-fifth; in 1810 and 1820 one-twentieth; in 1830, one-sixteenth; in 1840 one-twelfth; in 1850 one-eighth; in 1860 one-sixth; and in 1870 one-fifth. Making due allowance, therefore, for

this concentration within urban limits, it is obvious that the density of population in the agricultural regions must be steadily diminishing; or, in other words, the average amount of land required for the use of each rural person, or family, is getting larger—so that while the area occupied by our larger towns and cities is growing rapidly denser, that occupied out of towns is growing sparser.

The land squandering era seems to have commenced in 1825, for though the State of Virginia had previously reserved a large tract north of the Ohio River, which was divided as military bounty, the transfers of public lands to individuals were, generally, either by sales for cash or as reward for military services. The public lands were then deemed to be in the wilderness, hardly reclaimed from the aboriginal occupants, and excepting along the borders of the navigable streams, were comparatively inaccessible to the settler on the one hand, and altogether too remote from the markets of the world on the other. The beginning of this century witnessed the introduction of canals as internal means of communication; and the novelty in transportation was soon after transplanted to this country, where it reveled, with more than European vigor, in the inviting field between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi and its eastern tributary, the Ohio. At that time money was scarce. There were no such resources for utilizing credit as are common in our day. In fact, the enormous multiplication of wealth through the use of the steam-engine, power-loom, and other mechanical and chemical discoveries, had scarcely begun. The credit of the States was poor, yet poor as it was, it was better than that of any private corporation. Even if the "strict constructionists" of that day could have been won over to the policy, it was doubtful if the national credit itself was equal to the task of executing the much-needed inter-state improvements.

The general government had but few material resources except lands; of these it had abundance and of the best quality. It is safe to say that no government in the world, not even Brazil and the Argentine Confederation, was possessed of so large, or so rich, a body of unoccupied land, as lay between the Ohio and the Rocky Mountains. After much anxious debate, Congress was, at last, persuaded—and in this it but followed the dictation of the popular will—into the policy of parting with its lands in order to help bring about the internal improvements which canals and steam transport were ushering in. The form of State sovereignty was preserved by causing the grants of land to be made, mediately, through the respective States in which the proposed improvements were situated.

Among the desired objects were the Wabash and Erie, and the Illinois and Lake Michigan canals; and in 1827 these two corporations were endowed with nearly two million acres of land in the hope that the land might tempt foreign capital into their construction. In the following year the Miami and Dayton, and some other minor canals, were given nearly a million of acres more. The Wabash and Erie, though successively undertaken by the State and by private corporations, was never completed, and has long ago given way to the railroad track; while the two latter, though completed, have not met the expectations of their promoters. Other similar works were subsidized, from time to time, until there had been conceded to the five States bordering on the upper chain of lakes, for the promotion of canals, up to 1866, 4,405,986 acres, exclusive of 2,400,000 acres for wagon-roads (the greater part of the latter in Oregon, however), or an aggregate, for canal purposes, of 10,625 square miles.

In 1847 the soldiers engaged in the Mexican War were rewarded by bounties from the public lands. Land warrants, calling for 40, 80 or 160 acres of public land, were for many years a common form of negotiable paper, at prices ranging below a dollar per acre. It is noticeable that but a few of the soldiers ever "located" their warrants: on the contrary, they passed into the hands of brokers, and from these into the hands of capitalists, who secured immense tracts of "pine lands" and other valuable territory at merely nominal rates. The number of acres disposed of by land scrip is given separately by the Land Commissioner, at 57,770,650, of which 3,066,500 were still outstanding July 1, 1873.

Homestead laws were subsequently enacted, whereby any citizen could acquire a good-sized farm upon payment of registry fees, merely—\$5 and \$10 respectively, and occupancy for two years, with the erection of a house. It would be interesting to see how this beneficent provision was stretched until the occupancy was more "constructive" than real, and how the "improvements" often consisted of no more than a brush-covered shed. The amount disposed of for cash and under the homestead acts, is given at 5,419,878 acres, and the amount of money received therefor, including fees and commissions, was \$3,391,402. To this amount should be added 653,446 acres granted more recently to the several States for founding "Agricultural and Mechanical Colleges."

The ingenuity of the average politician seems to have been taxed to devise some scheme of internal improvement, with which to claim a slice of the public land, so long as any eligible land was left.

Between 1849 and 1860, there were granted to the States (the States bordering on the Gulf of Mexico and California took a large share in this) immense bodies of what were termed "swamp lands," but which might more properly be designated as lands subject to occasional inundation, ostensibly, in order to assist in their reclamation. No less than 62,576,792 acres were so granted, of which 47,000,000 acres have been surveyed and patented, or an area equal to the whole of New England, with half of New Jersey added.

Up to 1850, the bounty of Congress had been prodigal enough, but it had been confined to purposes that were either national in their character, or at least connected with the inter-state commerce by water, which, by the constitution, was left under the protection and control of Congress. So great had the appetite for public land become, that the bold experiment was made of asking aid for private corporations. The introduction of the steam locomotive had so changed the conditions of the transportation problem, that a railway-fever for a time, took possession of our people. The West was particularly ardent in its clamor for the railroad. Several of the Western States had been smarting under commercial and industrial paralysis and enfeebled credit, and in the race for development, it was deemed imperative that something must be done to help them. The arguments of the lawyers in Congress, and the prophecies of the old school statesmen, were alike overborne by the votes of the impatient Representatives, and in that year Congress initiated the policy of granting lands for the benefit of chartered railroad corporations. It is vain, now, to rehearse the arguments for and against this policy. For a season it appeared to work so well, and to bring with it such attendant blessings, that all opposition was silenced. Railroads multiplied, capital flowed in, our exports of cotton and bread-stuffs increased, and the revenues, private and public, were correspondingly largely augmented.

The Illinois Central, and Mobile and Ohio Companies, whose lines together formed a continuous road from Lake Michigan to the Gulf, were the first to receive this special assistance. The former, by virtue of its location through the heart of the great prairie, and connecting the waters of Lake Michigan with the uninterrupted navigation of the Mississippi at Cairo, proved to be an unprecedented success. The presence of Richard Cobden and others, in the management, helped to bring British capital to the enterprise, and by superior administrative talent, the first land grant railroad became a sort of proud example for what followed. The 2,595,000 acres of land originally granted, have yielded to the treasury of the company

\$24,000,000, exclusive of interest collections, and there remained in 1874, 320,000 acres still unsold. In other words, the lands alone will realize sufficient to build and equip the entire road. For the above mentioned reasons, there could be but one such combination, and this happened to be the first one to receive a land grant.

The success of the Illinois Company led to a wide-spread and contagious movement all over the country in favor of land grant railroads. In the twenty years between 1850 and 1870, there were granted to about fifty corporations, chiefly in the organized states, 54,667,000 acres, of which it is estimated that 37,000,000 acres will be available, or an area of 58,000 square miles, equal to that of Pennsylvania and Maryland combined!

This was getting rid of the common inheritance pretty rapidly; but it was merely a petty and retail proceeding, compared with the wholesale grants which were, during the same period, developed in the territories.

The dream and hope of the nation, since the advent of railroads, and the acquisition of California, had been a continuous highway of iron between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans within our own territory. There were many who doubted its feasibility, and but few who more than believed it was among the distant possibilities. Even Senator Benton, in pressing the measure upon Congress, drew his bill so as to provide for "a railroad where practicable," and a wagon-road in the intervals where the rails could not be used. This stupendous work, whose magnitude and execution now seem commonplace by familiar use, was peculiarly a national undertaking, in which political, military, industrial, commercial, financial, and even international interests were all concerned. It was commonly believed to be beyond the grasp and the ability of any organization less than the government itself. Besides being the principal beneficiary, as the holder of the vacant public lands, and as guardian and overseer of the Indians, the general government had a deep interest in securing the closest communication with its distant settlements, aside from the cheapening and improving of its own transportation of troops, munitions and subsistence and mails over the territories.

At the outbreak of the civil war, there were on the Pacific coast advocates of secession, who were not unwilling to plunge those states into the confusion of internecine tumult. It was a happy thought of Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, who was then leader of the House, with a view of holding these remote states true to their allegiance, and to neutralize the efforts of the agitators, to offer a report authorizing the

construction of a railroad "from the Missouri river to the Pacific ocean," and thus enlist the energies and means of its loyal and active people in the creation of this material bond of union, rather than permit them to drift into a suicidal struggle of disunion. To aid in this construction, Congress, in July 1862, granted 12,800 acres per mile of land, or upwards of 21,000,000 acres, to the 1900 miles of main line, besides 12,000,000 acres to branches and connecting lines. In order to stimulate its construction at the earliest day, and to furnish a basis of credit whereby private capital might also be embarked in the great enterprise, the credit of the United States was also pledged to the extent of about \$25,000 per mile average, or about half the estimated cost, with the stipulation that the loan should be repaid chiefly in current services; but at the maturity of the bonds, the whole unpaid balance was to be repaid in cash, or other obligations of the United States.

The energies and means of the nation being engrossed in the gigantic struggle for self preservation, the task of building the Pacific railroad was very properly committed to two principal corporations, one of them working from the Missouri westward, the other from the Pacific waters eastward, toward a meeting point. The eastern portion was not begun until the war had nearly closed; but the Californians, at their end, began work at once, and had completed thirty-three miles of mountain road by July, 1864, without drawing a dollar from the public treasury therefor. From 1865 to 1869, this grand work of peace was carried on with extraordinary energy, the whole line being put in running order with unprecedented rapidity, seven years inside the charter requirements. Notwithstanding the inevitable waste and loss in carrying out such a bold work across uninhabited lands, over high ranges of mountains, often in the presence of hostile savages, the Pacific railroad proved to be a grand success, politically, commercially, and financially. The government never made an outlay of an equal amount of money, which brought back such immediate or bountiful returns; and to-day it stands as the most conspicuous, enduring, and fructifying monument of congressional wisdom in devising the plan; and in its execution is an apt type of the American genius for heroic undertakings.

So soon as the Pacific railroad along the central belt was apparently to become an accomplished fact, other corporations sought at the hands of Congress, like assistance for other roads along the belts to the north and south of it. The Northern Pacific company received, in lieu of the government credit (for it was difficult to make

it appear that the same reasons for government assistance would apply to this line as to the first Pacific road) a grant of lands double that of the Union Central line, or 25,500 acres per mile, along the route from the head of Lake Superior to Puget Sound, with a branch to the Columbia river, or a total of 47,000,000 acres. This was an empire in extent; and if this naked land, good land, for the most part, could have been held intact until the road was built, it would have enriched its possessors "beyond the dreams of avarice." For the want of capital, it now appears as if the lands will be sacrificed to speculators, without benefiting either the creditors of the company, or the future occupants.

In like manner, the Atlantic and Pacific Company projected a line, from a point in South-west Missouri, to San Francisco, along the thirty-fifth parallel, and were given a similar grant, estimated at 48,000,000 acres. This road was built into the Indian territory, where it was stopped; and there is but little prospect of its immediate completion.

The Texas and Pacific Company, (successors of the Memphis, El Paso and Pacific) proposed a line from the west boundary of Louisiana, to the California coast.¹ The State of Texas granted nearly 30,000,000 acres of the vacant lands within its domains,² and the United States granted about 21,500,000 acres. This was in 1871, and is the latest of the mammoth land grants, and—let us hope—the last.

In the charters of the Atlantic and Pacific, and Texas and Pacific Companies, the same provision is made as in the case of the Union Pacific, that the Pacific end of the line may be constructed by California corporations, and the Southern Pacific Railroad Company, of that State, are already actively at work on their portion, with about 500 miles of road in operation. The land grant specified above, is for the whole line, and is, of course, to be divided and allotted to the respective Companies in proportion to the road they build.

¹ The route of this road follows that of the overland stage line inaugurated by the government prior to the war, and as the route receiving the approval of the then Secretary of War, Jefferson Davis, after comparison of the surveys undertaken by several corps of army engineers, it is probable that but for the secession of the Southern members this would have been the first Pacific railroad to receive government aid, and presumptively the first one to be built. This is one of the consequential damages the Southern States have suffered by the revolt.

² By the treaty annexing Texas to the Union, the lands within her borders were reserved to the State, and are not subject to disposal by the general government as were other unoccupied lands in the territories.

The following is a summary of the principal

LAND GRANTS TO THE PACIFIC RAILROADS AND THEIR BRANCHES.

	Union Pacific Co., Main line, . . . }	12,000,000	
	Central Pacific Co., " " . . . }	9,100,000	
	Central Pacific Co. Cal. and Oregon		
CENTRAL ROUTE.	Branch, }	3,500,000	32,005,116
42d parallel.	Kansas and Pacific, Smoky Hill, . . . }	6,000,000	
	Denver and Pacific, Denver Branch, . . }	1,100,000	
	Atchison, Denver Branch, }	245,166	
	Sioux City and Pacific, Denver Branch, . }	60,000	
NORTH'N ROUTE.	{ Northern Pacific and Portland Branch, }	47,000,000	
48th parallel.			
SOUTHWEST R'TE.	{ Atlantic and Pacific to Colorado river, 42,000,000 }	48,000,000	48,000,000
35th parallel.	{ Southern Pacific, in California, . . . }	6,000,000	
SOUTHERN R'TE.	{ Texas and Pacific, to Colorado river, 18,000,000 }	21,520,000	21,520,000
32d parallel.	{ Southern Pacific, in California, . . . }	3,520,000	
or a total to Pacific railroads proper of		148,525,166	
To which should be added sundry grants in Iowa, California, and Oregon, to connecting roads, as classified by the Land Commissioners,		10,839,600	
And we have, as the grand aggregate, on account of Pacific railroads and their immediate connections,		159,364,766	

In some cases, the full amount of the grant will not be realized within the prescribed limits, by reason of prior sale, or occupancy; but in others, the estimated quantity will be exceeded, on account of the greater length of the lines, as determined by more accurate surveys. Deducting, for such deficiencies, and for lands lapsed and forfeited, the Commissioner estimates the amount accruing to the above system of Pacific railroads, at 150,281,000 acres; and there is reason to believe his estimates will be found under, rather than over, the mark.

When set forth in the fine type of the printed tables of a government official report, without note or comment, these figures look dry and uninteresting enough; but when we contemplate their true meaning, how pregnant they are with significance! How many of our readers have an adequate conception of the meaning of a hundred and fifty million acres? We may, in part, picture it to the mind by stating that it is an extent of territory larger than France and Belgium combined, and equal in area to the six New England States, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, New Jersey and the two Virginias!

If we add to this the quantities devoted to canals, railroads, wagon roads, swamp reclamations, and colleges, we have the startling exhibit of 216,444,322 acres, gone for the encouragement of internal improvements; or about one-seventh in area, (excluding Alaska), and probably one-fifth, or one-fourth, in value, of the entire landed inheritance! Inasmuch as most of these improvements have been laid with an eye to the value of the lands, it may be said that the choicest of the public lands have been divided with railroads, or other corporations, and there remains now, no considerable unbroken tract of good land which is not interlaced with the claims of private owners.

It must be understood, of course, that these munificent gifts have not taken actual money out of the treasury; nor has any considerable sum been diverted therefrom, which could have reached it had the grants never been made. The nation is not impoverished by its bounty. The reverse is, probably, more true, viz.: that the receipts from sales of lands, have been greater than if there had been no grants. By a fortunate provision in the railroad grants, the lands have been given in alternate sections, or squares, of 640 acres each, the odd numbered sections going to the grantees, and the even numbered sections being reserved by the government. Upon these sections (of late years, at least), Congress has placed double the former minimum price, that is to say, instead of \$1.25 per acre, outside of the railroad grants, the government lands within the limit are \$2.50 per acre. So that, for the same purchaser to secure a large tract of land near the railroad lines, it is necessary to buy from both the government and the private owners. The actual intrinsic value of the lands has, therefore, been considerably enhanced by the construction of railroads through the unoccupied tracts. Indeed, it is one of the chief arguments of the advocates of the land grant policy, that it brought about the creation of so much additional railroad line without depleting the treasury, and at the same time conferring on the one-half of the public land reserved, fresh value equal to the other half surrendered.

Mr. Henry V. Poor, a gentleman very familiar with the history and expansion of American railroads, and an able advocate of the land-grant system, in his *Manual of Railroads*, says:

The influence of land-grants in promoting the construction of railroads has been truly wonderful. They have been a powerful and, in many cases, the chief inducement toward the construction of nearly 10,000 miles of line, including the Union Pacific and Central Pacific Railroads. The greater portion of this immense extent of mileage would not have been constructed, for a long time to come, at least, but

for such grants. Upon the land-grant roads \$300,000,000 at least have been expended. These roads are earning at least \$60,000,000, and are transporting at least 10,000,000 tons of freight annually. They have increased the population of the country immensely and its wealth almost beyond computation. It may be safely estimated that the grants that have been made have been or will be instrumental in the construction of 15,000 miles of line.

The laws making the grants provided in all cases, we believe, that *even* numbered sections retained by the government, within the limits of the several grants, should not be sold at less than \$2.50 per acre, or twice the price at which they were previously held—the theory being that, in this way, the government would lose nothing by making the grants, while it would be greatly benefited by the construction of the railroads which the grants would secure. The results have proved the entire correctness of these assumptions. As soon as it was seen that a land-grant road was likely to be built, the government sections were immediately taken up at the advanced (double) rate. Settlers both upon the lands of the railroad and upon those of the government, within the limits of the grant, can better afford to pay \$10 per acre than to have lands distant from means of transportation given to them. Population, whether rich or poor, always follows the line of a railroad. If we were to compare the advantage accruing from these grants, we should say that the government, as representative of the whole nation, was most largely benefited by them; that the farmer and pioneer came next in order; and the railroad companies, the direct beneficiaries, the last. No policy ever adopted by this or any other government was more beneficial in its results or has tended so powerfully to the development of our resources by the conversion of vast wastes to all the uses of civilized life. [Ed. 1872-3, p. 637.]

This reasoning is correct, from one point of view only. It applies with much greater force to the policy of promoting the internal development of the country, providing it with better roads and bridges, and facilitating intercourse, whether in peace or war, by some more efficient method. It ignores the notable stimulus given by the loan of credit to the original Pacific railroad, which undoubtedly would not have been built to this day had it depended upon land-grants alone. No doubt the conditions attached to the grants, requiring the roads to be completed within specified terms, brought into existence thousands of miles of railroad in remote places, anticipating the actual demand for the lands by fifty years. The aborigines and the buffalo have, in fact, been pushed aside by the advance of the locomotive. This, however, is not the unmitigated boon it is sometimes represented to be. There has been, at no time in our history, a scarcity of room, no unendurable over-crowding, nor any lack of good soil to till. Whether the well-being of the whole community is promoted by their dispersion over so wide a territory, or by their attempt to raise products from the soil depending upon markets a thousand miles or more distant, for their returns, is a subject on which opinions may well differ. Charles Francis Adams, Jr. states confi-

dently that our agriculturists have pushed out too far West,¹ and are now clamoring for legislation to offset the natural tariff interposed by physical distance and the elements, by enactments that their crops shall be in fact carried at some other person's expense.

At any rate, the agriculturist of the original Atlantic States may object to the policy of giving away the ceded lands, to enable the Western farmer to compete with him in the same markets. The New York grazier fattens his cattle on lands worth \$100 an acre, while the Kansas ranchers are supported on lands at \$1 to \$5; or the Pennsylvania farmer sows his wheat on land, one acre of which costs as much as a whole farm in Minnesota; and such as these may condemn a policy which oppresses them. But our objection to the land-grant policy, is a very different and broader one. Instead of being a premium to the poor settler, the intending immigrant, and the guarantee of cheap lands for

"Countless millions yet to be,"

it is in practice a premium to the capitalist, who needs no special interposition of the government in his behalf at this time. The purpose of making the land grants, on one side, is to enable the company to make their road, and of renewing it, on the other side, to be able to raise the funds with which to build, and as much more as may be. If the private company have cash or credit to furnish their road without sacrificing their lands, they do so, and dispose of the lands at the highest attainable price; if, on the contrary, they are not strong enough to finish and equip their roads, then resort is had to the lands, which must be sold or mortgaged to other capitalists, at whatever rates the necessities of the borrowers may determine; and in that case, these second owners stand in the same position as the first, so far as the ultimate occupant is concerned.

The main object of the railroad company and the capitalist alike, is to get as much as possible for the land; with this difference in favor of the former, that it has the bias of self-interest to get the lands settled upon by patrons, it makes no difference whether they pass from the railroad company, the land-holder, or the government. There would be no great practical damage done, even under this supposition—if the roads were actually built—beyond raising the price of bounty lands to the highest possible price which capital could hold them at, the difference being paid by the hard-handed sons of toil. It may seem a small matter whether an individual is called on to pay \$1.25, or \$5 per acre, for his little forty acre farm; but the

¹ See Paper on the Railroad Problems, *North American Review*, April, 1875.

difference to the combination of wealthy railroad or land capitalists on a million of acres sold at the latter figure, is enormous, especially if the lands cost from nothing up to a dollar an acre; and it is drawn, let it be noted, from the hundred thousand immigrants who purchase.

But there is a greater objection in practice, than the foregoing, to the principle. It is this: there has been such an avalanche of these immense bodies of land upon the market, that the purposes of donor and donée alike have been defeated. The land grant policy has been tremendously overdone. The chief beneficiaries, of late, have been neither the government, the railroad companies, nor the settlers, but the capitalists and middle-men. Nothing but an unprecedented influx of external immigration such as we have no reason to expect, can absorb the vast territory now thrown upon the market by feeble railroad companies, and which as part of their assets, must pass into intermediate hands to remain there until transferred to actual occupants. But few of the companies having land grants are able to finish their roads, even after ruthless sacrifice of their best lands.

The object for which the grants have been made, will fail of realization in many cases. Properly handled, the public lands might have been made to pay off, and extinguish, the national debt. As it is, the best portion of them has been parted with to accomplish certain improvements, for the most part very desirable, but which, if imperatively needed, might have been much more easily accomplished by the judicious use of public credit in the shape of loans, while the lands would have been saved for poor settlers, and the loans repaid with interest, so that the treasury need not have lost a dollar.

These grants of public land have been made on the theory that government is an organized beneficence, and not merely a compact for the negative function of repelling a public enemy or repressing disorders. It is on the same hypothesis that light-houses are erected, channels of rivers and harbors are deepened, mails transmitted. The right to initiate and aid public improvements has been often asserted, and several times exercised in the assistance given to the Cumberland turnpike road and canals, and to the Pacific railroads in 1862 and 1864. These interpositions of the national strength were made on the ground that the improvements were universally demanded, and were beyond the ability of private or corporate bodies.

The right being clear, there remains the question of its wisdom or policy. Strictly speaking, Congress has as much right to grant money or credit from the treasury, as lands from the public domains, to encourage internal improvements—and no more. Neither, however, can be done without danger of waste, loss, and what is of more im-

portance, of fraud and demoralization to the public service. The waste of land has been prodigious, and fully half of all that has been devoted to internal improvements is now useless for the purpose. The era of subsidies in money, bonds, or credits, seems to have come to an end; let us hope that that of land grants to corporations is also closed.

If there has been a reckless waste of the nation's resources, and a blunder in the administration of a specially sacred trust, the question arises, how, if at all, can the mistake be recalled? Can these lands, or any considerable part of them, be recovered to the public use?

The financial disturbances following the panic of 1873 afford an opportunity for the national legislature to undo much of the wrong. The failure of the Northern Pacific,* the Atlantic and Pacific, and the Texas Pacific and other companies to build their roads as prescribed by the acts, renders their lands, along the unbuilt portions, liable to forfeiture. There is no disposition on the part of the people or the legislatures to resort to so harsh a measure where the companies are making faithful efforts to build the roads. By a bold strike of diplomacy it would be practicable for the government to win back fifty or a hundred millions of acres at but little sacrifice. Who doubts, for instance, that the Northern Pacific would be glad to surrender its magnificent grant of 25,600 acres per mile for a loan, of say \$25,000 a mile, to be repaid at the end of fifty years? This company must have fully 45,000,000 acres unsold, which, by last accounts, have no lien upon them. The Atlantic and Pacific Company, with half the grant of lands, would doubtless be glad to accept half that sum per mile in bonds. The Texas Pacific Company's grant, outside of the State of Texas, would, no doubt, be surrendered on similar terms.

There are numerous other corporations proposing to build roads west of the Mississippi, which are in the same condition as these mammoth Pacific lines. If the government were to invite proposals for the surrender of unsold lands, of which the title has been earned by the construction of the roads, at rates not exceeding the minimum now established by law, \$2.50 per acre; and at commuted rates for the more or less perfected title on lands wherever the roads have not been so constructed, we have no doubt that a hundred millions of acres of lands could be regained to the government for a hundred million dollars. This would seem to be a good stroke of business for the government, inasmuch as these same lands will, within fifty years be sold for at least two hundred and fifty millions of dollars. The

* Application has recently been made to extend the time for completion of this road, and also an application for indorsement of bonds of the Texas Pacific Company by the United States.

average prices of lands sold by railroad companies in the western States and territories is reported as from (\$4 to \$6) four to six dollars per acre, notwithstanding the glut and the pressure to sell; and this, no doubt, covers large tracts bought and held for speculative purposes. As it stands now the revenue from the sales of public lands is insignificant in amount, hardly more than enough to pay the cost of surveys and the expenses of the Land Department. The same organization, and the same staff of land agents and surveyors, has to be retained for the government half of the domain, as for the whole.

The objection urged against buying back the lands from the railroads is the same which applies to subsidizing them with money, bonds, or indorsements directly, viz., it leads to frauds, and is corrupting to the public service. It is unquestionably the case that if the policy of aiding railroad or other private corporations is once reopened, even for the most meritorious enterprises, it is difficult to set a limit to it. This reasoning does not apply to the policy of buying back the granted lands; there is a limit to them, and the government need not take them at all except on satisfactory terms.

At any rate, whether it is deemed wise to take back all the lands that may be offered at low rates, and issue bonds for them, and hold them as an inheritance on like terms for future settlers, there can be no question about the wisdom of applying the lands of the companies, which are already indebted to the government, to the extinction of their debts. The United States had advanced, January 1, 1876, to the Pacific railroad companies, beside the lands, the following, as principal and interest on its bonds:

Bonds issued to the Pacific Railroad Companies, interest payable in lawful money.

CHARACTER OF ISSUE.	Amount Outstanding.	Interest paid by United States.	Interest repaid by Transportation.	Balance of Interest paid by United States.
Central Pacific	\$25,885,120	\$11,027,697	\$1,191,765	\$9,835,931
Kansas Pacific	6,303,000	3,103,893	1,440,664	1,663,228
Union Pacific	27,236,512	11,884,324	3,943,715	7,940,609
Central Branch, U. Pacific.	1,600,000	781,808	44,408	737,400
Western Pacific	1,970,560	722,380	9,367	713,013
Sioux City and Pacific	1,628,320	682,703	39,005	643,697
Total	\$64,623,512	\$28,202,807	\$6,668,927	\$21,533,878

These advances are in the nature of a second lien, that is to say, the \$65,000,000 loaned by the government, is subordinate to a first mortgage claim to the same amount. The accumulating interest on these United States second mortgage bonds the companies contended they were not required to pay as it became due to the holders, but only in the way of transportation services, and at the maturity of the bonds themselves they were liable for the principal and interest—less what had been repaid by earnings, and this position the Court of Claims and the Supreme Court have recently affirmed.¹ Calculations have been made whereby it appears that the amounts which will probably be due for interest some twenty-five years hence, will be double the principal sums, and the question naturally arises whether the companies will be enabled to repay these sums in addition to their first mortgages? If not, the government could only indemnify itself by granting further time, or by taking possession of the roads.

¹ The Government Commission appointed to examine and report on the condition of the road, under date December 2, 1874, made the following statement of the relative saving to the public treasury by the construction of the road, over the old system. The figures are based on replies furnished by two departments—the Post-office and War office:

From these statements it appears that the saving to the Government to June 30, 1872, upon the transportation of postal matter alone by reason of the construction of the Union Pacific Railroad amounted to \$643,579.55. Upon the same basis the saving to the Government from this source to September 30, 1874, amounted to \$1,015,829.90. This statement assumes that the amount or weight carried was only equal to that transported previous to the construction of the road; but, in fact, the amount by rail has been over six times the amount formerly transported by stage, so that the real saving, taking weight alone as the basis of the calculation, has been about \$6,094,979.40.

The statement from the War Department above cited, shows that the saving upon military transportation to June 30, 1872, was \$6,507,282.85, and upon the same basis the saving to August 31, 1874, would have been \$8,462,107.76.

Thus it appears that during the past two years, or since June 30, 1872, the saving to the government in the transportation of postal matter, of troops, stores, etc., has been at the rate of \$1,894,894.40 per annum.

The case comes to this: Allowing that there will be no increase in amounts carried from year to year, the saving during the thirty years (being the term for which the government bonds were issued in order to insure the construction of the road) would amount to..... \$56,846,832 00
The Government has advanced in bonds at 6 per cent.\$27,237,000
Interest on same for thirty years, at 6 per cent.49,026,600—76,263,600 00
Balance due Government on saving alone..... \$19,416,768 00
For this term of thirty years the War Department 33 per cent. of saving
would be about \$366,333 $\frac{1}{4}$ per year 15,000,000 00
Post Office Department about \$100,000 per year..... 3,000,000 00

We have not pretended to account for fractions in this estimate, but have simply presented round numbers, and, by this rule find that the Government at the end of thirty years will be a positive gainer by the construction of the Pacific Railroad, though not one cent shall be returned to the Treasury from the company except by the modes above stated.

in which latter case it would be necessary to assume the responsibility for the first mortgage ahead of them. If, on the other hand, it were attempted in the face of the Supreme Court's decision, to compel these companies to repay these loans within the lifetime of the bonds, it could only be done by exacting increased rates for transportation, and by a sacrifice of the lands.

The companies who owe this money, own twenty-five millions of acres of unsold lands, lying on either side of their completed roads. It is not desirable that they should become great landed monopolists, and there may not be such another opportunity to get them to part with all their lands not in use for the railroads, and thereby pay off part of their indebtedness to the government, leaving the remainder to be met by annual payments into a sinking fund.

Of course there can be no compulsion. Faith must be kept at whatever cost, or the very foundation of public honor is unsettled. But here is an occasion for some statesman to make some practical effort to regain the greater part of the lost lands. Let the beginning be made by proposals to settle with companies indebted to the government, and if it shall appear that this is unsuccessful, then let the same plan be tried with the other class. It is not improbable that in many cases where the lands have been mortgaged for a dollar or two per acre, or less, the land grant could be had by paying off the mortgage claims upon it, the benefit of the equity thereby would come to the government and the agricultural settlers, rather than to the speculators who now look forward to title by foreclosure suits and executions.

INTERNATIONAL PRISON REFORM.

INTERNATIONAL congresses show the comparative condition of nations, as regards their intellectual and social development, in the same manner as international industrial exhibitions show the comparative results of their economic development. Hence the necessity for their existence, their great and acknowledged utility, and their wide and growing popularity.

We propose, in the present essay, to trace briefly the history of such congresses in the field of penitentiary reform.

The first international congress for the study of prison reform, held thirty years ago, appears to have been due to the efforts of two eminent men, Messrs. Ducpetiaux and Russell, the former inspector-general of prisons in Belgium, and the latter holding the same position in England. The penitentiary question had been earnestly studied for more than half a century, and the efficiency of the different penitentiary systems had been warmly debated. In 1835, the Swiss Society of Public Utility joined the prison question to the question of pauperism, and thereby occasioned an important and animated discussion. The same year, the illustrious Béranger (*de la Drôme*), in a paper read to the French Academy, gave valuable hints touching the best method for a penitentiary system. At the two Italian conferences, held at Florence and Lucca, in 1842-43, the question was considered and debated, mainly, from a sanitary point of view. About the same time, in the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences of the Institute of France, three men of genius and of heart, De Tocqueville, Charles Lucas, and De Chateauneuf, were discussing the subject, with great learning, and in an earnest spirit, and the French government itself had its attention strongly bent in the same direction. Decided progress, of a certain kind, had been made. Chains had been broken, corporal punishment had been checked, the prisoner received better treatment, and humanity had superseded the intense severity of punishment so widely prevalent before. Still, the current of criminality rushed ever onward, rather increasing than diminishing. Such being the state of things, Ducpetiaux and

Russell said: "Why is the progress of prison reform so slow? Why such diversity of systems? Certainly, greater unity of views is desirable, and, if arrived at, might secure a better success." They thought that the remedy lay in a better understanding among the workers in this field, and accordingly they suggested a great meeting, an international conference; a proposition greeted with acclaim on all sides. The congress met at Frankfort-on-the-Main, in 1845. It consisted of eighty members, and the United States, England, France, Italy, Prussia, and some other countries were represented in it. After three days of debate, the assembly resolved that "the system of separate confinement ought to be applied to prisoners sentenced to short terms; that such aggravation of punishment ought to diminish the term of detention; that the penal codes ought to be revised, and, as far as possible, made to harmonize; that the prison-inspectors and commissioners of *surveillance* should have their duties extended to a wider application; and that patronage, or aid, societies, should be so constituted and conducted as to become an effective instrumentality in the reformation of criminals."

A second congress was held at Brussels the following year (1846), composed of more than two hundred members, representing the most highly civilized countries in the two hemispheres. Reports were read on the prisons of Germany, England, Belgium, France, Italy, etc.; and, after three days of interesting, enlightened, and able discussion, the following resolutions were adopted:

"That it is essential that houses of correctional education for young delinquents, on the system of temporary individual confinement, should be established, having also the privilege of placing the said young culprits in agricultural colonies, or authority to bind them with good and honest farmers and mechanics, through the patronage societies; that the inner service of the prisons should be intrusted to agents, well prepared for the discharge of their duties by a sort of apprenticeship or special training therefor; and that religious or philanthropic patronage associations should also give their help to reform the penitentiary system."

Political events supervened to interrupt these labors for a number of years; but good seed had been sown, which did not fail to germinate and bear fruit. An international congress of philanthropy was convened again in Brussels in 1856, which, after a short session, in which nothing was concluded, adjourned to meet the next year at Frankfort-on-the-Main. That superb city joyfully greeted many of the eminent men who had attended the congress held there ten years before, and who were thus again called together to consider and determine certain difficult questions, and especially the vital

problem of penitentiary reform. This congress was attended by a numerous and select band of philanthropists and scientific men, from many different countries. The publications which it put forth consisted of two volumes, containing numerous propositions and discussions of the highest interest and value, from their ability, breadth, elevation, and practical as well as philanthropic bearings. The congress of 1856-'57 went beyond all previous meetings, its main recommendations being as follows: The application of continuous separation even to prisoners having long terms to serve: Reduction of one-third of the penalty on account of serving the term in separate confinement: Application of solitary detention even to juvenile delinquents, but only to prepare them for the ordinary *régime* in the houses of correctional education: The institution of penal agricultural colonies for old or invalid culprits, and for those to whom solitary confinement could not be applied without inconvenience: Abolishment of corporal punishment and of public labor: Amendment of the law of surveillance, so as not to hinder the action of the patronage associations: A uniform method in the administration of the prisons of a country under the direction of a single department: Apprenticeship; that is, the special education and training of prison officers: Establishment of intermediate institutions between strict imprisonment and full liberty, both for habitual criminals and for those who, after their discharge, have no means to support themselves, being without employment: Publication, at stated periods, of prison reports on a uniform basis, so that an intelligent and reliable comparison may be made of the work done and the results attained in different countries.

When Ducpetiaux conceived the first idea of a prison congress, he thought that a mutual understanding would be an easy matter, since all that would be needed, to that end, would be for the thinkers and workers in this field to meet and communicate their views to each other, with the results of their respective experiments. At the congress whose work has just been recorded, the illustrious Mittermaier acknowledged the wide difference of opinion that existed; and while he ardently desired to come to an understanding, he had little hope of such a result being speedily reached, but regarded as far distant the object at which it aimed. Though many of the resolutions adopted were excellent, they do not appear to have had much vitality, or to have borne any great amount of fruit. Indeed, the whole movement, looking to international congresses for the study and promotion of prison reform, would seem either to have

been purposely dropped, or to have died a natural death. No further effort in that direction was ever made by the men who had been active in the movement; and the new efforts in favor of international conference, inaugurated fifteen years later, came from a different quarter, and took on quite another form. The friends of prison reform were not, however, inactive during this long interval. In 1857 a society for the promotion of social science was founded in England, with a crime-repression department, and the penitentiary question has always been made prominent at its annual meetings, where men and women of great intelligence, and large experience, have contributed, from year to year, their best thought, and their ripened wisdom, towards its solution. In 1863, a society was formed in Germany for the study of the penitentiary question and the forwarding of penitentiary reforms; and in 1867 a similar association, having the same ends in view, was inaugurated in Switzerland. This last, holds annual, the other, biennial, meetings; and the three societies—the English, the Swiss, and the German—have pursued their work with zeal, and have accomplished results of the highest value, each to its own country, and all to the general cause. But we can not stay to enter into details, and must proceed rapidly with this historical sketch.

In the twenty-fourth annual report of the prison association of New York, there was published a paper on the prison question in Russia, communicated by Count Sollohub, at that time director of the House of Correction and Industry at Moscow. The closing paragraph of the Count's essay was in these words:

“Is not the auspicious initiative of the prison association of New York the har-binger of an International Congress of prison discipline? Might not such a congress determine the immutable bases of every penitentiary system, giving at the same time due consideration to the topographic and ethnographic exigencies of each country? Such, it would seem, is the demand of the age; and this brief sketch closes with the proposition, submitted to all who are interested in the future of prisons, to convoke an international reunion of specialists and jurisconsults, who, under patronage of their respective governments, should be charged with the duty of giving to penitentiary science its definitive principles.”

The then secretary of the New York Prison Association, was strongly impressed with the fitness of this suggestion, and the wisdom of the course recommended. Accordingly, in the month of May, 1869, he submitted to the association for its adoption, a preamble and resolution, favoring the recommendation of M. Sollohub. This proposition, and another subsequently submitted for a national, as

preliminary to the proposed international, congress, and as being an important step in the work of preparation for it, were held under consideration, and variously discussed, till the stated monthly meeting in November, when a resolution was passed, to the effect that the association judged it inexpedient to take the initiative in either of the proposed conventions.

This put an end to both conferences, so far as any action of the prison association of New York could have that effect. But the friends of the movement were so profoundly impressed with its importance, and so strongly fortified in that impression by the concurrent judgment of scores of the ablest and wisest supporters and advocates of prison reform on both sides of the Atlantic, that a call was issued for "a national congress for conference on criminal punishment and reformatory treatment, to be held in the autumn of 1870, in the city of Cincinnati." The call received ninety-one signatures from gentlemen in all parts of the country, including governors of states, heads of prisons and reformatories, members of prison and reformatory boards, presidents and members of prison societies, etc., etc. After a year of preparatory labors, the congress met at the time and place named in the call, and proved a complete success. More than two hundred delegates were in attendance, representing nearly all the states of the Union, the greater part of whom were, in one way or another, connected with penitentiary or reformatory work, and who, consequently, brought to the congress a vast amount of that sort of knowledge and wisdom which results from experience. The Hon. Rutherford B. Hayes, then Governor of Ohio, and now prominently named as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States, was made President of the congress. The sessions, of which three were held daily, continued for a week; thirty-eight papers were read, the subjects of which were ably and broadly discussed; and a declaration of principles, thirty-seven in number, was adopted, after full consideration and debate, with almost, if not quite, entire unanimity. This last was the most important work of the congress. It would occupy too much space to cite the Declaration *in extenso*, for each proposition was supported by a short, incisive, ringing argument. Starting from the postulate, in which the whole world is now agreed, that a chief aim of prison treatment is the reformation of criminals, the leading principles enunciated by the congress, in compressed phrase, were: That hope must be early implanted in the breast of the prisoner, and kept there as an ever living force; that the prisoner must himself be the chief agent in his own amendment, and that therefore his will

must be gained to that end, and his active exertions enlisted in its furtherance; that while physical force ought not to be excluded, moral forces should be made prominent, and be substituted for the former in all cases where such substitution is practicable; that the feeling of self-respect must be developed, and cultivated, in the prisoner, to the utmost extent possible; and that, consequently, his manhood must be respected, and all insult and needless humiliation withheld from him; that work, education, and religion must be made to contribute, in harmonious combination, their potent agency towards his moral regeneration; that both the power and the will to work, and so to earn an honest living when discharged, must be imparted to him while he is in prison; that the rational plan of prison treatment is, to place the prisoner, when committed, in a position of stern adversity, from which he must be required to work his way out by his own exertions, and hence that a system of progressive classification, in some form, ought to be adopted in all prisons; that prisoners do not cease to be men when they pass within prison walls, but are still swayed by human motives and interests, and therefore must be dealt with as men, having moral and spiritual attributes and impulses, as well as bodily wants; that to carry out the principles of a true prison discipline, individualization becomes essential, and hence prisoners must, like other men, be treated personally, regard being had to the peculiar mental and moral organization of each, and his special antecedents in respect of birth, early training, etc., etc.; that to the successful application of such a system, prison officers are required who believe in the capacity of prisoners for reformation, and who enter heartily and intelligently into the work, and that hence they ought to receive a special education for their duties, and should be organized in such a gradation of rank, responsibility, and emolument, as may retain experience and efficiency in the service, and lead to the promotion of the most deserving; and that society has not done its whole duty to the criminal when it has punished, nor even when it has reformed him; but, after his liberation, owes to itself and the prisoner, the still further duty of watching over and caring for him—of doing, in effect, all it may, to encourage him, to hold him to his good resolutions, and to prevent his return to crime.

Two further measures of high importance were voted by the congress of Cincinnati—one, to organize a National Prison Association; the other, to take up the movement, declined by the New York Association, which looked to the calling of an international prison congress. It is enough to state, at this point, that both these projects

were duly carried into effect ; that the secretary of the New York association became the secretary of the national association ; and that to him, as agent of the latter society, was committed the task of organizing the proposed congress.

In studying the problem how most effectually to accomplish the work assigned him, by making the international congress in the highest possible degree contributory to the progress of prison discipline, and reform, it seemed to him—and in this view his colleagues concurred—that since, if genuine reforms are ever to be realized, resort must sooner or later be had to governments for the necessary legislation, it would be desirable to enlist their sympathy in advance, and to secure if possible their active interest and coöperation in the congress. He was fortunate enough to secure the passage by Congress of a joint resolution, authorizing the President to appoint a commissioner to represent the United States in the proposed penitentiary conference, and the commission, so authorized, was placed in his hands. There was a tacit understanding that the commissioner should, a year in advance of the meeting of the congress, visit Europe to prepare its elements, and especially to secure the favor and participation of the different governments. In furtherance of this object, the Secretary of State addressed a letter to the diplomatic and consular representatives of the United States in Europe, asking them to extend to the commissioner such facilities and aid, as they properly might, in the prosecution of his mission. To the same end, he sought and obtained interviews with the foreign ministers accredited to the Washington government, by whom the proposition for the congress was favorably received. Without exception, the ambassadors lent effective aid to the movement by commending it to their several governments, and by furnishing the commissioner with letters of introduction to the same, which proved to be of the greatest advantage in his negotiations with those governments. Communication was opened with all the European governments—with the greater number by personal interviews, and with the others by correspondence, through the United States ministers accredited to them. By the latter of these methods negotiations were also had with the South American governments, and most other governments of the civilized world. The result was, that all the governments of Europe, except Portugal, were officially represented in the congress by from one to five delegates. The empire of Brazil, several of the South American republics, Mexico, many of the British colonies, and a considerable number of our states, sent, each, one or more commissioners ; so

that when the congress convened, there were found to be present, and members of the body, from seventy to eighty official delegates, the greater part of whom had been selected for the position, because of their eminence as criminal jurists or penologists. This was a great fact, and quite unprecedented in the history of such movements. At the same time it was believed that a congress composed wholly of the representatives of governments, would have a character too exclusively official, and would lack that practical knowledge of the question, which is essential to the highest usefulness of such a gathering. Therefore, besides official members, means had been taken to secure the attendance of numerous delegates from prison societies, heads of penitentiary and reformatory establishments, and members of their managing boards, from associations of jurists, criminal-law departments of universities, and, last though not least, the Institute of France, the most illustrious body of *savants* in the world. So that, between official and non-official delegates, the congress numbered four hundred members, more or less. The union of these two classes of members in the same body, stamped a character of complete originality on the congress of London. No international congress of any sort, or for any purpose, had ever before been constituted upon that principle. There had been congresses of governments, and congresses of private citizens—the one wholly official, the other wholly non-official—but the London congress was original and unique in that it combined both these elements. It was an illustrious body. Lord Carnarvon, now a member of the British cabinet, was the president. The Prince of Wales honored it with his presence. The British Secretary of State for the Home Department, gave official welcome to the foreign delegates in a speech of great power and eloquence. The sessions continued ten days, with no flagging of interest. The questions considered were numerous and weighty; the discussions able and earnest. The congress reaffirmed, in substance, the principles promulgated at Cincinnati. And the report of the proceedings, a volume of eight hundred pages, is everywhere recognized as one of the most precious contributions to the literature of penology the world has ever seen.

Now what fruit has this congress borne? What results may it claim? For we propose to study this branch of the general inquiry in connection with the history of such movements, and in fact as a part of the history, reserving, for later treatment, the object or end which international prison congresses are intended to accomplish. The great convocation at London, in which so many governments

and peoples took part, constituted, in reality, a new departure, for the penitentiary question. Its influence has touched every region of the globe, and in countries not a few, it has produced a profound impression on the public mind, and given rise to vigorous movements, legislative and otherwise, in the direction of prison reform.

We begin with that which lies most upon the surface. As a source of information, as a repository of facts and experiences, it may be pronounced unequalled in value. Whatever other merit may be denied to it, the press, throughout the world, has been unanimous in awarding to it this special meed of praise. It is, further, everywhere conceded that the congress has been an efficient agent in quickening and educating public opinion on this question, and has done an excellent work in bringing together, and making acquainted with each other, the thinkers and workers in this field; in leading to valuable interchanges of friendly feeling and precious information; and in stimulating one, and another, to increased zeal and devotedness in duty.

To this extent, the usefulness of the congress of London is granted without contradiction. But these are neither all, nor the most important, of its results. Other results, of the highest value, are noted in various countries. This is the case in the three Scandinavian kingdoms, which, of all countries, seem to have most profited by its labors. In these countries, not only have public opinion and private benevolence received a fresh impulse towards improved methods of prison treatment, but important legislative reforms have been, or are on the high road to being, accomplished. Denmark has adopted the progressive system of imprisonment in its entirety, and with the most gratifying results. Sweden has this goal in view, and is pressing towards it. Meanwhile, a normal school, for the special education of prison officers, has been established in connection with the central prison at Längholmen, near Stockholm. Two new prisons are in process of construction, and others are undergoing important alterations to adapt them to the new order of things. The patronage of liberated prisoners has received a strong impulse. The parliament has voted 130,000 rix-thalers¹ in aid of this work. Five prisoners' aid-societies have been organized, and it is proposed to establish one in each of the twenty-five provinces into which the kingdom is divided. Under the lead of the Queen-Mother, Josephine, grand-daughter of Josephine of France, more than a million of francs have been raised by subscription to found an agricultural penitentiary colony, for the reformation of criminal and vicious children, after the model of Met-

¹ Equal to about \$40,000.

tray, the Queen herself setting the example of liberality in this work by the munificent gift of nearly 200,000 francs. Norway is following in the wake of her sister kingdoms. She has appointed a high functionary, who will be charged with a general oversight of all the prisons of the realm, by which means a central administration will be secured. The actual incumbent—Mr. C. C. Smith—is thoroughly in favor of the progressive system, has the confidence of the country, and will press the work of reform with prudence, but at the same time with ceaseless energy, and hearty good-will.

Much progress in the domain of prison reform has been realized in Switzerland since the congress of London. Few of the cantons have remained unaffected by its influence. Some of them have adopted new penal codes; in others, such codes are under discussion. In quite a number of the cantons, the progressive system of imprisonment has been adopted, including the principle of provisional liberation (ticket of license), but without the intermediate prison. In Neuchâtel, the fortune of 800,000 francs bequeathed, by M. Borel, some years ago, to that canton for philanthropic ends, has been devoted to the establishment of a school of reform for neglected and vicious children. The canton of Berne, which had been much behind the age in its penitentiary affairs, has been thoroughly aroused to the importance and urgency of this question. By invitation of the cantonal authorities, Dr. Guillaume, the eminent director of the penitentiary at Neuchâtel, has prepared the draft of a complete penitentiary system for that canton, based on the progressive principle, including provisional liberation and the intermediate prison. There is every probability that the *projet*, thus invited and prepared, will speedily receive the sanction of law, and be carried into effect.

Prison reform has made a marked advance in Italy since the congress of London, particularly in the establishment of three agricultural penitentiary colonies, on as many islands of the Tuscan Archipelago, to which prisoners, who shall have served out at least one-half of their terms of sentence, may be removed, from any and all the other prisons of the kingdom, as a reward for good conduct and industry—an intermediate prison, to all intents and purposes. Here, the labor, beyond that pertaining to the establishment, is wholly agricultural, being devoted to the culture of the vine, the olive, and the cereal grains. Agriculture is taught to the prisoners, scientifically as well as practically. The results are reported as admirable. Another reform, of a more novel character, and no less important or hopeful, has been inaugurated by the Italian government. There has been

established at Rome a training school—a sort of normal college—in which some hundreds of young men, carefully selected from the army, and nearly all of them skilled artisans or farmers, are receiving a special education to fit them to become prison officers. This reform has already made itself beneficially felt as a power for good in improving the discipline and *morale* of the prisons.

In England, indications are not wanting that the congress of 1872 has deepened and extended the interest previously felt in the penitentiary question. A deputation of the British Social Science Association, headed by Lord Hampton (better known as Sir John Pakington) and Mr. G. W. Hastings, waited upon the Home Secretary to ask that a royal commission might issue for a fresh study of this question. It is to be hoped that their prayer may be favorably entertained by the government, since the results of such a re-examination of the question as that proposed, would prove a valuable contribution, on the part of England, to the labors of the congress of Stockholm in 1877.

The congress of 1872, appears to have given a powerful impulse to the patronage of discharged prisoners. Nine prisoners' aid-societies have been organized within the last three years, making the whole number, at present existing in England and Scotland, forty-seven, and this work is still being pushed with vigor by Mr. Murray Brown, its great friend and promoter. We can not conclude our notice of the advance of prison reform in England, without expressing the conviction, very cordially entertained, and to which we give utterance with real pleasure, that that country, chiefly by her enlightened and earnest efforts for juvenile reformation, her system of paternal and kindly police supervision, and her numerous and efficient aid-societies, has made a more sensible impression on crime, and done more to secure its actual diminution, than any other country in the world.¹

Belgium is pursuing, with increased earnestness and vigor, the path marked out by her illustrious Ducpetiaux, in the establishment of the cellular *régime* in her prisons of every grade. This system is now almost universal in that country, where it is applied, with the best possible conditions for success, under the able guidance of two experienced and eminent gentlemen—M. Berden, supreme director, and M. Stevens, inspector-general, of prisons for the kingdom.

In Holland, the cellular system seems to be steadily gaining ground,

¹ This diminution is specially conspicuous in Gloucester county, where it has been due, preëminently, to the wise and persistent labors of Mr. Barwick Baker, of Hardwicke Court, one of the noblest specimens of the "English country gentleman."

though the progressive principle, as applied in the Crofton system, has found also numerous adherents. This will be evident from the fact that at the first annual meeting of the Juridical Association, composed of jurists in pursuit of law reform, held subsequently to the congress of London, an entire day was given to a discussion of the best prison system, with frequent reference to the debates at London. A resolution, declaring that the progressive system ought not to be recommended in the case of sentences of a long duration, after having been very earnestly discussed, was only carried by a small majority; while another resolution, which declared that, in such cases, after the maximum of cellular imprisonment—three years—had been borne, the prisoner ought to be admitted to associated imprisonment based on a sound classification, was adopted by nearly a unanimous vote. There would seem to be a slight inconsistency between these two votes; but they give evidence that cellularism, for long terms at least, has not yet won that complete victory in Holland which it has secured in Belgium; while, on the contrary, the principle of progressive classification has found in Holland many and powerful supporters; whence it is further manifest that the "Low Country" has not yet attained to a definite and fixed prison system. But the question is vigorously studied, and a conclusion will probably be reached at no distant day. The London congress has had the further effect, in Holland, of giving a quickened impulse to the work, begun before that body met, of reforming the penal code.

Germany has adopted a new penal code since the congress of London, which is now undergoing a fresh revision in the parliament of the empire. The question of prison reform is made the object of an earnest and profound study throughout the whole empire; but it encounters special difficulties, owing to the new political relations which have sprung up within the last few years. Uniformity in German prison discipline is regarded, with reason, as the logical sequence of the unification of the German penal code. To bring about such uniformity in twenty or more different states, each of which, until recently, had its own prison system, and practiced it in supreme disregard of all the others, is a matter of serious difficulty, and one which requires both hard thinking and hard work. The state governments, and the national parliament, are agreed as to the necessity of consolidating and revising the rules to which prison discipline still remains subject, in the several states of the confederation. In anticipation, however, of such an end as the completion of the criminal code by uniform prison legislation, and prison discipline, it is

natural that the present state governments should not be, and, in point of fact, they are not, willing to make hasty alterations in existing arrangements. Prison organization would soon feel the bad effects of sudden changes and doubtful experiments. But the logic of events is as inexorable as the logic of thought, and the attainment of this end, which is only a question of time, will be hastened by the ferment of thought and inquiry concerning the whole question, of which Germany is, at this moment, the theatre.

The Austrian member of the international penitentiary commission, Dr. Frey, did not report at the late meeting at Bruchsal, but we know that a deep interest in the penitentiary question exists in the empire, although we are, at this time, unable to present details.

Turkey was invited to name a member of the international commission and send him to Bruchsal, but owing to postal delays the invitation reached its destination too late to be acted upon in time for the meeting. The government, in communicating this fact, with its regrets, to the president of the commission, through its ambassador at London, Musurus Bey, added: "The Sublime Porte reserves to itself to take part in the next congress, after the receipt of the programme intended to be prepared at Bruchsal." Aarifi Pacha, the Turkish minister of justice, spoke to the American ambassador in approving terms of the movement in favor of prison reform, which he seemed thoroughly to comprehend, and expressed a strong wish that his country might share in its benefits. This may not be much; but it shows at least, a newly awakened interest in the subject, which may lead to important results in the future.

Subsequently, *Le Courrier d'Orient*, published in Constantinople, in citing the text of a letter recently addressed to the writer by M. Thiers, says: "This letter will be read with interest by all those who look with sympathy on the efforts made to improve prison discipline and render it reformatory." And we add that there is one sentence in the letter of the great statesman which might well be taken as the motto of this whole work. It is in these words, of which the expression is as exquisite as the sentiment is just and noble: "*Punir les hommes pour les corriger est la meilleure des œuvres sociales, et celle dont il faut le plus souhaiter le succès.*"¹

Evidences of a fresh interest and activity in penitentiary matters are just received from Spain. The minister in charge of her penal administration has already decided that that country shall be repre-

¹ To punish men with a view to their reformation, is the best of social labors, and the one whose success is most to be desired.

sented at the approaching congress, and that she shall not appear there empty-handed. Through the active zeal of a distinguished advocate and jurist of Barcelona—Señor Don Armingol y Cornet—the municipality of that city has named a commission to study and formulate a plan of a reform school, for neglected, destitute, and vicious, children. The commission is gathering all the lights it can command, in order to be able to create an institution which may serve as a model to other Spanish cities and provinces, whenever they shall be prepared to enter upon the same good work. Another Spanish gentleman, no less intelligent and zealous, Señor Francisco Lastres, has just delivered, by invitation, before the Atheneum of Madrid, a course of ten lectures, in which the whole penitentiary question was discussed with clearness, breadth, and ability, and the discussion was listened to with interest by a large and select assemblage. The statement of this fact could have little relevancy here, if it did not show, as it clearly does, a stirring of the public pulse on a question vital to the best interests of society and government, in a country hitherto inactive, according to the showing of both the gentlemen above named, in reference to penitentiary affairs.

Imperial, royal, and parliamentary commissions, owing their existence, directly or indirectly, to the congress of London, or, more correctly, to the movement looking to that congress (for they were created during the interval which elapsed between the visit to Europe of the United States Commissioner, in 1871, and the opening of the congress in 1872), have been diligently engaged in studying the prison question, with a view to practical reforms in the penitentiary *régime*. Of these, the most noteworthy is that of France, of which it is but the simple truth to say that it has accomplished a magnificent labor, having begun and concluded, on this grave question, the broadest inquiry, national and international, ever undertaken by any country; an inquiry, of which it is enough to say that it has been conducted in a manner worthy of the high intelligence of the French nation. The practical issues of this inquiry are three: 1. A draft of a law for the reform of the departmental prisons, which has been enacted into a statute by the legislature. 2. A draft of a law for important changes in the establishments of correctional education, which was, we believe, voted by the National Assembly before its dissolution. 3. The creation of a permanent institution of government, called The Superior Council of Prisons, the members of which have been named quite recently by the President of the Republic. This council replaces the commission, and will form a perma-

nent institution of state, charged with the study and initiation of reforms in the penitentiary *régime*.

Russia has also accomplished a great work in the direction of prison reform; a question in which the enlightened and progressive sovereign of that immense empire takes a profound interest. A patronage society for liberated prisoners, full of zeal and vigor, has been formed at St. Petersburg. The system of transportation to Siberia is still continued, but the exiles are allowed to take their families with them, and hence are not needlessly brutalized by permanent divorce from all home ties. A home has, in addition, been established at Moscow for the children of such exiles as can not, from any cause, be taken with their parents. But the greatest achievement in Russia is that which has been accomplished by the imperial commission. This commission, at the head of which is Count Sollohub, has prepared the draft of a complete penitentiary system for that empire. The system is scientific, and, in some of its features, original; yet its leading principles have already been practically tested in the administration of the house of correction and industry at Moscow, under the personal direction of the Count himself. The *projet* of the commission has been submitted, for examination, to a committee, of which M. Sollohub is also a member. The code has, we believe, in substance, been accepted by the committee, and submitted to the council of the empire, the legislative body of the state. It will, without doubt, be approved by the council, and become a law of the empire. The result will be the waning, and ultimate extinction, of Siberia, as the one vast convict prison of the dominions of the Czar.

In Japan, which had several representatives in the London congress, there has also been awakened a lively interest in the question under consideration. It is scarcely a year since we received a letter from an American resident in that country, who had been authorized by the Japanese Government to visit the prisons of the empire, asking for documents and suggestions that might aid the authorities there in the work of creating an improved system of prison administration. A new penal code for the empire, milder in its provisions, has either been already adopted, or is well advanced towards that issue.

South America, too, has felt the influence of the London congress. The empire of Brazil, at the head of which we find one of the most advanced and energetic of rulers, is leading that vast continent in a crusade against crime, not less holy than that which, under the

conduct of Peter the Hermit, drew the embattled hosts of Europe to Jerusalem, to rescue the Sepulchre of our Lord from the hands of the infidel. A commissioner—M. André Auguste de Padua-Fleury—charged with the duty of preparing a draft of a penitentiary code for that empire, has been sent, by the Emperor, to Europe, under instructions to study carefully the prisons and prison systems of England and the Continent, to the end that he may be able to fulfill, in a manner more useful to his country, the great mission confided to him.

We must not, in this hasty sketch, omit to make proper mention of the United States, for whose government we may justly claim the honor of having originated the whole movement, which, in four short years, has, as we have seen, made its influence felt to the farthest limits of civilization. The congress of London has reacted strongly on public opinion in the United States. At this moment, three great committees of the National Prison Association, aided by gentlemen of the Prison Association of New York, are engaged in the preparation of schemes of law, to be accompanied, as in the case of Livingston's codes, with the necessary explanatory reports, for: 1, a complete penitentiary system for a state; 2, a complete system of preventive and reformatory institutions for the young; and, 3, a revised penal code, adapted to the present condition and needs of the American people. It is expected that these labors will be completed in time to be revised by the national prison congress soon to be convened in the city of New York. When so completed and adopted, with or without modification by the congress, these drafts and reports will be laid before the legislatures of the several States, and urged upon their careful consideration, with such force of argument as the congress may be able to command.

In addition to the numerous reports (many of them able and exhaustive) relating to the congress and its work, submitted by the official delegates to their respective governments, and by the non-official delegates to their several constituencies, the influence of the London congress in giving a fresh impulse to the consideration and discussion of all questions relating to crime and criminal treatment, has been shown by the publication in different countries, of numerous books and pamphlets, treating not so much of the congress itself, as of the general objects which it was intended to promote. Some of these works may not have been directly inspired by the congress, but the almost simultaneous appearance of so many of them, soon after the gathering in London, indicates a common connection

with it, and some of the writers acknowledge its influence upon them.¹

Such is a rapid review of prison work, accomplished since the congress of London, and to a great extent the result of it. Under such a state of things, the international penitentiary commission, created by that congress, and consisting of one member from each nationality represented in it, could not hesitate to convoke another reunion of the same kind. Accordingly, at the meeting of the commission at Bruchsal, Grand Duchy of Baden, in August last, it was voted unanimously to summon a second international prison congress to meet at Stockholm in the month of August, 1877. The Swedish government has shown itself extremely sympathetic towards this movement, and especially its illustrious head, Oscar II., who has inherited from his Royal father and august mother, a profound interest in the penitentiary question. With promptness and alacrity did the government respond to the wish of the commission, as appears from the following letter, addressed to Dr. E. C. Wines, the President of the International Penitentiary Commission :

STOCKHOLM, September 14th, 1875.

SIR:—I am directed by His Majesty the King, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the fourth instant, and to inform you that it affords His Majesty great satisfaction to learn that the International Penitentiary Commission have selected Stockholm for the holding of the next Prison Congress in 1877. His Majesty, who takes great interest in the success of the generous undertaking to which the Commission has devoted itself, is pleased to assure you that the Swedish and Norwegian governments will use their best endeavors to facilitate the labors of the congress by opening to them all available sources of information.

I avail myself of this opportunity to assure you, sir, of my distinguished consideration.

O. W. BJORNSTJERNA,

Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The international commission, at its meeting in Bruchsal, not only determined to call another congress, but took a long step in the work

¹ Among the works referred to may be signalized "Causes of Criminal Re-committals and the Means of preventing them," by M. Olivecrona, Chief-justice of Sweden (Stockholm, 1873); "Penitentiary Studies," by Don Pedro Armingol y Cornet (Barcelona, 1873); "Swiss Prison Discipline," by Director J. C. Kühne (St. Gall, 1873); "Present State of Penitentiary Legislation in Europe," by M. Yvernès (Paris, 1874); "National Education and Punishments," by Sir Charles B. Adderly, M. P. (London, 1874); "Working of the Separate System of Imprisonment in Holland," by M. de Vries (The Hague, 1874); "Studies on Penitentiary Systems," by Francisco Lastres (Madrid, 1875); "Régime of Penitentiary Establishments," by M. Stevens (Brussels, 1875); "Adoption, Education, and Reformation of Poor, Deserted, Orphan, and Vicious Children," by M. Bournat (Paris, 1875).

of preparation for it. It framed and adopted, first, a complete set of "Regulations" relating to the business and proceedings of the congress; and, secondly, a programme of questions to be considered and debated by it. The first consists of twenty-nine articles, the greater part of which, though important to the dispatch of business and the maintenance of order in the body, are not of sufficient general interest for rehearsal in this paper. We cite, however, exceptionally, articles two, six, seven, eight, and twenty-three, as follows:

2. There shall be admitted to take part in the labors of the Congress: (a) The official delegates sent by governments. (b) The high functionaries connected with the administration of prisons. (c) Professors of criminal law in the universities. (d) Persons invited by the international commission, particularly those who have distinguished themselves by the production of scientific works on penology, the heads and other officers of prisons and of preventive and reformatory schools, the presidents of prison societies, etc., etc. 6. The members of the congress shall be divided, for the preparatory labors, into three sections, severally charged with examining the questions comprised in the programme, and with proposing to the general assembly such solutions of those questions as to them shall seem fit. 7. The division into sections shall be as follows: Section First—Criminal Legislation. Section Second—Penitentiary Institutions. Section Third—Preventive Institutions. 8. Each member of the congress shall designate the section to which he desires to belong; nevertheless, the same member may inscribe his name on the roll of several sections, and take part in the labors of each. 23. Although the French language shall have preference in the debates of the congress, members will, nevertheless, be permitted to express themselves in other languages; in which case the sense shall be summarily given in French by one of the secretaries or one of the members of the congress.

The three sections, provided for and defined in articles six, seven, and eight, correspond, substantially, to the committees in our national congress and state legislatures. Their function will be to consider the various matters referred to them, and report them in proper shape to the congress in general assembly, where they will be debated and passed upon as the congress may judge fit.

The programme is a matter of graver importance, and of a more general interest, and must be spread out in detail in order to afford anything like an adequate idea of the breadth, scope, and gravity, of the work which the congress will be called upon and expected to do.

The first section—*Criminal and Penitentiary Legislation*—will consider and formulate propositions on the following questions:

I. How far ought the mode of executing sentences to be fixed by law? Should any discretionary power in regard to such execution be intrusted to the prison administration in the case of prisoners to whom the general régime might be inapplicable? II. Would it be

desirable to continue the several distinctions of penalties privative of liberty, or, instead, to adopt the single penalty of imprisonment, without other difference than duration and the special legal consequences resulting to the prisoner after his liberation? III. Under what conditions, if any, may deportation or transportation be made to subserve a purpose useful to the administration of penal justice? IV. Is a general inspection of prisons necessary? What ought to be its breadth? Should it be extended to all prisons, and also to establishments founded and conducted by private citizens for the detention and reformation of juvenile delinquents?

The second question requires a little explanation for Americans, since the fact, or usage, out of which it grows, has no existence in the United States. A common division of penalties on the continent of Europe is into imprisonment, reclusion, and hard labor (*travaux forcés*). Nevertheless, convicts undergoing these various sentences in central prisons, corresponding to state prisons in America, work side by side in the shops, eat at the same tables, sleep in the same dormitories, and, in general, are subjected to the same régime, except of course where the cellular system prevails; yet they receive quite different proportions of their earnings according to the category to which they belong, and are otherwise variously affected by the difference in their sentences. This second question, therefore, is, whether the several distinctions above-mentioned, and perhaps some others, shall be preserved, or whether they shall be discarded, and all convicts be sentenced to so many months or so many years of imprisonment, with such resultant consequences, after liberation, as may be legally attached to sentences of different durations.

The following questions will be assigned to the second section, (*Penitentiary Institutions*):

I. What formula would it be most desirable to adopt for recording international penitentiary statistics? II. Would the creation of normal schools for the professional training of prison officers be likely to promote the success of the penitentiary work? What experiments have, so far, been made in this direction, and with what results? III. What disciplinary punishments may be fitly employed in prisons? IV. Examine the question of the conditional liberation of convicts? V. Ought the cellular system to undergo certain modifications according to the nationality, social position, and sex of the prisoners? VI. Should the duration of cellular separation be unalterably determined by the law? May the prison administration admit exceptions for other causes than disease?

The third section (*Preventive Institutions*) will examine the following points, and frame, for presentation to the congress, such propositions on them as their judgment may dictate :

I. The patronage of liberated adults: Ought it to be organized, and how? Should there be separate societies for the different sexes? II. Ought the state to grant subventions to patronage societies, and under what conditions? III. On what principles ought reformatory institutions for juvenile delinquents to be organized and conducted? IV. In what manner should institutions be organized and conducted, which are designed for the treatment of vagrant, destitute, homeless, deserted, or vicious children? V. How can uniform police action be secured by different states, with a view to the prevention of crimes, and for the purpose of facilitating and assuring their repression? VI. What are the best means of combating relapses?

On each of the foregoing questions (to which, possibly, a very few others may be added), one or more persons were appointed to prepare short, incisive papers, or reports, giving a comprehensive but condensed view of the whole subject, to be followed by conclusions or propositions duly formulated. These reports, prepared in the French language, and to be ready by the month of March of the current year, were to be transmitted to the chairman of the sub-commission—Baron Franz von Holtzendorff, Professor of Criminal Law in the Royal University, Munich, Bavaria—to be by him forwarded to Signor Beltrani-Scalia, at Rome, for publication in the *International Bulletin of Prison Reform*, which is printed monthly as a sort of appendix to his *Penitentiary Review*. When the printing shall have been completed (a number of months will be required for this), the entire body of reports will be sent to all civilized governments, to universities, associations of jurists, academies devoted to the study of moral and social questions, prison and reformatory boards, and generally to all persons invited by the international commission to take part in the congress. This will be done many months in advance of the assembling of the congress, that ample time may be afforded for the study, not only of the reports themselves, but also of the questions to which they relate, by all who propose to attend the convention, and participate in its doings. The reporters, twenty-four in number, have been taken from thirteen different countries, with a view of securing a wide range of knowledge and experience, and of drawing out all the observations likely to aid in the solution of the profound and difficult problems, which will tax to the utmost all the learning and ability of the congress, viz., four from the United

States—Messrs. Vaux, Sanborn, Brace, and Cordier; four from France—MM. Loyson, Robin, Yvernès, and Bournat; three from England—Miss Carpenter, and Messrs. Baker and Du Cane; three from Germany—MM. von Holtzendorff, Ekert, and Bauer; two from Belgium—MM. Stevens and Thonissen; and one each from Italy, Austria, Russia, Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway—MM. Beltrani-Scalia, Frey, Sollohub, Guillaume, Pols, Bruun, Almquist, and Petersen.

The remaining topic, proposed for consideration in this paper, viz., the object for which these great gatherings, embracing so many governments and peoples, are held, has, perhaps, been already made sufficiently plain. The end in view, the goal to which all this study, by the best intellects and the best wisdom of the world, is directed, is the true solution of the problem, how to make crime less than it is, how to bring it down to a minimum, how to confine it within the narrowest possible limits, how, indeed, if possible, to extinguish it altogether; and to give this solution, when discovered, a practical and effective application in all states and countries.

The question of repressing crime is an old one. It has come down to us from the infancy of society, for the law of blood-avenge-ment,—which required, as a point of honor, the slaying of the murderer by the nearest of kin to the victim of his violence,—existed prior, even, to the establishment of the rudest tribunals. After regular governments were established, and regular courts had been instituted for the trial and punishment of criminals, long ages passed, during which it was held that the sole end of punishment is, by the infliction of suffering, to strike the mind of the criminal with a terror, vivid and lasting enough to overcome the strongest temptation to relapse into crime; and, at the same time, by the example of his suffering, to produce a similar effect on the minds of all others who might feel a proclivity towards crime. So tenaciously did the world cling to this idea, despite overwhelming proofs to the contrary, that the question of repressing crime by reforming the criminal is yet scarcely two hundred years old. It is true that here and there are discernible, even on the horizon of a distant antiquity, some faint gleams of this great truth, since, in the writings of Plato, among the Greeks, and of Seneca, among the Romans, there occurs an occasional expression looking in that direction. But they were simply brave thoughts, which, like too many others of those illustrious philosophers and moralists, were never translated into action. The honor of this great discovery—for such it truly was—belongs to Pope

Clement XI., who announced it in these memorable words: "*Parum est improbos coercere pœnâ, nisi probos efficias disciplinâ.*"¹ This sententious maxim was inscribed by the Pontiff over the entrance to the prison of St. Michael, in Rome, which, at the very beginning of the last century (1703), he had caused to be built for the treatment of young criminals, with a view to their reformation.

Seventy years later, the Viscount Vilain XIV., of the Low Countries, a statesman of rare genius and greatly in advance of his times, founded, on the same principle, but under an improved organization, the prison of Ghent, which speedily gained an unprecedented celebrity. Contemporaneously with Vilain, John Howard commenced his magnificent work. From Vilain's and Howard's time, an increasing number of philanthropic and able men and women have earnestly studied the penitentiary question, and diligently sought its solution.

The question of the prevention of crime, by saving, from a first fall, neglected, destitute, vicious, deserted, and imperiled children, and of reforming the young who have already fallen, is but of yesterday; it is scarcely a half century old. But under such leaders as Wichern, Demetz, Ducpetiaux, Lucas, Suringar, Griscom, Turner, Baker, and Miss Carpenter, with a host of zealous and able followers, the question has made immense progress. Nevertheless, to borrow the words of a great Hebrew warrior and statesman, "There remaineth yet much land to be possessed." Despite all that has been done, a vast labor is still before the friends of this cause.

From this short historical recital, our readers will, we think, be able to gather some idea of the breadth, the scope, the aim, and the magnitude of the work to be done by international prison congresses. The problem which they seek to solve, of the minimization of crime, has two terms: one, how to keep the young from a first fall; the other, how to bring the fallen to a better mind and a better life,—both important, but the first much the most so. When these two questions are rightly answered, the whole problem will have been solved. Have they, or either of them, received their solution? Theoretically, we think, the world is approaching the true solution of both; practically, both are very far from having reached that point.

What, then, are the theoretical solutions, thus claimed to have been reached, or at least approximated? As regards the saving of the young from a criminal career, the solution is, the establishment of preventive and reformatory institutions on a right principle, suffi-

¹ 'Tis idle to restrain the criminal by punishment, unless you reform him by good discipline.

cient to cover the whole field of juvenile delinquency. As regards the saving of adult criminals, the solution is, the establishment of a truly reformatory prison discipline, in which all those motives of hope, self-love, and self-interest, which act on men in free society as stimulants to industry, order, and virtue, shall be brought to bear to the same ends on imprisoned criminals, so as to secure their willing and active coöperation in the work of their own moral regeneration. But while the world is to-day substantially agreed on these points, for such was the unanimous vote of the London congress of 1872, the practical application of the principles involved in these solutions, lacks very much of accomplishment. The world seems to be in much the same state in regard to prison treatment, as Horace describes himself to have been in regard to moral action :

"I know the right, and I approve it too ;
I know the wrong ; and yet the wrong pursue."

In the same state ; but not for the same reason. Not, as in the case of moral conduct, from any inward drawing towards the wrong, but from the difficulty of finding the true and exact path to the right. In most countries, to-day, the penal codes recognize the reformation of the transgressor as one of the primary and leading aims of prison discipline. But it can not be said that the reformation of the criminal, either everywhere, or generally, is made a chief aim in point of fact. The state takes the violators of its laws under its own special care and guardianship. It stands to them, therefore, for the time being, *in loco parentis*. The moral relationship between the two parties is the same as that of a disobedient child to its parent ; the same as that which we all bear to our Heavenly Father. The child has broken a law of the house ; the man a law of his God ; the criminal a law of the state ; and they have all alike become subject to punishment. So far the analogy is perfect. But, looking at the actual treatment in the three cases, how much farther can the parallel be carried ? The father is more intent upon the moral amendment of the little culprit than upon his punishment, and in the infliction of the latter, he has mainly in view the accomplishment of the former. In like manner, our Heavenly Father declares that he chastises us, his offending children, for our own profit, that we may be made partakers of his holiness—that is, that his chastisements have for their end our recovery and salvation ; our REFORMATION in the highest and noblest sense of that word. Now, does the state, in its punishments, imitate the example of these, its prototypes ? The state aims

to inflict suffering on the prisoner ; to impress him with the idea that he is under punishment ; to deter him from crime by pain and terror ; and to make him pay the cost of his imprisonment. Reformation is an end that comes (generally, not always) after all these, if at all.

But can adult criminals be reformed in any considerable numbers ? The congress of London thought so. Various experiments, some of them on a large scale, conducted with a view to their reformation, have proved it. Maconochie, speaking, not as a theorist, but from large practical knowledge of criminals, avowed his belief that they could be saved to a man, by the application of the right processes in the right spirit. For thirty-four years, Demetz saved ninety-five per cent. of the young criminals committed to his care against less than twenty-five per cent. of the same class before he founded Mettray.

Water, falling drop by drop, will at length work its way through the granite rock ; so the words, the counsels, and the entreaties of true love, especially when under the control of a noble and God-inspired motive, can not fail, never do fail, to make, in the end, an impression on the hardest of human hearts.



LOCALITIES OF BURNS.

When the bright crescent gleam'd o'er hill and vale,
We saw the Poet's lowly place of birth ;
The kirk, erewhile the scene of fiendish mirth,
The Brigg that parted Maggie and her tail ;
We saw his bust, we saw the cenotaph
Which on the skirts of that fair garden stands,
And Tam O'Shanter, with his soundless laugh
Over his empty cup and stony lands :
All these were present, but the Bard was gone ;
No more to tune his pipe on plain or hill,
Nor multiply the moon from Willies' mill.
But oh ! how fondly still that crescent moon
Hung with her golden horns o'er bonnie Doon,
As though she look'd to be miscounted still.

THE CHALDEAN GENESIS.¹

IS it a sign of the second childhood of humanity, or of its greater growth in science and historical learning, that it is so much occupied with the origin of things? Whether we regard the fact from the one point of view or the other, it is certain that researches and speculations, on these subjects, are pouring upon the world with unexampled rapidity. While our forefathers were content to limit their inquiries to the meaning of the Biblical record of Creation, we now have, on the one hand, Darwin and Haeckel, showing us how the world and its inhabitants were evolved by the mere operation of unintelligent force; and alongside these most recent speculations of science, we have the resuscitation of old records handed down from the earliest races of men, and giving us the views which were believed to be the dicta of revelation, or of divine inspiration, long before the time even of Moses. Whatever value may be attached to either of these lines of investigation and speculation, as throwing any certain light on the origin of the earth and man, there can be no doubt as to their intensely interesting character; and in this respect, we may give the palm to the labors of the archæologist, as enlisting more of human sympathy than the somewhat bald and dreary doctrines of the evolutionist.

Mr. Smith's work is confessedly somewhat hasty and provisional. He informs us that he has been induced to hasten its publication, by the general desire to see the latest results of his translations of the tablets recovered from the *débris* of ancient Nineveh, and especially of those relating to the Creation, the Fall, and the Deluge. We must therefore, both on account of the imperfection of the materials, and the haste with which the work has been prepared, make some allowance for its want of full discussion of the facts which appear to be revealed in the inscriptions to which it relates, and we may have, in supplying some of these opinions, to go a little beyond the ground traversed by the author.

¹ "The Chaldean Account of Genesis." By George Smith, of the Department of Oriental Antiquities, British Museum. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1876.

Assurbanipal, King of Assyria, one of the kings known to the Greeks by the name Sardanapalus, reigned at Nineveh, about B. C. 673, or in the time of the later kings of Judah. He was the grandson of the biblical Sennacherib, and the son of Esar-haddon, and it seems that he had inherited from his ancestors a library, not of books in our sense of the word, but of tablets of baked clay, on which was inscribed much of the ancient lore of the nations inhabiting the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates. Assurbanipal, living at a time when the Assyrian empire had attained to the acme of its greatness, and himself perhaps a man of literary taste, became a greater patron of learning, and collector of ancient records, than any of his predecessors. His scribes ransacked the record-chambers of all the oldest cities of Assyria and Chaldea, some of them probably containing documents as old as the time of Nimrod himself. Babylon, Accad, Ur, Erech, and other equally venerable towns, had all to yield up their literary treasures, not to unscrupulous robbers, but to diligent copyists, who transcribed them on new tablets, and in the most delicate and beautiful arrow-head, and who edited them, by translating obscure and archaic words, and repairing the lacunæ produced by decay and accident. Further, these learned and accurate scribes noted in their tablets the sources whence the several legends had been derived, and when they found different copies of the same legend with variations in details, they copied these different editions, so that duplicates, and even triplicates, of some of the documents were produced. The literary treasures thus obtained were carefully placed on the shelves, or in the cases, of the royal library, to the delight no doubt of the great king and of the literati of Nineveh. Assurbanipal was the last of the great and prosperous kings of Nineveh, and in the next or the following reign, the city was taken and destroyed, and the great palace of Kouyunjik was burned. But the royal library was insured against fire by that wise precaution which had chosen the imperishable material of baked clay; and as the fossil footprints of by-gone geological ages have been handed down to us in the same material, so the tablets of Nineveh, broken more or less as such fossils are apt to be, remained otherwise uninjured amid the rubbish of the fallen buildings till unearthed, by modern excavations, in the mounds which are the graves of the old Assyrian palaces. Quantities of the fragments were exhumed by Layard, and many others were found by Mr. Smith himself, in the course of researches undertaken for the express purpose of recovering this invaluable historical material. Mr. Smith has laid the world under still farther obligations by

the zeal and diligence with which he has, in his capacity of a curator of Oriental antiquities in the British Museum, arranged and deciphered these precious tablets, and by the promptitude with which he has published his results.

Though the date of the tablets themselves is comparatively modern, yet they profess to have been transcribed from much older copies, and Mr. Smith does not hesitate to ascribe the original production of some of these to a date 1600 years before the time of Assurbanipal, so that they may have been extant in the time of Abraham, and the patriarch might have consulted some of them in the library of his native town, before he departed from Ur of the Chaldees. We have, of course, few means of verifying the authenticity and genuineness of the copies; but one of them seems to be vouched for by the discovery, by Mr. Loftus, of an apparent original in the town of Senkereh, bearing date about 1600 B. C., and alphabetical writings of a still older date have been found on the site of Ur. On the whole we have no reason to doubt that the scribes of Assurbanipal reproduced accurately the documents which they found, and that these were the most ancient then extant in the Chaldean cities.

The subjects embraced in these earthen books are very various, when we consider their great age, and seem to show that the minds of men had already been occupied with a wide range of study, almost as far back as the flood of Noah, which, with the Assyrians as well as with the Hebrews, was the second great beginning of human history. Smith enumerates treatises relating to Mythology, Grammar, Lexicography, Mathematics, Astronomy and Astrology, Natural History, Cosmogony, History and Geography, Laws and Institutions. Among the most interesting and important of the whole, are tablets relating to the Creation, the Fall, and the Deluge. Of these familiar themes we have here a peculiar version, evidently identical in origin with that which we have in the Book of Genesis, but much amplified, with many additional details, and with much local coloring. The material, it is true, is very fragmentary. Most of the tablets are much broken and defaced, and parts of them, and even whole tablets of some of the series, are wanting. Yet enough remains to afford many striking coincidences with the Old Testament, and to throw a flood of light on ancient oriental tradition and religion.

Mr. Smith devotes himself more especially in this volume to the legends of creation and others apparently connected with it, and to the story of an ancient hero, Isdubar, whom he identifies with the biblical Nimrod, and in connection with whose history the narrative

of the deluge is introduced. As this last has been discussed by Mr. Smith in earlier publications, we may here give special attention to the legends of creation, which have been more recently deciphered, and which are in some respects more important.

The creation tablets are supposed to have been at least twelve in number, but only portions of seven have been recovered, and though there is another series, this gives a somewhat different account, more resembling that of the old Babylonian historian Berosus, though possibly the differences might be in part reconciled, did we possess the whole of both series. The style and character of the first, or principal series, may be inferred from the following extract from the first tablet, which refers to the primeval chaos, and to the initial steps in the introduction of order.

1. When above were not raised the heavens.
2. And below on the earth a plant had not grown up.
3. The abyss also had not broken open their boundaries.
4. The chaos (water) Tiama (the sea) was the producing mother of the whole of them.
5. Those waters at the beginning were ordained ; but
6. A tree had not grown, a flower had not unfolded.
7. When the gods had not sprung up any one of them ;
8. A plant had not grown, and order did not exist ;
9. Were made also the great gods.
10. The gods Lahma and Lahamu they caused to come. * * * *
11. And they grew. * * * *
12. The gods Sar and Kisar were made. * * * *
13. A course of days and a long time passed. * * * *
14. The god Anu. * * * *
15. The gods Sar and * * * *

If, as Mr. Smith supposes, this corresponds with the first two verses of Genesis, it may suffice to indicate the greater expansion, and inferior vigor, of the Chaldean Genesis, as well as the characters of its polytheistic theology. In these peculiarities, as well as in the details of its statements in this and the succeeding tablets, it raises many important questions which we may discuss under the following heads: (1) Its accordance with the cosmogony of Moses. (2) Its explanation of the origin of the gods of the Chaldeans and Assyrians. (3) Its probable origin and antiquity.

On the first of these points, Mr. Smith is quite explicit in his statement of a general correspondence in plan and order between the Hebrew and Assyrian records. He admits, however, that his arrangement of some of the fragments is conjectural, and that he has been influenced,

in assigning some portions their position, by the order in the Hebrew Scriptures. Making all allowance, however, for this, it is quite plain that the general sequence of the creative work is the same in both. Some may think there is a discrepancy in the evident leaning of the Assyrian record to long creative periods, as when it states in the above extract that "a course of days and a long time passed." This, however, disappears on a careful study of the Mosaic record. Its internal structure, and the references to it in the 90th and 104th psalms, show that the Hebrew writers understood God's days as long periods, and so does our Lord in arguing with the Pharisees on the Sabbath question,¹ and the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews in his reference to Aiones or time-worlds, and in his argument as to God's rest. Our current notion of literal days is a mere mediæval gloss, not sanctioned even by some of the Christian fathers, and which we should get rid of as soon as possible. A more decided difference is in the introduction of subordinate gods, yet even here there are points of connection. Without referring to the plural Elohim of the Hebrew, which may be trinitarian rather than polytheistic, it seems plain that the gods of the Chaldean record are created gods, and that an esoteric monotheism lies behind the pantheon, which was perhaps rather intended for the adoration of the vulgar. Farther the Tiamat or Thalassa, the producing sea-mother, is only the primeval deep of Genesis. Lahama represents the spirit of God moving on the face of the deep. Sar or Kisar is the Hebrew firmament or expanse; and Anu the personification of the heavenly orbs. The real difference, therefore, is that the Assyrians worshiped, as subordinate gods, powers which the Hebrew record either identifies with the Creator himself, or relegates to the domain of created things. A less manageable difficulty is the precedence which the Chaldean Genesis gives to the moon over the sun in the work of the fourth creative day. In this it agrees rather with the Turanian and American traditions of Creation, and with the version of Berosus and certain Babylonian tablets, which represent the first created animals as belonging to the old abyss and the darkness, and destroyed by Belus, or the sun-god. Hence it would seem to be proper that the orb of night should precede that of day, as the Morning Star, in the Sacred Book of the Quichés of Central America, precedes the creation of the sun. The Hebrew here, however, is more in accordance with fact, and may be held to represent the original record of creation. The first man and woman in the Chaldean Genesis are perfect, as in the Bible, but are apparently induced to

¹ John v. 17.² Chap. IV.

rebel against the gods by a Dragon of the abyss or "deep," which represents the serpent of Genesis, and here the Chaldean story is more full, for it informs us that this dragon is a creature of Tiamat, the old primeval chaos, and who is in opposition to the production of the Cosmos by the Supreme. This Tiamat, or her dragon, makes war against the gods, and is overcome by Bel, who is especially the protecting god of man and of the habitable earth, and represents the Hebrew "Seed of the Woman," and Jehovah, as distinct from Elohim. There is obviously here a theory of the origin of evil, which has links of connection, on the one hand with the theology of the Avesta, and on the other with that of the Hebrew Scriptures; and its connection with the salvation of man from the power of sin, explains the prominence given to the conflict of Bel and the dragon in Babylonian and Assyrian cylinders and sculptures; the hold which the worship of Bel or Belus maintained over the people; and his identification with later beneficent heroes who may have been regarded as his avatars or incarnations.

The structure of our Assyrian document shows, as already hinted, that it is an expanded and illustrated account of creation, with fanciful embellishments. In this respect, as compared with the first chapter of Genesis, it is a sort of antique and grotesque Paradise Lost, and is much less archaic and simple than the Hebrew version. As an illustration of this, take the following, relating to the Creation of the Moon:

"In its mass (i. e. the lower chaos) he made a boiling.
 The god Ura (the moon) he caused to rise out, the night he overshadowed?
 He fixed it also for the light of the night until the shining of the day,
 That the month might not be broken, and in the amount be regular,
 At the beginning of the month, at the rising of the night
 His horns are breaking through to shine in the heavens.
 On the seventh day to a circle he begins to swell,
 And stretches toward the dawn farther."

This reminds us of the 104th psalm rather than of Genesis 1st; and is indeed laboriously amplified in comparison with that beautiful psalm—the hymn of creation.

Perhaps the most important result of this comparison is that we cannot suppose either the Chaldean Genesis to be directly derived from that of the Hebrews, or the Hebrew from the Chaldean. Yet the resemblance between them cannot be accidental. We must thus suppose a common source lying behind both. If, therefore, as there seems every reason to believe, the Assyrian Genesis, in this complex form, was copied from very ancient Chaldean tablets, it was probably

extant, much as we have it now, in the time of Abraham ; and that patriarch might have carried it with him when he left Ur of the Chaldees. But the Abrahamic record, as preserved to us in the books of Moses, and as implied in the history of Abraham in those books, is entirely destitute of the mythological coloring of the Assyrian, though we are told the ancestors of Abraham, when living by the Euphrates, "served other gods ;" and so probably believed in the Assyrian or Chaldean Pantheon as preserved in these tablets.¹ Thus the Abrahamidæ appear as early reformers, who eliminated the polytheistic material out of the creed of their nation, and preserved merely that nucleus of truth which was consistent with the belief in one god. They were puritans of their time, rejecting the ritual and idolatry of their people, and seeking in migration to distant lands the "freedom to worship God," which, even in that early age, they could not find at home. Viewed in this way, the Assyrian tablets throw light on many controverted questions regarding the antiquity and origin of the early chapters of Genesis, and help us to understand the vitality of this early puritan theology in presence of the hostile religious systems of Egypt and Palestine, which were, as we now know, essentially the same with that old Chaldean system from which the Hebrew monotheism had emerged, as a reformation, certainly, but no doubt also as a return to an earlier and purer faith.

This leads us to our second general statement respecting the Assyrian tablets. If we regard them as genuine and authentic, they remove forever the question of the origin of the ancient mythologies from the domain of speculation and fancy, and transfer it to that of historical fact. We now know the Genesis of the Chaldean gods, and we knew before their relation to those of Egypt, of Phenicia and of Greece. We have seen already that Tiamat, the dark mother-goddess of the abyss and the original principle of evil, is the cosmological deep, or commingled ocean and atmosphere of chaos. So Lahama is the Divine Spirit, the essence of force and progress in nature ; Kisar, who is probably the original of Assur, is the weather-god, the ruler of the atmospheric expanse or Firmament, along with which he is created. Anu or Ouranos is the god of heaven proper, the deity of the sidereal heavens, and Anatu, his wife, is the earth, or more properly the land. Bel or Belus represents the principle of life as manifested in the creation of animals and men, and he seems to have been the true national God and Saviour of the Chaldeans, being to them what Jehovah was to the Hebrews. When we come to that part of

¹ Joshua xxiv. 2.

creation which relates to man, it becomes equally plain that Hea or Saturn; Ishtar the mother of mankind and the first or original Astarte;¹ Bil-Can or Vulcan, and many others, are really deified men and women, the primeval ancestors and antediluvian heroes held in veneration by their children. Smith seems to have the idea that these gods were originally local and the guardians of particular cities, and that they were subsequently combined into a system and worked into the narrative of creation. There may be some truth in this, in so far as their appearance in the creation record is concerned; but it is more natural to suppose that particular gods were adopted by cities as their patrons or tutelar deities, out of a generally received pantheon.

It is very interesting thus to reach the roots of one of the oldest religious systems in the world—a system probably in full vigor when Abraham departed from Ur of the Chaldees, and which in later historic times is known to us only in its decay, when its deities had been divided between different cities, and its older gods had given place to the newer, and especially to Belus and Ishtar, who with Asshur seem to have engrossed the worship of the people. Its origin was most natural, and illustrates at once the tendency to break down the work of the Creator into that of a succession of deities, and also the fact that as these deities were themselves confessedly created beings they presupposed an older monotheism, however vague and undefined, and however hidden from the view of the unlearned. It thus illustrates the original uses of the narrative of Creation in Genesis, as a testimony in favor of monotheism, and an assertion that the gods of the heathen were themselves created beings. In this respect, as well as its grand simplicity and freedom from trifling details, the Hebrew record rises immeasurably superior to that of Assyria, and so is of infinitely greater value both as a foundation for theology, and for that idea of the unity of nature, so essential to science and philosophy.

We now turn to our third general question, as to the origin and antiquity of the Assyrian legends of Creation. Mr. Smith here agrees with Rawlinson, and other authorities on this literature, that it does not originally belong to the Semitic Assyrians, but to the primitive Chaldeans. This view is confirmed by the identity in character of the Creation records with those of Isdubar or Nimrod, with which they are associated. The primitive Chaldeans were a Turanian or Cushite race, and were the original depositories or in-

¹ There were evidently other and later goddesses of this name.

ventors of all the most ancient mythology, as we now more distinctly than ever see from a comparison of their recently discovered literature with that of Persia, India, Egypt and Greece. In the valley of the Euphrates and Tigris they became subject to the political power of the Semitic Assyrians; but on the other hand they taught these people their letters and mythology, and eventually became among them a learned and priestly caste. As we have already seen, this conversion of the Shemites to the Turanian faith was probably in progress as early as the time of Abraham, and whether we suppose the "father of the faithful" to have been the originator of monotheism in opposition to the Turanian idolatry, as Josephus seems to hold, or rather, as implied in the Hebrew Scriptures, the restorer of an earlier belief in one God, we can now see clearly the nature of this early religious revolution, with which the emigration of the Hebrews and the origin of our own religious beliefs were connected. The book of Genesis, in our Bible, is in truth the record of this primitive Abrahamic protestantism; and it is most interesting to be able to place it side by side with the rival Genesis, from which it was a bold and successful dissent.

A strange and startling confirmation of the antiquity of the old Chaldæo-turanian legends, and of their wide distribution, comes from the traditions of the American tribes, which everywhere include ideas of the creation of the world and of man, often most crude and grotesque, but in almost every case retaining some of the features of the Chaldean Genesis. No one can believe that the scribe who reduced to writing the *Popul Vuh*, the sacred book of the ancient Quichés of Central America, had access to the tablets recently deciphered by Mr. Smith, yet he has the same order and sequence of creation, and the same ideas of cosmological gods, and of the introduction of man upon the earth. Let any one read, in the curious work of Brasseur de Bourbourg, or in the third volume of Bancroft's "*Native Races of the Pacific States*," the Quiché genesis, and he can not doubt that these Americans, who may have left the primitive seats of man perhaps as early as Nimrod's reign, carried with them the same traditions which the scribes of Assurbanipal found on the sacred tablets of the old Chaldean temples. So old and universal are the beliefs of mankind as to the origin of the world. It has been customary to throw doubt on the American traditions of the Creation and Deluge, as probably in part borrowed from Christian sources; but their relationship to the old Chaldean theogony and cosmogony is so striking,

that it seems necessary to regard these traditions as a common inheritance of the great Turanian race on both continents.

What shall we say of these traditions in their ultimate source? They are not history in the ordinary sense of the term, for they relate to what preceded the advent of man. We can scarcely believe that they are the dim memories of past states of a being, who, in the lapse of geological time has been developed up from a protozoan to man. Can they be the results of a prehistoric science or philosophy? Must they not, rather, be regarded as the traces of an early revelation, from the Creator himself, to the first intelligent beings placed upon the earth? The least that we can say is, that far back in the early beginning of human history, perhaps before the great flood of Noah or Sisit, there lived some seer, or sage, so gifted with divine insight that he could say or sing the story of creation, in such terms that it fixed itself, as a primary article of faith, in the religion of every people; and, handed down to us through the oldest line of monotheistic reformers, still moulds our beliefs, lies at the foundation of our creeds, and in its few bold outline touches of the plan of creation, challenges comparison with the revelations of our modern geology.

It may perhaps be thought that these are too large conclusions to build on the limited foundation of the Assyrian tablets; but a careful reconsideration only confirms their validity, and it seems certain that, whatever additional facts may be made known to us by future discoveries, we have here the evidence of the existence of the materials of the first chapter of Genesis, at a date nearly as ancient as that of the deluge, and that these materials constitute the most venerable and remarkable monuments of our race.

The deluge tablets, which occupy the concluding portion of Mr. Smith's book, open up an equally enticing vista into the past, and one which admits of much curious comparison with sacred scripture. With two remarks upon it we may conclude for the present. One is, that like our Genesis record, the Chaldean story is conceived in terms which imply that it is taken from the journal, or log, of a witness of the catastrophe. This is a consideration leading to many important results in the interpretation of these records. The other is that the Chaldean legend of the flood harmonizes perfectly, in its mythology, with that of the creation—the functions of the several gods in the former depending on their relations in the latter. Both are based upon, or adapted to, the same early polytheism, which has been wholly removed from, or has never entered into, these records as preserved by the Hebrews.

THREE OLD AND THREE NEW POETS.

THE influence of a fashion, which has once been impressed upon his day by some man of genius, seems to be less potent in literature than in art. Taking any six volumes which may appear in succession, we shall be almost certain to find in them some reverberation of manners of expression which have passed away, as well as some prophecy of those still undeveloped. The poet, by right of nature, be he great or small, unconsciously responds to a multitude of impressions, and illustrates more than is displayed in his choice and treatment of subjects. Some reflection of the particular audience he has acquired is dimly thrown back upon himself; some regret or desire of his age breathes from his words without taking definite form. His strain is accompanied by faint vibrations, scarcely-heard tones, from the strings of the mute instruments around him.

This is not less true of Robert Browning than of any other contemporary poet, notwithstanding the almost phenomenal character of his style. But it is difficult to discover much beyond the mere willfulness of genius in his last volume.¹ It is evident, from the English reviews which have already appeared, that even the most indulgent of his literary friends have found it difficult to persuade themselves into admiration. This poem is neither so dull as "Fifine," so obscure as "Sordello," nor so provoking as the first half of "Aristophanes' Apology," but it is not relieved, as at least the last two are, by passages that shine and burn with strong poetic flame. True, on the third page, we come upon this bright bit of landscape-painting:

"He leans into a living glory-bath
O' air and light where seems to float and move
The wooded, watered country, hill and dale,
And steel-bright thread of stream, a-smoke with mist,
A-sparkle with May morning, diamond drift
O' the sun-touched dew."

But this is the first gleam of real poetry in the volume—and also

¹ The Inn Album. By Robert Browning. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1876. pp. 167.

the last. Even these six lines are not without a characteristic affectation: why should the first *of* be abbreviated into *o'*? The second instance may be justified by the redundant syllable; the first better satisfies the ear without elision. Browning is too large and ripe an intelligence not to perceive this did he stop to consider it, and we are therefore reluctantly compelled to look upon the mannerism as part of a purposed plan. He deliberately disparages his really great and rare gifts in order to preserve—nay, even to exaggerate—certain peculiarities of diction, because they have been hailed by his admirers as the tokens of a grand originality.

He has shown us, in his earlier works, that he *can* write with a noble simplicity and clearness. Let us, however, grant all the scope demanded by his manner of conceiving and representing characters, all the freedom necessary to an ideal of the dramatic art so severe that it scorns introduction, explanation, or expected sequence;—still, with the exercise of the friendliest tolerance, we cannot excuse the reckless disregard of all true poetic art in his later works. At the line where the ethical element enters into the best composition of an author's nature, he seems to fail us. We find personal whim set above impersonal laws of beauty; the defiance of self-assertion in place of loving obedience to an ideal beyond and above self; and even petulant exaggeration of faults, simply because others have detected and properly condemned them.

"The Inn Album" is a story of strong passions brought into sudden and violent contact. This is an experiment which Browning has already tried, with a success proportioned to the amount of fine psychological insight displayed, and of relief or contrast employed. Here, however, we can only acquit him of careless workmanship by presuming an actual deterioration of his best original qualities. He omits all the shades of transition whereby love passes into hate, or menace into supplication, changing passions in the same characters as abruptly as if they were slides in a magic-lantern. The chief personage, a Duke's brother, "refinement every inch," is at the same time a monster of vulgarity: his victim, a woman of almost super-human courage and force of character, commits suicide, leaving a lie behind her; and the rich "snob" (we use the author's word), who loves, insults and loves her again, is the fast friend of the villain up to a few minutes before he murders him. It is not in nature that such intensities of meanness and nobility should never suggest themselves to each other until they are needed for a crisis; and the poem thus makes very much the effect of a picture painted in pure scarlets.

blues and yellows. The Duke's brother meeting, after a lapse of four years, the woman he had betrayed, addresses her :

" Let us laugh !

You have absolved me from my sin at least !
You stand stout, strong, in the rude health of hate,
No touch of the tame timid nullity,
My cowardice, forsooth, has practiced on !
 Ay, while you seemed to hint some fine fifth act
 Of tragedy should freeze blood, end the farce,
 I never doubted all was joke. I kept,
 May be, an eye alert on paragraphs,
 Newspaper-notice,—let no inquest slip,
 Accident, disappearance : *sound and safe*
Were you, my victim, not of mind to die !

Yet, only a few minutes after the almost incredible outrage of this speech, we find him kneeling at her feet, and exclaiming :

" I secured long since

A certain refuge, solitary home
 To hide in, should the head strike work one day,
 The hand forget its cunning, or perhaps
 Society grow savage,—there to end
 My life's remainder, which, say what fools will,
 Is or should be the best of life,—its fruit,
 All tends to root and stem and leaf and flower.
Come with me, love, loved once, loved only, come,
Blend loves there ! Let this parenthetic doubt (!)
 Of love in me, have been the trial-test
 Appointed to, all flesh at some one stage
 Of soul's achievement,—when the strong man doubts
 His strength, the good man whether goodness be,
 The artist in the dark seeks, fails to find
 Vocation, and the saint forswears his shrine ! "

And to crown all, the last act of this man, for which he is slain by the younger " snob," is to write the story of the woman's shame in the Inn Album, for the world to read ! Whereupon she, instead of tearing out the leaf, writes a few lines exonerating the snob from the guilt of murder, and apparently takes poison, for she immediately dies ! Such a handling of the passions is not the exhibition of intellectual strength, but of intellectual coarseness: the story, disagreeable in itself, demands very delicate and conscientious treatment to justify the author's choice of it, but he seems, instead, to take a perverse delight in exaggerating its most hideous features. We close the volume with the sense of a bitter, but not a healthy, tonic flavor, lingering on the mind.

—Mr. Whittier's volume ¹ contains "the stretched metre" of a poem which appeared several years ago. We have no American ballad-writer—that is, writer of ballads founded on our native history and tradition—who can be compared with him, either in the range or skillful treatment of his material. From the day, now more than thirty years ago, when he wrote :

"For a pale hand was beckoning
The Huguenot on,
And in blackness and ashes
Behind was St. John."

to his last idyl of New England life, he has rarely chosen a foreign theme, however seductive, or an ancient legend, unless it could be made to embody some aspiration of his large and loving humanity. No matter how rude and humble the characters he selects, they never fail to receive at his hands the dignity which is essential to legendary poetry.

"Mabel Martin" is the simple narrative of the daughter of a lonely old woman, legally murdered on a charge of witchcraft, and bequeathing to her child a heritage of disgrace and scorn. Driven from the husking-frolic, where the girl sits alone and despised, she is followed by Esek Harden, the host of the festival, who brings her back and introduces her to the company as his betrothed bride. That is all ; nor is there the slightest appearance of art in the manner of telling the story. The verse is an iambic triplet with one line unrhymed,—a form too bare of music, were the expression less naturally sweet and sincere. But it is a feature of Mr. Whittier's poetic genius that the truth and earnestness of his conception communicates itself to the reader. The ethical element is not added in the manner of an ingredient, as in some poets whom we could name ; it is an inherent part of the author's inspiration. This poem, therefore, must be read and judged as a whole ; the tone is of equal elevation throughout, and there is scarcely a stanza which may be fairly detached, as a specimen of the execution. In illustration of the form, nevertheless, we quote the following lines, which contain a picture of the "women Friends" no less admirably expressed than literally true :

" Here, ground-fast in their native fields,
Untempted by the city's gain,
The quiet farmer folk remain,

¹ Mabel Martin : A Harvest Idyl. By John Greenleaf Whittier. With illustrations. Boston : James R. Osgood & Co. Pp. 72.

Who bear the pleasant name of Friends,
 And keep their fathers' gentle ways
 And simple speech of Bible days :

In whose neat homesteads woman holds
 With modest ease her equal place,
 And wears upon her tranquil face

The look of one who, merging not
 Her self-hood in another's will,
 Is love's and duty's handmaid still."

We must not overlook the illustrations of the volume, especially those contributed by Miss Hallock, and exquisitely engraved by Mr. Anthony. The picture of Mabel leaning against her cottage door, under the shadow of the bare birch-boughs thrown by the moonlight, has been much praised—and deservedly so; yet we think that other on page 55, wherein she lifts her eyes in a sort of despairing wonder at Esek's proposal, the crown of all. The maiden's face is as fine as that drawn by Millais in his "Huguenot Lovers," and, while not without a certain shadowy resemblance, expresses as powerfully a different form of emotion.

—We are carried back to a past which, although in reality near, seems very remote to our consciousness, as we turn the pages of this edition of the collected poems of George D. Prentice.¹ It is only six years since the author died; it is hardly sixteen since his "Closing Year" reappeared in many newspapers on every 31st of December. Yet, as we turn back to half-remembered poems and recall their former currency,—as we hear accents which are already beginning to sound strange to our ears, and scan with a sudden wonder forms of poetic expression once so welcome and familiar, the great gulf between free, self-asserting poetic genius, and poetic taste of even a very lofty and genuine character, is once more suggested. We do not know that Mr. Prentice ever claimed the title of poet; it was rather forced upon him by the many personal friends who heard in his verse the expression of the ardent, sincere, generous nature they loved. He never seemed to care especially—at least, not with the absorbing fondness and jealousy of the poets who feel their consecration—for the lyrics, in which the music of his emotions, rather than of his intellect or imagination, made itself heard. We can not judge him, therefore, according to the standard of artistic achievement; we

¹ The Poems of George D. Prentice : Edited, with a Biographical Sketch, by John James Piatt. Cincinnati : Robert Clarke & Co. Pp. 216.

must simply ask what he designed, and how far he has been successful therein.

The first literary friend of Mr. Prentice was John G. C. Brainard, a Connecticut poet, who is now remembered by two graceful little lyrics, and the former never varied the strain which he learned in his youth. He sprang from the time when the influence of Mrs. Hemans was beginning to supersede that of Byron on the young generation, —when Kirk White's poems and Pollok's "Course of Time" were considered classic, and Young's "Night Thoughts" was still devoutly read. At such a time, a poem like "The Closing Year" was sure of an enthusiastic welcome; nor can we deny to it, now, the vigor and eloquence of an exalted mood. It is almost free from the fault of his other blank verse poems,—a semi-prose construction, with the cæsural pause at the end of a foot, where it is not at the end of the line. Mr. Piatt is himself too true a poet to allow his duty as a biographer to beguile him into so extravagant an estimate as he places upon this poem. Without originality of idea or expression, the earnest stamp of the author's nature gave a certain dignity to his verse, especially as he evidently never turned to it as a field of ambition, but simply for the relieving utterance of feelings which must otherwise have remained unspoken.

Take a single stanza from one of the most popular of Mr. Prentice's poems, "At my Mother's Grave":

"Oft from life's withered bower,
In still communion with the Past, I turn,
And muse on thee, the only flower
In Memory's urn."

Here we have the phraseology of a fashion in poetry which has long since passed away. But one of his poems, written in the same measure, "Elegiac," on the graves of the Union soldiers buried in Cave Hill Cemetery, Louisville, is marked by a simplicity and solemnity which are much more effective:

"Yonder, a little way,
Where mounds rise thick like surges on the sea,
Those whom ye met in fierce array
Sleep dreamlessly.

The same soft breezes sing,
The same birds chant their spirit-requiem,
The same sad flowers their fragrance fling
O'er you and them.

And pilgrims oft will grieve
 Alike o'er Northern and o'er Southern dust,
 And both to God's great mercy leave
 In equal trust."

The volume is a welcome souvenir, not only to the many personal friends of the author, but to the many more who only know him through the work of his life. The interest of his poems does not depend upon the estimate which we may attach to his poetic talent. Mr. Piatt's introductory biography is written in a loving and warmly appreciative spirit, and gives a very satisfactory outline of Mr. Prentice's literary life.

—Mr. George Parsons Lathrop has already appeared as a poet in some of the magazines, but this is his first volume of song.¹ There is an attractive modesty in its slight bulk, and the restrained, sober spirit which seems to breathe from its pages. Time was when a poet's first venture throbbed with the warm, impetuous blood of a young inspiration, and was bright with the reflected hues of other and older bards. He appealed to our interest through the very frankness of his faults: we do not complain of Spenser in the young Keats, or of Keats in the young Tennyson. But now-a-days it almost seems as if the young poet were prematurely wise, concerned more for the appearance of maturity than for the keenest and sweetest utterance of his fresh conceptions. Once we pictured him with bright eyes and a flush on his smooth cheek, and we could hear the beating of his eager heart: now he steps before us with a calm self-possession, and endeavors to conceal whatever of artless spontaneity may linger about his song. In the critical atmosphere of our time the flame of inspiration loses something of its former wayward leap and sparkle: in fact, it often resembles a gas-jet, turned on and regulated at the author's will.

This air of maturity, first strikes us, in Mr. Lathrop's poetry. We find no hint of his favorite poets, except, perhaps of Emerson, where the resemblance is rather one of matter than of manner. The structure of the verse is careful, and the measures generally slow and grave, for even in his "April Aria" and "Rune of the Rain" there is but little of the dithyrambic movement suggested by their varying metres. In first poetry of this character it is not easy to separate the elements of culture, refined taste, and pure poetic impulse which are apparent in its texture, and to estimate their relative values.

¹ *Rose and Roof-Tree: Poems by George Parsons Lathrop.* Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. Pp. 126.

The defects of youth, which, no less than its merits, illustrate the quality of the talent, are here absent; and we are also perplexed to know whether the talent is displayed at its utmost or partly repressed by an anxious exercise of the critical faculty. We find the chief evidence of youth in occasional conceits which are quaint rather than fanciful, as in these lines, taken from the opening poem which gives the volume its title:

“So, every year, the sweet rose shooteth higher,
And scales the roof upon its wings of fire,
And pricks the air, in lovely discontent,
With thorns that question still of its intent.”

The last couplet ends with a repetition instead of a rhyme; and it is a forced image, to speak of the small leaf-hidden thorns of the rose “pricking the air.” We quote the whole of the “April Aria,” which is very sweet and in perfect tune with the season:

“When the mornings dankly fall
With a dim forethought of rain,
And the robins richly call
To their mates mercurial,
And the tree-boughs creak and strain
In the wind;
When the river’s rough with foam,
And the new-made clearings smoke,
And the clouds that go and come
Shine and darken frolicsome,
And the frogs at evening croak
Undefined
Mysteries of monotone,
And by melting beds of snow
Wind-flowers blossom all alone;
Then I know
That the bitter winter’s dead.
Over his head
The damp sod breaks so mellow,—
Its mosses tipped with points of yellow,—
I can not but be glad;
Yet this sweet mood will borrow
Something of a sweeter sorrow,
To touch and turn me sad.”

Except the “mysteries of monotone,” this is a harmonious picture, very delicately drawn. The “Rune of the Rain” also contains charming passages, and the quaint picturesqueness of “Helen at the Loom”

has allured us to read it more than once. The most satisfactory poem in the volume is "The Silent Tide," a story of New England life, told in blank-verse, which adequately responds to the sombre character of the theme. We like least of all the poems which express intellectual moods; they may have a certain importance to the author, as features of his development, but the readers of poetry are never very grateful for them. The following, entitled "Contentment," certainly does not require the dignity of verse:

"Glad hours have been when I have seen
Life's scope and each dry day's intent
United; so that I could stand
In silence, covering with my hand
The circle of the universe,
Balance the blessing and the curse,
And trust in deeds without chagrin,
Free from to-morrow and yesterday—content."

—In Mr. Gilder's volume¹ we have the freshness of early effort, singularly combined with a delicate sense of the necessary perfection of poetic form. With him the fine excess, which is characteristic of emotion carried to the verge of passion, does not wholly attain to a clear consciousness of itself; but it is tempered by the exercise of an artistic faculty almost precocious, so far as it applies simply to the externals of verse. The title of the volume, and a certain vagueness in the management of its theme, suggest the *Vita Nuova* of Dante; the daintiness and quaintness of the author's fancy, which sometimes drops towards the boundaries of conceit, and never quite rises into pure imagination, have an occasional reflection of Dante Rossetti; yet we never lose the impression of a distinct and fairly-asserted individuality, which belongs to the author himself. Equipped with such excellent technical qualities as he exhibits, he might, indeed, have indulged in a freer and bolder strain, and we are inclined to think that the linking together of detached poems, the connecting phase of feeling or fancy in which is sometimes lost, was injudicious on his part. It can hardly be justified except by the use of a tragic, or at least thoroughly dramatic background; few readers are patient to explore the hidden relations of an author's moods, until he is important enough to claim a permanent place in literature.

The volume is in four parts, three whereof are introduced by "Interludes," careful bits of landscape-painting, which have but a dim

¹ The New Day, a Poem in Songs and Sonnets. By Richard Watson Gilder. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. Pp. 112.

relevancy to the succeeding sonnets and lyrics. Part II. opens with two sonnets, "In a Dark Room," which are so far out of keeping with the serene sweetness of the remaining poems, that they come upon us with a disagreeable shock. Our enjoyment of the volume is thus marred by a suspicion of—not precisely affectation, but—over-anxious design, when the simple and lulling tenderness which breathes through it might as easily have been left undisturbed. We are far from underrating the technical excellence which characterizes the poetry of our day; many intrinsically good poetic conceptions are made intolerable by its absence; but it is a mistake to limit the sense of proportion to the form alone. Not only the spiritual essence—the idea—of the poem must partake of the same harmony, but the volume itself, where all its parts are presented as a whole, must be sufficiently plastic to accommodate itself fully to the design.

In this first volume Mr. Gilder shows an unusual capacity to elaborate his idea, without betraying the traces of his labor. He begins with a faculty in full bloom, which usually buds much later—a literary conscience. He evidently understands the present limitations of his talent, and is content to work within them, waiting for what to-morrow may bring forth. It is pleasant to find a new candidate for literary honors who inspires us with this confidence, and compels us to reverse the customary counsel of the critic; for his sense of art, in its application to form, only leaves us free to suggest a wider liberty, a more unthinking surrender to the calls of the Muse. Many things in the volume invite quotation, but we have only space for the following subtle and beautiful sonnet:

THE RIVER.

"I know thou art not that brown mountain-side,
 Nor the pale mist that lies along the hills,
 And with white joy the deepening valley fills;
 Nor yet the solemn river moving wide
 Into that valley, where the hills abide,
 But whence too soon the joy, on noiseless wheels
 Shall lingering lift and, as the moonlight steals
 From out the heavens, so into the heavens shall glide.
 I know thou art not that gray rock that looms
 Above the water, fringed with scarlet vine;
 Nor flame of burning meadow; nor the sedge
 That sways and trembles at the river's edge;
 But through all these, dear heart, to me there comes
 Some melancholy absent look of thine."¹

¹ P. 14.

—We are confronted, finally, with a most noble neophyte, the son-in-law of a Queen.¹ But there is no royal or patrician road to success in the democratic realm of Song. The "Right Hon. the Marquis" must take his place beside the farmer's boy and the young cotton-spinner, and no heraldic shield shall blunt for him the critic's arrows. "Guido and Lita" is more decidedly a continuance of a past fashion in literature than anything in Mr. Prentice's volume, for we can not say that any lyrical *form* really becomes obsolete, and there are few of Mr. Prentice's lyrics which do not express a hearty sincerity of feeling. In the Marquis of Lorne's poem we find the form of Byron's "Corsair" without its fiery rhythm, and the slow movement of Crabbe without his fine and delicate painting of details. Neither is the heroic couplet, so frequently used for epic narrative, an outworn metre; it is the mode, generally, of expressing thought, the character of diction and style in which the past fashion is revived. Take, as an example, the second stanza of the poem:

"Here every slope, and intervening dale,
Yields a sweet fragrance to the passing gale,
From the thick woods, where dark caroubas twine
Their massive verdure with the hardier pine;
And, 'mid the rocks, or hid in hollowed cave,
The fern and iris in profusion wave.
From countless terraces, where olives rise,
Unchilled by autumn's blast, or wintry skies,
And round the stems, within the dusky shade,
The red anemones their home have made;
From gardens, where its breath forever blows
Through myrtle thickets, and their wreaths of rose."

If these lines had been published a hundred years ago, they might have secured the author a certain amount of poetic fame. Horace Walpole would have admired them, and Dr. Johnson would have accepted them with only a moderate growl. There is no word or descriptive feature in them which is at variance with the taste of that day; and the same level of antiquated respectability is maintained throughout the whole poem. It is the work of a man of conventional culture, of refined but rigidly circumscribed tastes, and imbued with a great reverence for old, accepted and therefore proper models in literature. He might as easily have left the poem unwritten; but, having determined to write a poem, it must needs possess the quiet reserve of the society in which he habitually moves. We do not

¹ Guido and Lita: a Tale of the Riviera. By the Right Hon. the Marquis of Lorne. With Illustrations. New York: Macmillan & Co. Pp. 99.

doubt that he has made the best possible use of his natural gifts ; and, indeed, there seems to be a spark smouldering under the coronet, and flickering dimly in such stanzas as these on the theme of " Noble Names," where the accepted motto of *noblesse oblige* allows his thought a little freedom :

" 'Tis a precious heritage :
 Next to love of God, a might
 That should plant thy foot, where stood
 Of thy race the great and good,
 All thine age !

" Yet remember ! 'tis a crown
 That can hardly be thine own,
 Till thou win it by some deed
 That with glory fresh shall feed
 Their renown !

" Pride of lineage, pomp of power,
 Heap dishonor on the drone.
 He shall lose his strength, who never
 Uses it for fair endeavor :
 Brief his hour ! "

Far be it from us to deny such " fair endeavor " to the Marquis of Lorne ! The heir to a dukedom braves some prejudice in his own class when he enters the arena of letters : though not hampered by the usual restrictions of the poet, he is subject to other and possibly severer ones. His ambition, therefore, includes a quality of courage which we must respect. The old Rothschild was in the habit of introducing a relative of his, who was a composer, to his Plutocratic guests with the words : " He composes music, but, thank God, not from necessity ! " We are very sure that the intelligent and high-minded Duke of Argyle would be very proud to present the Marquis of Lorne as : " My son—the poet ! " and we are sincerely sorry that we see no likelihood—judging from the indications given in the present volume—that he will ever be able to do it.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE, ART, AND SCIENCE.

RECENT AMERICAN BOOKS.

FAITH AND MODERN THOUGHT.¹—Dr. Welch's volume is a calm, clear and able examination of some of the prominent assertions of the scientific skepticism of to-day. The introduction by Professor Lewis is in the acute and elaborate style so characteristic of that scholarly writer. The field covered by the discussion may be seen from the subjects of the several chapters, which are as follows:—I. The Modern Theory of Forces.—The true Evolution. II. Faith and Positivism.—The Field of the Philosophic and Finite. III. The Field of the Religious and the Infinite. IV. The Written and the Living Word. V. Admissions of Philosophical Skepticism. VI. Modern Thought. Within the moderate limits of less than three hundred pages, these topics are treated in a philosophical spirit, and in a style that is luminous and strong. Dr. Welch understands his subject thoroughly, and without going into minute detail, has touched the vital points and grasped the fundamental principles and facts that must enter into such a discussion.

It is worth while to notice the candor and fairness with which he treats those whose views he is opposing. He discharges no poisoned arrows and seeks no unfair advantage; but, on the contrary, fairly states or quotes the arguments of his opponents and attempts to meet them only with solid reasoning. It is a pleasure to observe that not only this treatise but most of those which the present phase of unbelief have called forth, are in marked contrast, as regards their spirit and tone, with the writings of Professors Huxley, Tyndall and others of similar views. In advancing their theories and speculations, these writers often exhibit a hostility towards those who do not receive their dicta, especially towards all who write from the Christian standpoint, which is as bad in point of taste, as it is injurious to their cause. The cry of persecution which these men so often raise, as if they were acrimoniously assailed, will be found, by anybody who will take the trouble to look over the general drift of the discussion, to have very little to justify it. It is rather to be wondered at, when it is considered how far they have gone beyond the proper sphere of science to fiercely attack opinions which the vast majority of the intelligent and educated firmly hold, and regard as unspeakably precious, that

¹ "Faith and Modern Thought." By Ransom B. Welch, D. D., LL. D., Professor in Union College, with an Introduction by Tayler Lewis, LL. D. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1876.

so much kindness and moderation has been exhibited by those who have replied to them. This volume of Dr. Welch, and many others of the same general scope which have been published, are characterized by a calmness that is clearly indicative of conscious strength and advantage in the argument. It is an additional recommendation to the book that the argument is brought within such moderate limits.

BELIEF OF THE UNBELIEVERS.¹—Mr. Frothingham's book may fitly be noticed in connection with that of Dr. Welch, both as touching on some kindred themes and as presenting a strong contrast with it in spirit and design. Without great reach of thought, Mr. Frothingham writes with elegance and force. His style stimulates attention and conveys clearly and vividly his meaning. In these discourses he says many true and beautiful things. He says also many things that are neither true nor beautiful—but travesties of truth and distortions of the fair; and this, with the dogmatic positiveness so characteristic of extreme radicalism. He writes with apparent earnestness and sincerity, but with a manifest incapacity to comprehend the profounder truths of Christianity, and the highest purpose, and spiritual character, of the system. It is difficult to understand why this class of writers cannot write or speak without a certain bitterness of tone which expresses anything but genuine Catholic liberality, when they attempt to treat the great themes of religion. Mr. Frothingham seems as if making some effort to avoid this; and yet he has but very partially succeeded.

JOHN TODD; THE STORY OF HIS LIFE.¹—Dr. Todd was so widely and favorably known through his long years of labor as a Christian minister, and his various publications, that the number of those who will be glad to know something of his personal history must be great. The wish will be amply gratified by the reading of this closely printed volume. Beginning with his childhood, it exhibits, with abundance of detail, the circumstances and incidents of his outward life, and the written records of his thoughts, feelings, and experiences of all sorts, up to manhood, and indeed through his whole career.

Without having been a recognized leader of the thought of his time, or even of that branch of the Christian Church to which he belonged, Dr. Todd has certainly ranked among the more prominent and efficient Congregational pastors and preachers of the generation that is now passing away. In the theological controversies which were in progress at the time when he entered the ministry, he took such part as a gifted and earnest young man would naturally take; and from the peculiarity of his position at Groton, Massachusetts, where he was first settled, saw some sharp and vigorous ser-

¹ "Belief of the Unbelievers, and other Discourses." By O. B. Frothingham. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1876.

John Todd; The Story of his Life. Told mainly by himself, Compiled and Edited by John E. Todd, Pastor of the Church of the Redeemer. New Haven, Conn. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

vice. We do not think, however, that his tastes or his mental constitution, specially fitted him for theological warfare. He was not a metaphysician and was not a stickler for the *ipsissima verba* of established creeds. His forte seemed to lie in his power of presenting the received evangelical truths as vividly conceived, and forcibly, often gorgeously, illustrated, by the help of an exuberant imagination. The most common truths came out of his intellectual crucible bright and sparkling. Tropes and metaphors fell from his lips and pen as if he carried within a fountain that was literally inexhaustible. His conversation abounded in humor; but his profound conviction of the intrinsic seriousness of the work of the preacher, so held this in check that it appeared but slightly in the pulpit. Even in his printed volumes it is not prominent. Indefatigable in labor, he won the respect and confidence of those with whom he came in contact, and exerted a wide and salutary influence.

We are obliged to confess our fear that the first half, or more, of this volume, will not serve to elevate him in the estimation of those readers who did not personally know him. To construct an autobiography by extracts from letters written in the absolutely unrestrained confidence of private friendship and domestic love, must necessarily be a hazardous experiment. To a wife, or a child, or any very intimate friend, it may perhaps be allowed one to make himself, his sayings and doings, and what others have said about him in the way of praise, the frequent subject of attention and comment; because in such a case he is not likely to be misunderstood.

But very few persons, we suppose, could endure the thought of having such strictly confidential communications spread before an uncharitable world. It is true that such minute particulars as these letters of Dr. Todd contain, will have a certain interest to many. They are given, generally, in the graphic language, and often in the highly picturesque descriptions, which were so characteristic of him both as a writer and a speaker; but they include many trivial and purely personal and family affairs, and these treated with a freedom which, we can not help thinking, the best taste will by no means approve. A careful selection and digest of those facts that seemed most essential to a right conception of the man, would have been much more in keeping with the dignity of biography, and the respect and honor in which Dr. Todd had come to be generally held. It may be questioned whether somewhat of disenchantment be not necessarily involved in laying bare to the public eye things that are commonly kept within the circle of closest friendship, or of the family itself. Perhaps no man is so great and good that he has not some foibles; but it seems hardly worth the while to expose them without necessity to those who otherwise might never know them. Notwithstanding this serious error—as we can not but regard it—in the preparation of the volume, we heartily commend it as one that will well repay reading.

ROBINSON CRUSOE'S MONEY.¹ This little tract is an amusing exposure

¹ "Robinson Crusoe's Money." By David A. Wells. With illustrations by Thomas Nast and others. New York: Harper & Bros. 1876. 12 mo. pp. 110.

of current fallacies on the subject of money. The author, who has earned a foremost place among American economists, takes up, one by one, the crude and ruinous theories which have been acted on by our government since the first legal tender act, or have been proposed by amateur statesmen or crude financiers in Congress, or in the press, as remedies for our difficulties. The elementary principles of the science of money, as recognized by every authority on the subject in the world, are presented in the simplest form, and made intelligible and interesting to every reader of common intelligence. The attempt to make a story of the argument, can hardly be called a success ; it has less humor and spirit than some of Miss Martineau's tales of Political Economy, less constructive merit than Miss Edgeworth's *Moral Stories* ; and rather seems in form to have been suggested by one of Bastiat's fables, but is too loosely jointed, and too much loaded with explanatory essays to retain attention as a narrative. But it remains true, as an eminent critic says of the tale in Spenser's *Faëry Queen*, that "The allegory will not bite you." The thought is so good and enjoyable, that the story may be utterly disregarded, and the reader will find himself richly repaid for a careful perusal. We wish for the book a wide circulation among all that large class of people who are still unable to see how injurious a dishonest currency is to both the wealth and the morals of a nation.

THE TRUE ORDER OF STUDIES,¹ presents the views which the venerable ex-president of Harvard has given from time to time in lectures before various educational bodies. It is an eminently suggestive book, and even those who disagree with the author, will find in it enough to repay abundantly the time given for careful perusal. After an elaborate classification entitled "The Hierarchy of the Sciences," the author gives us chapters upon each of the general subjects of study, with special reference to their presentation in the school, and in conclusion, a complete curriculum of studies covering the whole period of a child's education, from the age of five years, up to the time when he emerges from the present influence of the teacher, into complete independence of thought and action. The classification of the sciences is valuable, as grouping the different branches of study by nations expressed in terms readily comprehended by the average teacher ; but it is not comparable with that of Spencer in logical accuracy, reach, or exhaustive analysis. In fact, its logical value is destroyed in the very outset by a fatal violation of the rule of exclusion. It is surprising that Dr. Hill should contrast the terms "unlimited will," and "infinite will" as specific differences in separating great departments of science. Also similarly the terms "limited" with "finite." Such classification will hardly displace that of Spencer or Comte. In methods of instruction, is repeated the common mistake of assuming that each child is to be a specialist in every branch of natural history, and that his entire education is to be obtained in the school-room.

¹ "The True Order of Studies." By Rev. Thomas Hill, D.D. G. P. Putnam's Sons : New York. 1876.

In the majority of cases, broad views of the generic divisions of a science will prove a more valuable acquisition than an infinite number of unclassified facts, however interesting ; and the home, the streets, and the green fields, must continue to be, as they ever have been, the great school for the education of the senses. The teacher who follows implicitly the directions of the author, will be likely soon to abandon his profession, or to become a theorist upon methods of instruction. The curriculum with which the book closes, bears evidence of judicious labor, and the whole volume abounds with valuable suggestions, which we heartily commend to the teacher whose practical judgment enables him to winnow the golden grain from its modicum of chaff.

RECENT ENGLISH BOOKS.

STUBBS' CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND.¹—The second volume of this history covers the period from the grant of Magna Charta, by King John, in 1215, to the deposition of Richard II., in 1399. A comparison between this author and Hallam, is instinctively suggested, in the minds of all readers, by the title of the book. But the first volume, which was published a year or two since, showed quite clearly the diversity in the method of the two works. Hallam's Constitutional History proper, begins with the reign of Henry VII., when the English constitution, in the sense in which Professor Stubbs uses the word, may be said to have been already well established. Vast as were its subsequent modifications, they were, after all, merely modifications. The organism of government, as it now exists, was then in full life. Even if Hallam's Constitutional History be regarded, as it properly should be regarded, as a sequel to his history of the Middle Ages, yet the two books can hardly be regarded as one continuous English Constitutional History, since the scope of the earlier work is so much broader than that of the latter. Professor Stubbs' History, however, is confined to the development of the English Constitution alone, and although his knowledge of the details of mediæval European affairs is almost as exact and minute as of the early annals of England, yet, in most cases, he refers to continental transactions mainly as illustrative of the development of analogous English institutions.

A reader accustomed to the modern fashion of brilliant generalization in historical writing, will be apt, at first, to regard the style of this history as dry and cold. It is crowded with facts. Immense research among royal accounts, court rolls, and ancient records of all descriptions, is apparent on every page—and the author follows the facts wherever they lead him. Few modern historians, however impartial in purpose, can avoid looking at facts,

¹ The Constitutional History of England in its Origin and Development. By William Stubbs, M. A., Regius Professor of Modern History, vol. ii. Macmillan & Co., Clarendon Press Series, Oxford. 624 pages.

not exactly as they are, but as supporting, and throwing light on, a preadopted theory. Professor Stubbs, himself, says, in the beginning of chapter xvii. : "It is so much easier, in discussing the causes and stages of a political contest, to generalize from the results, than to trace the growth of the principles maintained by the actors, that the historian is in some danger of substituting his own formulated conclusions for the programme of the leaders, and of giving them credit for a far more definite scheme, and more conscious political sagacity, than they would ever have claimed for themselves." This danger he bears in mind, and the result is evident throughout the book.

On its merits, the work deserves high praise. The reign of Edward I. is naturally given great prominence ; and the fifteenth chapter, in which the constitutional progress of England in that great reign is summed up, is an admirable piece of historical writing. He does not estimate Edward III. as highly as most historians. No book with which we are acquainted brings out so clearly the importance of the shire-moot as the local organization representing the people and prefiguring the House of Commons in its ultimate development. The entire work is indispensable to every student of English governmental institutions.

OUR PLACE AMONG INFINITIES.¹—Mr. Proctor's prolific pen has produced, under this title, another small octavo volume of astronomical papers—which is chiefly occupied with discussions concerning the form and structure of the stellar universe, the various distances and relations of large and small stars, star-clusters, nebulae, meteor-rings, comets, and all the tenants of space, intelligible to the veriest amateur, and possessing more or less of interest for every reader of ordinary cultivation. Mr. Proctor's doctrines respecting the "star-depths" are tolerably well known. He regards the entire visible body of stars and nebulae, including, or included by, the Milky Way, as forming a single system, within which are comprehended orbs of the most varied sizes, and clusters of the most diverse constitution ; he argues that the doctrine which was originally propounded by Sir William Herschel, according to which the smaller orbs are only more distant, and the densest parts of the Milky Way merely the deepest, the stars being pretty equally disseminated throughout space, is erroneous, and was in fact abandoned by Sir William himself in his later years ; that nebulae shown to be resolvable, or star-clusters, are not other universes at an infinite distance, but parts of our own, very distant indeed, but reduced into as small a space by actual compactness, as well as by more remoteness, and so forth. The reasoning appears very strong, and certainly has not yet been refuted. A paper on the probability that other worlds are inhabited takes a novel view of the subject, going to show that all planets are probably meant to be inhabited at some period, but that only one or two of those attendant on a single sun are likely to be inhabited at the same time ; though very brief in comparison, it is almost as well worth

¹ "Our Place among Infinities." By Richard A. Proctor. London : H. S. King. New York : D. Appleton & Co. 1876.

reading as Brewster's famous treatise. Some of the most interesting questions discussed in this volume were treated by Mr. Proctor in his article on "The Structure of the Universe," in the last number of the *INTERNATIONAL REVIEW*.

DEAR LADY DISDAIN,¹ by Justin Macarthy, is one of the notable novels of the season ; and if the characters are not in all respects agreeable company, they are perhaps as good as one meets in average society, and by no means the utterly odious beings with whose criminal deeds and offensive language sensational novels disgust us, or the thoroughly unamiable and unworthy creatures in whose delineation the mimics of Thackeray delight, as if it were possible to enjoy a work of art in which every single feature is ugly, or a tale in which no single personage can awaken our interest, or as if an unenjoyable picture, or an uninteresting tale, had any right to be.

ESSAYS ON SOCIAL SUBJECTS,² is a work of less interest in itself than as a monument—ill selected, as we think, and ill put together—to the memory of a very remarkable man and a very curious life. Mr. Higgins was a man of independent means ; his chosen profession was that of an amateur journalist, and avenger-general of public and private wrongs. Under the *nom de plume* of Jacob Omnium, and half a dozen transparent aliases, he "wrote to the *Times*" after the manner of Englishmen, on every subject that seemed to call for his interference, and on behalf of any one who was not likely to plead his own cause, yet seemed to be greatly wronged ; and, unlike the majority, and like nobody who writes in his own cause, he wrote exceedingly well. He was more careful than most literary knights-errant are, in choosing his topic ; he had an instinctive sense which told him when a story could be made to *tell*, and he told it with admirable effect, while at the same time he was so carefully accurate that he very rarely incurred a damaging defeat. On only one occasion of importance did the public, and the *Times* itself, after a full and impartial trial, decide emphatically against him : on that occasion his own favorite organ branded him, not by name, but by implication, as a "slanderer," and he never wrote for it again. But to the last day of his life he was an active and vigorous writer on all questions of social interest ; and few, if any, journalists of the age have ever wielded half the influence that he exerted. To give us, with a brief memoir of this man's public work, half a score of papers of a light and trivial kind, and not one specimen of the writings by which he earned his fame and in which he surpassed all his contemporaries, while these "Essays" never rise above the level of ordinary magazine articles, seems to us a gross and a provoking blunder.

CELEBRATED ETONIANS.—Another mistake, equally marked and disappointing, is to be found in Mr. Heneappsse's *Memoirs of "Celebrated Etonians."*

¹ "Dear Lady Disdain." By Justin Macarthy. London: Grant. 1876.

² "Essays on Social Subjects." By Matthew J. Higgins. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1876.

Of course, half the most distinguished men of England have come from England's most distinguished and aristocratic school, especially in the days when Rugby was hardly heard of, and when Marlborough and Cheltenham were not yet in being. Also, of course, these men had nothing in common but the fact that they had been at Eton. A book which told us a good deal about the schooldays of half a dozen such men as Chatham, Wellesley, Wellington, Lyttleton, and a little about a score of other celebrities, would have been interesting to the public and inexpressibly dear to Etonians; a collection of encyclopedic biographies of a few score of Etonians, from which Eton is left out, is less interesting by far than would be a mere set of facsimiles of their names, as cut with their school boy knives, on desks and walls.

RECENT GERMAN BOOKS.

TRANSATLANTISCHE STREIFZÜGE.¹—Lieutenant Colonel von Versen is one of the few travelers who know how to use their eyes and ears with intelligence, and their pens with discretion. In a journey of two and a half years in the Argentine Republic, and in the United States, he had in mind the best interests of German emigrants, and especially the founding in the western world of a *Deutschthum* that should maintain permanent relations with the Fatherland, and further the commercial and naval interests of Germany. No such self-perpetuating new Germany is wished for in the United States, nor should any steps toward keeping up a German colony, or stock with foreign associations, be allowed by the government. Col. von Versen has the sagacity to see this, and he recommends the German colonization of South America, or of Africa, in preference. But in his observations upon the United States, he shows a remarkable freedom from the ignorance, prejudice, and conceit that are so notable in most German books on America. He has read to good purpose, observed with clearness and discrimination, and written with a wise impartiality. Not, indeed, that he fully comprehends the Puritan character, or the Indian question, or the negro question; but his approximations are better than one might expect from a foreigner, and his criticisms are in the main so just, his suggestions so fair, and his spirit so kindly, that we cordially commend his book to American readers, and shall rejoice in its circulation in Germany.

REGESTA PONTIFICUM ROMANORUM.²—This is one of those monuments of patient scholarship for which Germany is famous, and by which she enriches the libraries of the world. Dr. Potthart has spent his life in libraries. For many years he was a favorite assistant of Dr. Pertz in the royal library of Berlin, and he is now librarian of the Imperial Parliament. His knowledge

¹ Transatlantische Streifzüge. Von Col. Von Versen, Berlin.

² Regesta Pontificum Romanorum, inde ab A. Post-Christum natum MCXCVIII, ad A MCCCIV. Edidit Augustus Potthart Berolini prostat in ædibus Rudolphi de Decker.

of books and authors is so extensive and accurate that he is hardly at a loss upon any topic on which he may be consulted ; but he has a special fondness for the Middle Ages, and has steeped his mind in the bibliographical and ecclesiastical lore of that period. Several years ago he conceived the project of continuing the tabular analysis of the documents of the Roman Pontiffs from Innocent III to Benedict XI ; in 1872 the Berlin Academy crowned his work with its double prize, and provided means for its publication, and now, after four years of careful revision, it is completed in two splendid volumes, royal quarto, of more than two thousand pages. Every authentic document of the nineteen Popes falling within this period, is here enrolled, with the date and place of its issue, its title and theme, a brief analysis of its contents, and reference to official works in which it may be found. The completeness and accuracy of Dr. Potthart's *Register* commend for it the place of a standard and authoritative reference for the ecclesiastical historian and controversialist.

THE YEAR BOOK OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE,¹—edited by Professor von Holtzendorff, of Munich, contains a survey of the first two sessions of the second Imperial Parliament, a classified analysis of its laws and acts, and an elaborate exposition of topics and measures affecting the course of the Empire ; e. g.—the press laws of Elsass-Lothringen under French rule ; wages, commerce, duties, emigration, etc. Nowhere else can one find in so short a compass so much weighty matter concerning the new Germany, set forth with equal clearness and accuracy.

RECENT FRENCH BOOKS.

HISTOIRE D'EGYPTE ;²—L'EXODE ET LES MONUMENTS EGYPTIENS.³—We notice these two publications under the heading of recent French books, because, though published at Leipzig, they are written in French, a language in which their author is as much at home as in his native German. If industry, enthusiasm, and productiveness were the sufficient tests of scholarship, Dr. Brugsch Bey would be the Corypheus of Egyptologists. In addition to these he has the faculty of divining inscriptions, for which Champollion was remarkable, and has made some lucky hits in interpretation, which have been verified by subsequent discoveries and by philological research. In Egyptology, as in the physical sciences, imagination sometimes serves as an indicator to the

¹ Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung, und Rechtspflege des Deutschen Reichs, herausgegeben von Dr. Franz von Holtzendorff, Professor der Rechte in München. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot.

² Histoire d'Egypte, par Henri Brugsch-Bey. Première Partie. Introduction. Histoire des Dynasties I-XVII. Deuxième Edition. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.

³ L'Exode et les Monuments Egyptiens. Discours prononcé à l'occasion du Congrès International d'Orientalistes à Londres, par Henri Brugsch-Bey, Délégué de son Altesse Ismaïl Ier, le Khédive d'Egypte. Accompagné d'une carte. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.

path of induction, but it requires constant and conscientious vigilance to guard the boundary between fancy and fact. Now, in his eagerness for generalization, or his enthusiasm for a theory, Dr. Brugsch draws occasionally upon his fancy, and he should therefore be read with confidence in his testimony and respect for his interpretations and opinions, but with reserve as to his philological speculations and analogies, and caution as to his theoretical conclusions. In short he is a good explorer and pioneer, but should be followed by a careful surveyor to map out his discoveries, and verify his reports. In 1859 Dr. Brugsch published the first volume of his *History of Egypt*, in quarto form, with numerous plates. The second volume was reported to be in press in 1866, but was withheld in consequence of new discoveries, and has never appeared; and now the first is rendered almost worthless by the appearance of a new edition largely rewritten and materially modified. This is rather discouraging to book-buyers, and to students who are impatient for final conclusions; but it could not be otherwise, since the science of Egyptology is yet in the formative process. In the past twenty years the Museum at Boulag has been created, and this of itself is a new volume of Egyptian annals; the interpretation of Egyptian texts has been pushed with fresh avidity, and the materials for history have accumulated beyond precedent. In the new edition of his *Histoire d'Egypte*, Dr. Brugsch has profited by these facilities, not only by using fresh matter, but by qualifying old hypotheses. His book fairly represents the present stage of the science.

The essay on the Exodus, however, betrays Dr. Brugsch's *penchant* for dogmatizing upon insufficient and conjectural data. This essay was first published in substance in 1874, under the title *La Sortie des Hébreux d'Egypte*, then read before the Oriental Congress at London, in September, 1874, and published in its proceedings. It now appears in a revised and enlarged form. The author's theory is that Ramses was Zoan, that Moses was leading the Israelites to Canaan, along the shore of the Mediterranean, and that the Egyptian army was swallowed up by a high tide that overflowed the narrow way between the sea and Lake Sirbonis. This theory was criticised in the *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache*, January, 1875. We are glad to see that Dr. Brugsch has so far profited by those criticisms as to do tardy justice to Schleiden, the real author of this theory, and to cancel his statement that "the Elohim texts of the Hebrew Scriptures never speak of the Red sea." We await the appearance of the author's *Bibel und Denkmäler* for a full discussion of the question of the Israelites in Egypt.

LES ETATS-UNIS CONTEMPORAINS.¹ — Mons. Claudio Jannet has the frankness to avow that his book is written to dispel the illusion that De Tocqueville had created in France concerning American society, and to show the inevitable corruption and decadence of a nation based upon the monstrous errors of the original perfection of humanity, the sovereignty of the people, the

¹ Les Etats-Unis Contemporains, ou les Mœurs, les Institutions et les Idées depuis la guerre de la sécession. Par Claudio Jannet. Paris: E. Plou et Cie.

native equality of men, and the notion of necessary and indefinite progress ; a decadence that can only be arrested by abolishing secular education and universal suffrage, and establishing the Roman Catholic Church in a position of supreme counsel and control. M. Jannet has endeavored to acquaint himself with the history of the United States, and with the social and political condition of the American people ; his book shows no lack of reading and observation, and no lack of honesty of intention ; but he has been misled by accepting the exploded theory that the Union was a Confederacy of equal sovereignties, and by making local and exceptional facts the basis of universal generalizations ; and he has been blinded throughout by his ecclesiastical prejudices. His book is intended to warn France by the bugbear of a non Catholic democracy ; but it may be no less useful to Americans as a warning of what Ultramontanism would do with their liberties, if once allowed to gain a footing within the State.

LA PAYS DES MILLIARDS.¹—This clever satire of Victor Tissot has reached a fifteenth edition, its sale probably having been accelerated by the fact that it was at first proscribed in Germany. With the exaggeration that belongs to satire, and something of the malice of a Frenchman toward his recent conquerors, the book nevertheless contains much wholesome truth which Germany would do well to ponder. Since 1871, the conceit of Prussians has become so offensive and so ridiculous, that whoever pricks it, does good service to civilized society. Foreigners who live in Berlin may thank the author for his raid upon that city of stench.

There is no doubt that the speculation, demoralization, and enhanced prices, induced by the five Millions, have made the ransom of France a curse to Germany.

MELANGES D'ARCHEOLOGIE EGYPTIENNE ET ASSYRIENNE.²—This journal, which appears at irregular intervals, owes its existence to that embitterment of France against Germany after '70-'71, which made it impossible for the scholars of the two countries to coöperate as formerly, even in the remote branches of Egyptian and Assyrian archæology. It is now the favorite channel of Mess. de Sauley, Oppert, Maspero, de Rougé, Chabas, and others, and contains their freshest contributions and discoveries. The journal is neatly and accurately printed.

RECENT ITALIAN BOOKS.

TIGRE REALE.³—The "tigers" here referred to, are chiefly imaginary Russian Countesses, employed to represent the most eccentric types of the woman of the world. It may be safely said of them that, as a rule, they exist

¹ Voyage au Pays des Millions, par Victor Tissot. Paris : E. Dentu.

² Paris, Librairie A. Franck, F. Vieweg, Editeur.

³ Tigre Reale. Giovanni Verga. Milano ; Brigola. 1876.

more frequently in romance than in actual society. Since Alexander Dumas *filz* published his novel, "*Dame aux Perles*," various other novelists have delighted in making war upon Russian women, among whom they seem to find material for the construction of characters of which the world at large may well remain ignorant. If such characters exist at all, they are too vile for analysis, and no author will attempt such a task unless he is willing to be classed in the same vulgar species to which they belong. The author who dares to insult the public by laying before it such stuff as is contained in this and kindred books, ought, if virtue, or even decency, still remain in society, to be looked upon as being quite as bad as the bestial characters with whom he proclaims his familiarity, and with whose natures he proves his kinship and sympathy. If it be said that such characters do not, in reality, exist; or that the author is not necessarily familiar with them if they do; we have only to reply that the mind within which such loathsome creations are fashioned, and wherein they are sent forth, gives such evidence of moral debasement, and cultivated filthiness, as ought to debar its possessor from any contact with respectable men and women. Viewed from any point of view, the writers of such books as "*Tigre Reale*" deserve, from decent society, the same treatment which it would accord to solicitors for houses of infamy—they are no better, and in a certain sense, they are nothing else.

These remarks are especially applicable to several late works from the Italian press, which we do not care to advertise even in adverse criticism. It is enough to say that among the authors who range themselves in line with Giovanni Verga, and suggest the suspicion of their unfitness for respectable society "by their works," are Navarro della Miraglia, a Sicilian, who has been described as a writer of the "Arsène Houssaye School"; Cæsare Tronconi; and Salvatore Farina. The press in other lands than Italy, is equally fertile in the production of books which can not safely be mentioned, in a respectable magazine, but there need be no hesitation in giving to their authors such criticism, and assigning to them such places in society, as they deserve. In this, we apprehend, all periodicals, wherever published, may find worthy occupation. Vicious literature will have an air of semi-respectability, and pollute the shelves of reputable booksellers, as long as men can prepare it without forfeiting their position in the world's "good society." To suppress such literature, requires more than mere denunciation of the literature itself. This serves only to find a sale for it. The disease lies with its authors, and its effectual treatment must be at the hands of society, who are called upon, in self-preservation, to cast them out as its deadliest foes.

COME UN SOGNO.¹—This novel, by Anton Giulio Barrito, is in refreshing contrast with that of Signor Verga. A beautiful ray of that sun which he loves so much, must have illumined the thoughts of its author as he wrote. We see, clearly, in this graceful novelette, the workings of a refined and practical mind. It is a delightful little love story, wrought out of an adventure by rail, and is told in so pleasing a manner that it can hardly fail to instruct the

¹ Come Un Sogno. A. G. Barrito. Milano; Fratelli. Treves. 1876.

most exacting reader. Its author is a resident of Genoa, his native place where he is the editor of *Il Caffaro*, a political paper. He was a former follower of Garibaldi, and is a poet as well as a novelist.

ART IN EUROPE.

THE incumbent of East Bergholt, in Suffolk, has a fancy for adorning his church with a new stained glass window, and makes an appeal to all persons interested in the fine arts to subscribe money for this purpose. The readers of this Review may wonder why they should subscribe anything to the Bergholt window, so I will tell them the clergyman's reason. It is because Constable, the landscape painter, was born at East Bergholt in 1776. I confess I do not quite clearly see the necessary connection between Constable's landscapes, and a window in the church of his native village. The incumbent probably likes stained glass, and thinks that the opportunity for making use of Constable's name is not to be thrown away, as a century occurs only once in a hundred years. The choice of a monument, or memorial, is always difficult; and a stained glass window is certainly prettier than most statues are; but the peculiar difficulty in such a case as this, is that the window, being in a church, must, if it represents anything, represent subjects quite foreign to the professional life of Constable. A window may be erected to the memory of a saint, and filled with the incidents of his life, like Jean Cousin's window to Saint Eutropius, at Sens, but what can be done with a landscape-painter? To represent him sketching under his white umbrella would be out of place in a church, though Constable certainly went to nature in a reverential spirit. It is wonderful how much the fame of Constable has gained strength during the last twenty years. I had uncommonly good opportunities for studying his work in early life, for I knew his family, who very kindly gave me access to all his studies, and Mr. Leslie was always ready to point out to me their beauty and truth, but it so happened that the kind of scenery Constable painted had no interest for me, and therefore his merits as a landscape-painter were not so clear to me as they would have been if our tastes in scenery had been the same. His place in the history of landscape painting is secure forever; he is the true father of the modern rustic schools, both in England and on the Continent. Turner has had much less influence in Europe on the manner of interpreting ordinary rural nature. The 11th of July is the centenary of Constable's birth.

You are probably aware that many English artists and literary men signed a petition to Parliament, some time ago, for the preservation of the New Forest in Hampshire, merely for its artistic beauty and interest, there being nothing else like it in the country. The government, which had begun to

spoil the Forest, and had already, indeed, spoiled considerable portions of it, paid attention to our remonstrance, and the rest is now safe, in all likelihood forever. Mr. Ruskin wants us to petition in the same way for the preservation of the lake district from further encroachments by the railways. There is a project for a line through the valleys of Grasmere and Rydal, passing by Thirlmere, to Keswick. I know all that region, of course, having explored it in my youth on horseback (which is better for seeing a country than the inside of a coach), but I shall not sign the petition because it does not seem right to sacrifice the material interests and convenience of the inhabitants to the taste of artists and tourists for the picturesque. I have observed, too, the effect of railways on beautiful places which I knew and loved before the railways were made, for example, the vale of Todmorden, in England, and the valley of the Arroux, in France. In both these cases the injury to the scenery is almost imperceptible. Railway embankments look ugly things at first, but they are very soon grassed over, and then they are not obtrusive, especially if the landscape is wooded. Bridges and viaducts are sometimes ugly, but often they are quite as handsome objects as Roman aqueducts which people admire, and go to see. For example, there are railway viaducts in France which are quite as fine as, or finer than, the celebrated Roman *Pont du Gard*. In these things all depends upon *how* the thing is done. The great railway bridges over the Thames are dreadful eye-sores, but the ordinary bridges of London are great ornaments to the city. Now there can be no reason why the railway bridges should not have been ornaments, also, if they had been erected with judgment and taste. A common turnpike road is often more injurious to scenery than a railway, for you see its broad white band going up and down the hills like a piece of white tape sticking accidentally to a lady's dress.

The Walker exhibition was a great success in London in every way. I remember Walker well, and certainly of all men of genius he gave least the impression of being a genius. He may, perhaps, have been more expansive with intimate friends, but in general society he was taciturn and timid, and his face did not even betray any liveliness of intelligence. He seemed not only timid, but very modest, which is quite a different thing, and much rarer. He knew Thackeray very well, and I have no doubt Thackeray would have a great liking and respect for Walker, for the great novelist had a hearty respect and appreciation for genius in painting, and for those genuine and unaffected characters of which Walker was an example. You may remember that Thackeray began to illustrate his "Philip," but that after a few numbers Walker took his place as illustrator, with the inconvenience that the readers had become already acquainted with one set of figures in Thackeray's drawings, whereas the same play was continued with different actors in Walker's. At the same time, the change of artists gave a most curious opportunity for comparing the conceptions of the two men. Walker's "Philip" always seemed to me, and to many others, much nearer to the "Philip" of the

novel than Thackeray's own drawing, and yet the novelist's drawing was of course the novelist's own conception. In Walker's conceptions there was always sympathy without bitterness, but Thackeray seems really bitter against his own characters. Walker had the rare and happy combination of much dramatic talent with uncommon technical skill, so that he was the complete artist. For instance, to choose what may seem one of his most commonplace subjects, geese in a street at Cookham, there was more of goose-character in that drawing than in any other I ever saw, while at the same time the geese were represented with the rarest technical ability.

The success of Barye's works in the recent sale, is a satisfaction to the lovers of strong and genuine art. The sale brought close upon ten thousand pounds sterling for his widow, not an enormous sum, yet satisfactory when we remember that the artist died poor. Barye was one of those robust and determined students who go on learning patiently to the very close of life. He did not work for money, and scarcely for fame either, but rather for the satisfaction of art itself, and the study of nature. One of his most remarkable characteristics was his extreme care in getting a thorough scientific knowledge of animals, and this went into such details as measurements of the most exact and minute kind. At the same time, there was nothing coldly scientific about his works, which are full of artistic fire and inspiration. He therefore may be cited as evidence that science may help an artist by giving him an exact knowledge of the truth, without spoiling his artistic faculty. There have been other instances of this before Barye, but as there is always a strong tendency in idle artists and idle critics to disdain scientific knowledge as useless, simply because they will not be at the trouble of acquiring it, and as the public does not easily see the man of science when he is entirely contained in, and subservient to, a powerful artist, like Barye, it is as well to draw attention to such instances when they occur. So far from hindering artistic genius, in such a case the scientific knowledge really liberates it, as poetical genius is left more free to act when the poet has an abundance of knowledge. Barye, as an artist, did his work with singular freedom and power, and it is wonderful that his greatness was not sooner recognized; but two things were against him, his successful treatment of animals, which made people infer that he could not carve the figure, and the small scale of many of his works, which unluckily associated his name with chimney bronzes and paper-weights. There is no reason on earth why a paper-weight should not be art of the highest order, but French people had been accustomed to unite the ideas of greatness and pretension in the fine arts. It is said in France that an American academy is gradually purchasing the works of Barye, and intends to have the complete collection ultimately. It would be difficult, in modern sculpture, to choose a better investment.

When a considerable artist dies there is always, in these days of many periodicals, a great noise about him for a few weeks. The noise about Car-

peaux has not yet entirely expended itself. He had one quality in common with Barye, which was his power of making sculpture alive. His figures move and breathe, and the public, finding that the work of Carpeaux was interesting while that of the orthodox and correct sculptors was not interesting, gave Carpeaux a good share of attention. Unfortunately, although his figures are uncommonly lively they are not refined. In his most famous group of the Dance, for instance, at the new Opera, although it is in many respects a fine work of art, and remarkably well composed, the dancing women are like half-tipsy *grisettes* in a low ball-room, except that they wear no clothes. Even Flora playing with the children (*Pavillon de Flore*) has a sort of leer, unintentional of course, but the result of habit in the artist.

The excessive prices of works by eminent contemporary English artists appear to have brought on a reaction. Works by several of the best-known men have been sold recently by public auction in London, at prices far inferior to what was anticipated. Millais is down at £1300 instead of £3000. Ansdell and Frith brought quite moderate prices, and one of the finest pictures Calderon ever painted, "Her most high, noble, and puissant Grace" (representing a child-queen followed by her ladies in a corridor of her palace) went for £510. It is not a healthy state of the market when certain names are suddenly run up by dealers to fabulous prices, merely in order to set an example for serious buyers to follow, and that is what has been done within the last few years. It is the dealers who raise prices to create excitement. They sometimes lose at the game when the public will not follow their lead, and if Mr. Agnew gives £10,000 for a picture, how is he to get a profit upon it afterwards? It is said that he gave that sum for Hunt's last work, and £7000 for a pair of landscapes by Millais. Every business is a mystery to those who are not in it, but few things in trade seem more surprising than the eagerness of picture dealers to raise prices. There can be no doubt that the wealth of modern painters is due chiefly to this tendency of the dealers, so that it has been lucky for them, and the causes which have produced it once will produce it again, the present depression being only momentary. One peculiarity of the picture-trade is that dealers have to contend, in open market, against the private purchaser. How different from the book-trade! The private book-buyer never buys a copyright.

P. G. HAMERTON.

SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS.

IN AN article in the *American Journal of Science*, for March last, Mr. L. Trouvelot, the artist who prepared the beautiful drawings issued from the Harvard Observatory, shows that, in addition to the solar spots hitherto recognized, another kind may be distinguished, which he calls veiled solar spots. He remarks that these are seen through the chromosphere, which

is spread over them like a veil ; that they are true openings of the photosphere like those of ordinary spots ; that unlike the latter they are scattered through all latitudes, but are more complicated in the regions where the ordinary spots appear.

AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION to the theory of polar auroras has recently been made by Professor S. Lemström, of the University of Helsingfors. Observing that a Geissler's vacuum-tube was rendered luminous at a considerable distance from an insulated sphere strongly charged with electricity, provided the more distant end of the tube was connected with the ground, he conducted a series of experiments to determine the conditions under which the light is produced. Reasoning from the results obtained, he concludes that a discharge takes place between the earth, on the one hand, and the air at a height, where, from its rarefaction, it becomes a good conductor, the intervening air of greater pressure representing the interval between the tube and the electrified sphere in his experiments. From his calculations he shows, not only that the stratum of air sufficiently rarefied to conduct electricity readily, is much nearer the earth at the poles than in the equatorial regions, but that the electrical intensity is much greater in high latitudes, which satisfactorily explains the appearance of auroras in the polar regions only. In a supplementary memoir, he shows that the tension of the electricity, at or near the poles, must be at least nineteen per cent. greater than at the equator, and may, in some instances, be as much as thirty or forty per cent. greater. His results also indicate a relation between the geographical distinctions of auroras and the temperature at different points of the earth's surface, according very closely with what has been actually observed.

A CURIOUS theory, very different from the former, and not likely to be so readily accepted, is developed by H. J. H. Groneman, in the *Astronomische Nachrichten*, to the effect that the earth encounters streams of small iron particles in various points of its orbit, and that by the entrance of these into the terrestrial atmosphere, the light of the aurora is produced, in a manner analogous to that of the shooting stars.

MANY very valuable memoirs on different questions in spectrology have appeared within the past few months, the importance of some of which may justly claim for them a relatively large space in these notes. An investigation of the spectra of several recent comets has been made by Professor Vogel, who finds that in all of them there are bright lines or bands, the form and position of which show a striking coincidence with those of carbon compounds as exhibited in the blue portion of a gas-flame, or the flame of burning benzine or petroleum. The author remarks that this coincidence, which had previously been pointed out by Huggins, appears to be a sure indication of the nature of the substance of these bodies. There can scarcely be a doubt that carbon compounds make up the chief element in cometary trains.

PROFESSOR BUNSEN has published in *Poggendorff's Annalen*, CLV., the results of an extended research upon the spectra of some of the rare metals. The work was surrounded with unusual difficulties, as the knowledge of these

elements was very defective, and the means of obtaining them in a state of sufficient purity imperfectly understood. The obstacles were overcome with the well-known ingenuity and manipulative skill of the author, and the results obtained, constitute one of the most valuable contributions to this branch of science. By an elegant device the spectra of erbium, yttrium, cerium, lanthanum, and didymium, besides those of some of the better known metals, were obtained, and are mapped in three plates which accompany the memoir.

MR. LOCKYER, in his researches upon the absorption spectra of metals volatile at a red heat, published some time since, found that, in addition to the well-known line-spectra, channeled-space spectra are produced by the vapors of certain metals, and that such spectra are produced by vapors which are competent to give at other times, not only line-spectra, but continuous spectra in the blue, or blue and red. He has recently, in conjunction with Mr. W. C. Roberts, extended his investigations to the less volatile metals, using the high temperature of the oxy-hydrogen flame, in a furnace of peculiar construction, composed of blocks of lime. Gold, silver, copper, iron, nickel, manganese, and a considerable number of other metals, were examined in this way, and, as the authors state, the results obtained go far to support the conclusions drawn from the experiments at a lower temperature. They show that, first, in passing from the liquid to the most perfect gaseous state, vapors are composed of molecules of different orders of complexity; second, this complexity is diminished by the dissociating action of heat, each molecular simplification being marked by a distinctive spectrum; also, there is an intimate connection between the facility with which the final stage is reached, the group to which the element belongs, and the place which it occupies in the solar atmosphere.

IN A LETTER TO PROFESSOR STORKES, published in the *Proceedings of the Royal Society*, Captain J. Waterhouse gives an account of some photographs of solar spectra obtained by him which exhibit a number of lines at the red end, in a space extending a considerable distance below the line A, which is the extreme limit of the spectrum as ordinarily observed. These photographs were obtained by using dry collodion plates prepared with bromide of silver, and stained with a blue dye, which appears to have been common aniline blue. They were exposed to diffuse daylight for a moment before being placed in the camera. A prismatic spectrum having been thrown upon the plate, the lines in question appeared reversed on developing the picture in the ordinary way. The diagram which accompanies the account shows lines and groups of lines about as far below A as C is above it, and indicates the possibility of obtaining, in this way, accurate information about this little-known portion of the spectrum.

IN 1872 DR. A. SHUSTER described a method of obtaining the spectrum of nitrogen by removing any oxygen which might be present in the Geissler vacuum-tube with metallic sodium. The spectrum given by a tube thus treated was different from that hitherto supposed to belong to nitrogen, and

Dr. Shuster believed it to be that of the pure gas. In a communication to the *Comptes Rendus*, for January 24, 1876, M. Salet shows that metallic sodium, under the action of electricity, rapidly absorbs nitrogen, and completely removes it from such a tube as was employed. By a special experiment he found that an almost perfect vacuum could be produced by this absorption, and that sodium nitride is formed, though this substance can be directly produced otherwise only at temperatures above red heat. M. Salet concludes that the spectrum observed by Shuster was not that of nitrogen at all, but was due to alkaline vapors resulting from the presence of the sodium.

EXPERIMENTS BY PROFESSOR I. REMSEN and Mr. M. S. Southworth, (*American Journal of Science and Arts*), show that carbonic oxide is not oxidized by the direct action of ozone, even under prolonged exposure to sunlight. This result is the more remarkable from the fact that the unsaturated condition of the molecule of carbonic oxide would lead one to expect that it would be oxidized by so powerful an agent as ozone with great readiness.

M. G. WITZ shows (*Comptes Rendus*, January 31, 1876), that cold of $-37^{\circ}.5$ C. may be obtained by mixing light, porous snow with commercial hydrochloric acid, the vessel containing the mixture being well protected by surrounding it with a non-conducting envelope. By previously cooling the acid to 18° C. a degree of cold was easily attained sufficient to effect the congelation of mercury with great readiness.

THE INTERESTING STATEMENT is made in the *Journal of Botany*, March 1876, that in the recent explorations of M. A. Mariette-Bey at Karnak, he has discovered a series of drawings of plants collected in Syria by Thothmes III., during a military expedition into that country. Though often conventionally treated, the dried plants brought to Egypt by this monarch some 3400 years ago, have been so reproduced by the artist that many of them may be determined, and the hope is expressed that some account may yet be given of this earliest illustrated local flora.

ARTHUR W. WRIGHT.

THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW.

JULY, 1876.

EXTRADITION.

THE policy of returning for trial and punishment the criminal of one country who has escaped to another, is not less manifest than its justice. It would seem, therefore, that there ought to be no great difficulty in agreeing upon the proper international regulations for the purpose. This, however, has until recently been practically an impossibility. While the leading nations of Christendom were engaged for a very large proportion of the time in inflicting upon each other all the mischief possible, it was not to be expected that they would be solicitous to assist in the enforcement of their respective criminal laws. Indeed the opposite course was to be looked for; that they would harbor fugitives for the mischief they had done or might do to other nations rather than return them for punishment. Moreover a sentiment has prevailed that something of national dignity and importance was involved in the state furnishing a secure refuge and asylum to the fugitives from other lands, and in its resisting any thing which might seem like an extension of the authority of a foreign power to seize and punish persons beyond its borders.

If the subject is dispassionately considered, the conclusion is of course inevitable, that any nation is interested in not becoming, actively or passively, the protector for the criminals of other nations. The recognition of this fact will always be sufficiently prompt and decided when any nation is found to be getting rid of its criminals by banishing them to the dominions of its neighbors; and persistence in a course of that description would be quite certain to lead to international difficulties. One would suppose, therefore, that the country which was made one of refuge for offenders would be the one most solicitous to form engagements for their return and punishment,

especially if this should appear to be the most feasible method of getting rid of them. Undoubtedly any country might provide by municipal law for sending beyond its limits any alien found within them who had been guilty of crime abroad; but an attempt to determine the criminality would involve difficult, expensive and often futile inquiries into the facts transpiring in other countries, and there would be likelihood of the banishment being regarded as an unfriendly act by the country into which, without its request, the criminal should be driven. Some previous international arrangement is therefore essential, and the proper arrangement is obviously one under which the accused person may be returned, for the purposes of a trial, on the demand of the sovereignty whose law has been violated.

The difficulties attending proper treaties for extradition are to be found *first*, in agreeing upon the proper cases for their application, and *second*, in determining the principles and machinery for their enforcement. Where federal government exists there may be some peculiar difficulties also.

I. As regards the cases to which such treaties should apply, reference may be made to the internal regulations of this country. The United States, by their Constitution, undertook to cover all cases by a general provision that "A person charged in any state with treason, felony, or other crime," who should flee from justice to another state, should be delivered up; but this very comprehensive provision could never have been intended for literal enforcement, and certainly never had such enforcement. It is true that the Federal Supreme Court declared in one case that all acts made criminal by state law were within the contemplation of this provision, but the states never fully recognized the doctrine, and in some noted instances refused to act upon it. The Constitution provided no means for its enforcement against unwilling State officials, and the latter declined to respond to a demand for the surrender of a fugitive if in their opinion the act of which he was accused ought not to be made criminal.

The treaty of 1842, between the United States and Great Britain, was more specific in pointing out the cases in which fugitives should be returned. The cases specified were those of "persons charged with murder, or assault with intent to commit murder, or piracy, or arson, or robbery, or forgery, or the utterance of forged paper." Later treaties with other countries have enlarged this list very greatly; that of 1868 with Italy embracing murder, and the attempt to commit murder, rape, arson, piracy, mutiny on shipboard, burglary, robbery, forgery, counterfeiting and the uttering of forged or coun-

terfeit coin, paper, etc., embezzlement by public officers and by clerks, etc. It will be perceived that even the latter list fails to embrace many offenses that would be punished by the contracting powers respectively, and it is reasonable to conclude that such offenses are excluded because not regarded as proper subjects of treaty regulations. That many of them should be excluded will be apparent when they are mentioned.

1. The offenses which Blackstone not very felicitously styles "offenses against God and religion," must be excluded from extradition treaties for the very obvious reason that no two countries agree exactly as to the acts which constitute offenses of this class. Indeed even among Christian nations some things are looked upon as a duty by one which another regards as such an offense to the Deity as human laws ought to punish; and it is only necessary to suppose the case of a treaty of extradition between Germany and France, or Great Britain and Spain, and it is perceived at once that an attempt to aid each other in the enforcement of their respective laws on these subjects would only originate difficulties instead of obviating them, and lead to national quarrels in the attempt to punish individual offenders.

2. A similar difficulty, though less serious in its probable results, would be encountered in the case of offenses against the marriage laws. In these cases, also, there is no general agreement, and as to some of them the differences are as positive and decided as in the case of offenses against the religious establishments or regulations of different countries. Even in the American Union these differences are sufficiently marked to be troublesome. A man would be punished in one state for marrying his step-daughter, but in another he may do so lawfully. Some states forbid the guilty party to a divorce from marrying again; in others such prohibitions are looked upon as prejudicial to public morals. International regulations on the subject would encounter still greater difficulties; for while one nation might demand that the man who had married his deceased wife's sister should be delivered up to punishment, another which recognized polygamy might insist upon provisions under which the second or the twentieth wife fleeing from the harem should be dragged back to the justice of the bow-string.

3. No nation can reasonably be expected to assist in the punishment of offenses against the revenue laws of another. Very many of those laws are really framed in a spirit of hostility to the interests of other nations, and this to such an extent that their evasion seems not only justifiable but in many cases commendable. A country whose

industry is discriminated against by the protective duties of another would be more likely to retaliate than to assist in their enforcement, and the common law which was somewhat scrupulous in denouncing contracts made in circumvention of the law, would even lend its aid in the enforcement of those which contemplated the evasion of the revenue laws of other countries. Cases of smuggling, therefore, and all cases of the class must be excluded from treaties of extradition.

4. Political offenses must also be excluded for reasons equally apparent. The most serious political offenses often fail of justification only because they are not successful, and the nation against which they are committed is justified in punishing them not because they are morally wrong, but because the existence and stability of the government seem to depend upon it. The sympathies of the world must be expected to go with the leader of an unsuccessful revolution, provided he seems to have been influenced in his action by patriotic motives, and to have had a reasonable prospect of bettering his country by his success. And manifestly a republic could not assist in the punishment of a revolt against despotism, nor a believer in the divine right of kings be expected to aid in punishing those who had unsuccessfully attempted the overthrow of a democracy.

5. Without further attempt at specific classification, it may be said generally that all offenses must be excepted that are not by the common consent of civilized nations denounced as *malum in se*. If with one nation an act is *malum prohibitum* only; if it is denounced on grounds of policy peculiar to that nation, or of morality and justice that other nations do not recognize, it is plain that it can not be covered by a treaty of extradition. Certain nations may make their engagements more comprehensive than others, because they agree more perfectly in their views and sentiments; but the statement above made is sufficiently accurate for all practical purposes.

II. In providing machinery for the enforcement of an extradition treaty, the following particulars would seem to be requisite:

1. A provision for prompt arrest on mere accusation. This will sometimes work injustice, but without it a treaty would be too easily evaded to be of much value.

2. Without unnecessary delay there should be required in the country of the offense a judicial investigation that should determine whether a case existed which was within the treaty, and if so, should be the basis of the demand for surrender.

3. In the country of arrest there should also be a judicial inquiry,

as a basis for executive action in determining upon the propriety of responding favorably to the demand.

4. Report of this inquiry should be made to the executive, and if satisfactory, be followed by his warrant of extradition.

But careful provision for such proceedings can not preclude all difficulty. It requires wise, cautious, dispassionate and just action to prevent such controversies and collisions as that which recently sprung up between the United States and Great Britain. Such treaties are peculiarly susceptible of being perverted to purposes never contemplated in making them. This may be made evident by a few illustrations. The treaty of 1842, already alluded to, was silent on the subject of political offenses, the intent being not to embrace them. A participant in the late rebellion in this country, if he had fled to Great Britain could therefore not have been demanded under the treaty for his treason. Suppose, however, that our authorities, instead of charging him with treason, had proceeded against him for some other offense—say for murder in the killing of some Union soldier. Here the charge would have been within the terms of the treaty, and possibly the facts as detailed by witnesses and set forth in the papers might have made out a case which was *prima facie* one of criminal homicide properly designated murder. But here it would be the manifest duty of the British Government to look beyond the *prima facie* showing, and deal with the case as being what it was in fact, one of a political nature. A case which actually occurred in 1860 is instructive. In that year a slave in Missouri, in order to effect his escape, killed his master. This was murder in Missouri, but in Canada to which he fled, it was looked upon as an incident only in a justifiable struggle for liberty, and the authorities refused to recognize it as a case within the treaty. They would equally have refused to recognize any offense which was really an offense against the slave code, whatever might be the form of the charge. Suppose the treaty had provided for the case of mutiny on shipboard, would our government have expected Great Britain to recognize a rising of slaves against the master who was transporting them from state to state, as a case within the treaty? Certainly, now that we have abolished slavery, our government would applaud any similar rising instead of assisting in dealing with it as a crime.

Some other cases may be more difficult of solution, although the facts, when closely examined, may give reason for the belief that the very offense charged has been committed. It is notorious that the power to extradite offenders as between the states is most grossly

abused, particularly in those cases in which the charge is of obtaining property by false pretenses. It is not a large estimate that in a majority of cases what is sought is not public justice but the collection of a private debt. In some instances state governors, in issuing their requisitions for the return of alleged fugitives, have expressly made it a condition that the complainant should protect the state against all expense; and Gen. Dix, when Governor of New York, very properly refused to honor such a requisition because presumptively it was issued for a private and not for a public purpose. Other accusations are made which the parties have no expectation of substantiating, in order to bring persons in one state within the reach of the civil process of another. Abuses of this nature require to be carefully guarded against, and they may occur under extradition treaties as well as under the internal regulations of our own country. In these cases there may or may not be such an offense as is charged; the point is, that the process is not sued out to punish crime but to collect a debt.

Protection against any such abuses must be found either *first*, in the caution and vigilance of the judicial and executive authorities, when making their inquiry into the facts before the surrender is assented to, or *second*, in a recognition of the principle that the extradited party shall not be subject to prosecution on any other charge than that to which he has been surrendered. If the vigilance of the authorities is to be relied upon as security, it can not well go beyond a careful inquiry into the facts in order to determine whether the charge is made in good faith and on grounds apparently sufficient; but if the demand is refused when the case is *prima facie* sufficient, the impugment of good faith would be very likely to lead to difficulty. A much more suitable and satisfactory security would be found in the recognition of a principle that would preclude the parties active in procuring a surrender from making use of the process for purposes which they have not avowed.

The following provision in a treaty of extradition would be perfectly reasonable: That a person delivered up as a fugitive from justice should not be subject to trial or punishment in the country receiving him, on any other than the charge specified in the warrant of extradition, until that charge had been finally disposed of, nor afterwards until he had had reasonable opportunity to return to the country extraditing him. The principle of the following should also be assented to, though some exceptions should probably be made: That he should for a like period be

exempt from civil process in the country to which he had been forcibly returned.

There are cases in which the courts have recognized the principle that when a person is brought within the reach of judicial process for one purpose, advantage can not be taken of his enforced presence to serve him with process for another purpose. It is this principle that protects parties attending as witnesses from being arrested on the processes of local courts; and it is so perfectly reasonable that it might well have been applied by analogy to the case of a party extradited for one offense and then charged with another. But it has not been so applied, and there were certain English precedents in criminal cases that would have stood in the way. To give the needed protection would consequently require one of two things: 1. An executive pledge, given on receiving the surrender of an accused person, that he should be held only on the charge to which he was surrendered; or 2. A treaty stipulation to that effect. Where federal government exists an executive pledge would not alone be sufficient, because it could not be enforced. In the United States, for example, the several States and their judiciary are bound by all the stipulations of the Federal Constitution, and by the laws and treaties made in pursuance thereof; but the pledge of the federal executive is neither constitution, law nor treaty, and therefore can not bind them.

The exemption of an extradited person from civil process ought to be complete except in one contingency. If private wrongs which would be the foundation of a suit at law, were connected with the public wrong, and sprung from the same facts, and the offender is found guilty of the crime, it is no injustice, nor can there be abuse of the proceeding, in holding him then subject to civil process for such wrongs. But if the public prosecution is abandoned, or breaks down on trial, there would be palpable wrong and almost certain abuse if private parties might then take advantage of the proceedings for their own purposes. Suppose, for example, a party is seized in Great Britain and brought to America on a charge of robbery; if the charge proves well founded, there is no good reason why the prosecutor should not in a private suit recover the chattel or its value; but if the public authorities ascertain that it is really no robbery, but only a taking of property on a *bona fide* claim of title, and on this ground abandon the proceedings, it would be a gross wrong to permit the prosecutor to obtain a private remedy by thus subjecting his adversary to great trouble and expense on an unfounded charge.

All our existing extradition treaties are defective in the particular

indicated, and difficulties will be likely to arise until they are modified. And it is greatly to be regretted that the treaty with Great Britain could not have been modified by prompt and cordial concurrence, thus saving the recent unfortunate controversy.

It may be thought that provisions, such as have been suggested, would create embarrassment and lead to the escape of criminals in cases where their crimes were numerous. Winslow, for example, is supposed to have committed several offenses of the same nature, though his extradition was demanded for one only. But it would be easy to provide for such cases all the distinct inquiries that are necessary to cover them, and even to provide for independent inquiries afterwards if offenses should subsequently come to light. What is important is that the government, consenting to surrender a person who is within its jurisdiction, should have the opportunity of satisfying itself, by means of the inquiries of its own officers, that it is not being made the instrument of wrong and oppression, or of punishing acts which its own people do not look upon as criminal.

At the time we write the correspondence between our government and that of Great Britain, concerning the case of Winslow, is not published, or indeed concluded, and it is impossible to make it the subject of intelligent discussion. So far as we are able to judge from all that has found its way into the public prints, the British government would seem to have been contending for the principle that the country which consents to extradite an accused person is entitled to be assured that he is demanded for trial on the charge set forth in the papers and on no other. As the principle is sound, the government can not be blamed for endeavoring to secure it. But as has already been stated, our own government is powerless to give the requisite security unless a treaty provides for it, and the existing treaty with Great Britain does not. Were Winslow to be returned, he would pass at once into the hands of the judiciary, and cease to be under executive control. The President, consequently, could not if he would, prevent the accused from being compelled to respond to ordinary process either civil or criminal. What the British government should have done, therefore, was to ask an amendment of the treaty, instead of making inadmissible demands under it. And it was particularly unfortunate that Winslow's case was made the occasion for controversy, since there was not the slightest reason, so far as we are aware, for charging or suspecting bad faith in the demand for his surrender.

GEORGE TICKNOR.¹

IT was the good fortune of George Ticknor that he could reside in no place, even for a few weeks, without enjoying the advantages of the best society in it. Accordingly his letters and journals are crammed with records of his interviews with magnates and celebrities. The ordinary republican, as he reads the work, is dazzled by the procession of kings, princes, grand dukes, dukes, earls and counts, which passes before his astonished eyes; and the man of letters, or the man of science, is no less surprised at the throng of persons, associated in his mind with the great intellectual achievements of the first half of the nineteenth century, with whom Mr. Ticknor was on terms of intimacy.

The preparation of the Memoir was confided to Mr. George S. Hillard, in every respect qualified to perform such a labor of love; but after the conclusion of the tenth chapter, he was prostrated by sudden illness, and the duty of completing it was undertaken by Mrs. Ticknor and her eldest daughter, who have executed the task with general good taste and judgment, and have refrained, almost too carefully, from allowing affection to urge them into any undue praise of the husband and father, whose worth, talents and learning they commemorate.

Mr. Ticknor was fortunate in his parentage, as in everything else. Both his father and mother were educated people, and both had been engaged in the noble profession of teaching. His father, Elisha Ticknor, a graduate of Dartmouth College, seems to have drifted into trade only because failing health compelled him to relinquish his occupation as a teacher; and, in trade, he acquired the competence which enabled him to gratify the scholarly ambitions of his darling son.

George Ticknor was born on the first day of August, 1791. His early education was undertaken by his parents; he was sent to Dartmouth College in 1805, and, for two years, received the kind of instruc-

¹ Life, Journals and Letters of George Ticknor. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1876. 2 vols, 8 vo. pp. 524, 533.

tion which was then dispensed to ingenuous youth in that institution of learning ; was, by his own confession, idle there, and learned little ; but, in 1807, on his return to Boston, was put by his father under the tuition of the Rev. Dr. Gardiner, with whom he studied for three years, obtaining from that forcible and genial scholar a strong taste for classical learning as well as a moderate proficiency in it. He then studied law in the office of William Sullivan ; in 1813, he was admitted to the bar ; and was so successful, during the first and only year in which he practiced his profession, that his fees not only paid the rent of his office, but also mounted up to a sum sufficient to discharge the moderate bill of his office boy. In spite of this splendid triumph of professional skill, he came to the conclusion that his talents and tastes did not lie in the direction of the law. His intimacy with all the persons who then represented the best intellectual society of Boston and its vicinity, Gardiner, Buckminster, Wells, Dexter, Sullivan, Prescott, Parker, Warren, John Adams, inflamed him with a desire to make himself a scholar, and a cultivated man of letters. Among other things, he was interested in the German language and literature. In order to gratify this mental whim, he had to borrow a German grammar from one friend, and to send all the way up to a town in New Hampshire, for a German dictionary which was the precious possession of another.

He decided, after scanning the means of getting an education worthy of the name in the United States, to go to Germany in search of it. Before venturing on this enterprise, he visited Washington ; dined with President Madison ; stayed some days with Jefferson at Monticello ; saw every prominent American that it was desirable to see, between Boston and Richmond ; and returned to Massachusetts, fully equipped with such letters of introduction to their friends abroad, as would enable him to invade European society with an adequate social force. Indeed, in reading the whole body of his diaries and correspondence, we are specially impressed by the potency acquired by a personage who is literally a man of " letters "—all doors flying open when the magical letters are produced.

In May, 1815, when young Ticknor arrived in Liverpool, he learned to his surprise, and somewhat to his dismay, that Napoleon had escaped from Elba, and was established in Paris. Bred in the Federal school of American politics, he expected that all England would feel more than his indignation at the event ; but he found that Roscoe, the historian, and the whigs he met at Roscoe's table, were opposed to the war against " the disturber of the peace of Europe."

Calling, on his way to London, on Dr. Parr, he records two utterances of that pompous clerical scholar and fierce whig politician. "Thirty years ago, sir," said the doctor, "I turned on my heel when I heard you called *rebels*, and I was always glad that you beat us." As to the return of Napoleon, he exclaimed, with his peculiar lisp, "Thus, I should not think I had done my duty, if I went to bed any night without praying for the success of Napoleon Bonaparte." In London Mr. Ticknor met Sir Humphrey Davy, Campbell, Gifford, Byron and lady Byron, and all turned to him the amiable sides of their characters. Gifford, the editor of the tory *Quarterly Review*—"a position," says Hazlitt, "for which he was eminently qualified by a happy combination of defects, natural and acquired,"—Gifford, the libeler of the United States, and a critic of the school of dis-taste, disappointed his anticipations. "I found him a short, deformed, and ugly little man, with a large head, sunk between his shoulders, and one of his eyes turned outward, but, withal, one of the best-natured, most open and well bred gentlemen I have met." Gifford introduced him to Byron. It is curious to the present generation of readers, who know what Byron was in 1815, to read the account of the young American's impression of his character at that time. Byron, as he appeared to Ticknor, contradicted all his expectations.

"Instead of having a thin and rather sharp and anxious face, as he has in his pictures, it is round, open and smiling; his eyes are light and not black; his air easy and careless, not forward and striking; and I found his manners affable and gentle, the tones of his voice low and conciliating, his conversation gay, pleasant and interesting in an uncommon degree." Byron talked on various subjects,—America, his own poems, Lord Holland, Scott, Jeffrey, Rogers,—in a style which would not have misbecome a teacher of a Sunday-school. Then a friend rushed into the room with the announcement of Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo, and his retreat toward Paris. Byron paused a moment, and then exclaimed, "I am d——d sorry for it!" After another slight pause, he added, "I didn't know but I might live to see Castlereagh's head on a pole. But I suppose I shan't now." After Meade's victory at Gettysburg, think of Bryant or Longfellow exclaiming, "I am d——d sorry for it!" Byron, in this flash of seemingly eccentric caprice, indicated the elemental character of his genius, which was independent of nationality as of all the other constraints imposed by civilization. Ticknor did not seem to understand the import of Byron's impatient exclamation. It remains, however, as a most remarkable indication of that passion for revolt and anarchy,

which was inherent in his emotional nature, and that scorn of all the limitations on self-will which was a characteristic of his somewhat chaotic mind. What struck Ticknor most in his intercourse with Byron were his superficial qualities, his geniality, his toleration, his frank confession of his own faults, his readiness to do justice to all who might be called his rivals in the race for poetical eminence, and his tender courtesy to his wife. The poet, indeed, seems to have had a liking for the young American, and to have shown him only the amiable traits of his character. "I think," says Ticknor in his Diary, "I have received more kindness from Lord Byron than from any person in England on whom I had not the regular claim of a letter of introduction."

On the last day of June, 1815, Ticknor left London for Göttingen, where he remained for twenty months, pursuing his studies at that leading German University, with an ardor which left him no time for amusement or society. The intellectual atmosphere of the place was favorable to habits of industry. "If a man, who means to have any reputation as a scholar," he wrote, "sees his best friend once a week, it is thought quite often enough." Here he first felt the vast distance between German and American scholarship. Had he been naturally inclined to indolence, he would have been shamed into exertion by the fact that some of his instructors were not much older than himself, and appeared to be his superiors, rather by their accomplishments than their talents. The acquirements of his Greek tutor, Dr. Schultze, forced from him the confession that, in the United States, "we do not know what a Greek scholar is; we do not even know the process by which a man is to be made one." Stung by the spirit of emulation, he devoted his time from five in the morning to ten at night, with short interruptions, to his various studies, learning, among other things, that recreation may be found in some of the finer forms of work, that the weariness resulting from labor undertaken from a sense of duty, is charmed away by the labor which is genially welcomed as a means of delight. Probably Ticknor was never happier than during the twenty months he passed in Göttingen, "unresting and unceasing" in his tireless pursuit of knowledge,—not "under difficulties," but under the facilities of such teachers and professors as Dissen, Benecke, Schultze, Eichhorn, Gauss and Blumenbach.

In the autumn of 1816, during a vacation of six weeks, he visited, among other places, Leipsic, Dresden, Berlin, Wittenberg, Halle and Weimer, well recommended by letters of introduction to the nota-

bilities of northern Germany. At Weimar he had, of course, an interview with Goethe. Indeed, if Ticknor had taken it into his head to go to Olympus, the first person he would have sought, with a letter of introduction in his pocket, would have been Jupiter. In his diary, he describes the great German as "something above the middle size, large but not gross, with grey hair, a dark, ruddy complexion, and full, rich black eyes, which, though dimmed with age, are still very expressive. His whole countenance is old; and though his features are quiet and composed, they bear decided traces of the tumult of early feeling and passion." Goethe was simple in manner, spoke in praise of Wolf, and, in reference to Byron's separation from his wife, said it was involved in such mystery, and was so poetical in itself, that if Byron had invented it, he could hardly have had a more fortunate subject for his genius. He fervently deplored the want of extemporaneous eloquence in Germany, and said, what I never heard before, but which is eminently true, that the English is kept a much more living language by its influence." "Here," said Goethe, "we have no eloquence,—our preaching is a monotonous, middling declamation—public debate we have not at all, and if a little inspiration sometimes comes to us in our lecture-rooms, it is out of place, for eloquence does not teach." In after life, Ticknor was wont to quote this last observation in a more restricted sense than Goethe probably meant it. Eloquence *does* teach when it not only communicates knowledge, but the thirst for knowledge. Scientists of ardent natures, like Tyndall, William B. Rogers and Agassiz, inflame students with a love of the subjects on which they discourse. The teacher who succeeds best, is he who puts his whole soul into his speech, and thus imparts his soul to others in the very process of conveying information to their undertakings. Barry Cornwall's ideal of the true teacher, can never be antiquated:—

"For he was like the sun, giving me light,
Pouring into the caves of my young brain
Knowledge from his bright fountains."

In March, 1817, Mr. Ticknor, then at the age of twenty-five, left Göttingen for an extended tour in France, Italy, Spain and Great Britain. At Frankfort he met Frederick Von Schlegel, whom he found to be "a short, thick, little gentleman, with the ruddy, vulgar health of a full-fed father of the Church," full of knowledge and eager to impart it. In the evening of the same day, he visited Von Berg, the President of the Diet, who impressed him as a man of

almost universal information, possessing among other accomplishments, a minute knowledge of the history of the American Revolution, which he specially indicated by jocosely directing his wife to give Ticknor a very small cup of tea, if she gave him any at all, because he came from a town which had once rebelliously wasted and destroyed several cargoes of it.

At Paris, Ticknor resided nearly five months, and had his usual good fortune in meeting and conversing with all the celebrities, native and foreign, collected in that center of intellectual Europe. Œhlenschlger, the Danish poet and dramatist, then at the age of forty, appeared to him "heartily, happy and gay, enjoying life as well as anybody, but living in Paris knowing and caring for nobody,"—"vain, but not oppressively so." This last trait is felicitously touched. In social intercourse, the vain man, whose vanity is but one form of his geniality, sees others in the same deceptive light in which he views himself. He becomes oppressive only when he diminishes other individualities in magnifying his own. The two men in Paris who made the strongest impression on Ticknor, were Germans, A. W. Schlegel and Humboldt. The former, he writes, "wakes at four o'clock in the morning, and, instead of getting up, has his candle brought to him, and reads five or six hours, then sleeps two or three more, and then gets up and works till dinner at six. "From this time till ten o'clock he is a man of the world, in society, and overflowing with amusing conversation; but at ten he goes to his study and works until midnight, when he begins the same course again."

Schlegel was undoubtedly a coxcomb in dress and manner, and his affectations were justly subjects of ridicule; but Ticknor does not, in all his interviews with him, sufficiently recognize the fact that he was one of the greatest interpretive critics of the nineteenth century. His lectures on Dramatic Art, delivered in Vienna in 1808, are landmarks in the progress of criticism, as it advanced toward something which may be called a science. He told Ticknor that, in writing them, in German, he had endeavored to keep before him as models, English and French prose, which he preferred to the ordinary prose style of German authors. The young American scholar was able conscientiously to say that he thought the critic had succeeded in this attempt. The wonder is, that, neither in his journals nor in his letters, does he seem to appreciate A. W. Schlegel's supreme gift as a critic,—his power of transforming himself into an inhabitant of the country whose literature he presented and criticised, and of fol-

lowing the development of its literature from age to age, with an imaginative sympathy with the conditions and circumstances under which its masterpieces were produced. The "History of Spanish Literature" would have been a more fascinating, if not a more learned, work, had Ticknor caught from Schlegel the fundamental point of view from which the literature of a nation should be surveyed. We have, in these volumes, abundant testimonies to Schlegel's knowledge and brilliancy in conversation, but not a word as to those principles of criticism for which he is now remembered among men.

At Paris, Ticknor also seems to have had rare opportunities of meeting Alexander Von Humboldt,—Alexander the Great, as distinguished even from his eminent brother William. Humboldt, in 1817, was in the full flush of his fame, magnificent in physical development as in mental power. Ticknor found that he was superior to all conventions, though the favorite of fashionable society,—sleeping when he was weary, eating when he was hungry, and studying from ten to fifteen hours out of the twenty-four. If he was invited to dinner at six o'clock, he considered the invitation simply as an opportunity for intellectual amusement and excitement, and really dined at a restaurant at five. His high rank and captivating manners, joined to his prodigious acquirements, rendered him one of the idols of Parisian society. Ticknor, in warmly testifying to what he *was*, is provokingly reticent as to what he *said*. He saw, also, all the prominent persons of the Restoration,—Madame de Staël, Lacretelle, Benjamin Constant, Barante, Villemain, Chateaubriand, Madame Récamier, the Duke and Duchess de Broglie, La Fayette, Talma, and others.

While in Göttingen he received the news of his appointment as Professor of the French and Spanish languages, and the Belles-Lettres, in Harvard College. His letter to his father, in relation to this appointment, shows him to have been a model son. He thought he could not accept the office without prolonging his European tour some six months, in order to spend that time in Spain, to acquire a competent knowledge of the Spanish language and literature. His acceptance of the post was delayed until November, 1817, when he was in Rome. In September of that year he left Paris for Italy, visiting, on the way, La Fayette, at La Grange. He then proceeded to Geneva, crossed the Alps by the Simplon road, and arrived at Milan on the first of October, and, on the second of November, at Rome. He spent four months in that city, engaged in the study of Italian, and, under a competent guide, "in exploring the different portions of ancient Rome and their ruins." In Italy, as in Germany and

France, he endeavored to master the language, so that he could speak it well. In high society, he found that Italian was not the language of conversation, except at Canova's parties, and sometimes at those of the Portuguese Ambassador. Residence in Rome only perfected the fluency and facility with which he could speak French and German. At last, in despair, he hired a professor of architecture, to teach him Italian by explaining to him, in that language, the principles, theory and history of the art. He says that, of all the sovereigns in Europe, he most desired to see the Pope, on account of the firmness and dignity he had displayed in "difficult and distressing circumstances, when kings and governments, of force incomparably greater, had shrunk and yielded" to the autocracy of Napoleon. He was presented by Abbé Taylor, an Irish Catholic, and was accompanied by Professor Bell, the distinguished anatomist of Edinburgh. "On entering we knelt, and kissed his hand. He is, you know, very old, but he received us standing, and was dressed with characteristic simplicity and humility as a friar, without the slightest ornament to distinguish his rank. Bell spoke no Italian, and therefore the conversation was chiefly with us, and, as we were Americans, entirely on America. The Pope talked a good deal about our universal toleration, and praised it as much as if it were a doctrine of his own religion, adding that he thanked God for having at last driven all thoughts of persecution from the world, since persuasion was the only possible means of promoting piety, though violence might promote hypocrisy." The Pope went so far as to declare that the time would come when the New would dictate to the Old World. He spoke, with particular emphasis, of the naval successes of the United States against the English, in the war of 1812. "But," said the Irish Abbé, "the Americans had done very well because they had always the English for masters." "Yes, M. Abbé," answered the Pope, jocosely; "that is very true; but I would advise you to take care that the scholars do not learn too much for the masters." Indeed the Bostonian was naturally surprised to hear, from the lips of a Pope, principles of religious toleration which would have been heartily indorsed by William Ellery Channing, at that time under the ban of Protestant orthodoxy in New England.

From Italy, Ticknor proceeded to Spain, where he staid about six months. The sixty pages of his letters and diary devoted to Spain, are full of entertainment and instruction. As soon as he had crossed the Pyrenees, he discovered that he had not only passed from one country and climate to another, but had gone back two centuries in

time. He found, as regards manners, that Cervantes and Le Sage were the historians on whose statements he should depend for information. The king he did not hesitate to call a vulgar blackguard; the aristocracy, with some exceptions, appeared to him hopelessly corrupt; the middle class to be mediocre and inefficient; and the peasants to constitute the finest *material* he had met in Europe, out of which to make a great and generous people, but that this material was either unused or perverted. He had unusual opportunities afforded him of prosecuting his Spanish studies, and the society to which he was introduced, was the best in Spain; but he was shocked at the ignorance of librarians, and at the bad arrangement and administration of the libraries he explored. In the great library at Madrid he found "Confusion worse confounded." In a lumber room of this library, where there was a great pile of books called useless, and, as his conductor warned him, of no more value than mere waste paper, the second book he took up was La Place's *Mécanique Céleste*. In November, 1818, he sailed from Lisbon for England, and, as quickly as possible, he left London for Paris, where he found books and means for studying Spanish literature which he had vainly sought in Spain. Socially he enjoyed great advantages, being admitted into all *salons*, whether those of the ultra loyalists or of the liberals. His journals furnish a provoking display of celebrated names, and some piquant descriptions of the persons to whom the names were attached, but little of their conversation which may be considered characteristic.

In the middle of January, 1819, Ticknor arrived in London. The house he most frequented was Lord Holland's, for there he mingled in a literary and political society such as was unexcelled by any society he had seen in Europe, including as it did, Mackintosh, Brougham, Sydney Smith, Frere, Heber, Lord Lansdowne, Lord Lauderdale, and Lord John Russel, among other frequent guests. Lord Holland was the most gracious of hosts, but his wife was the worst mannered woman in Great Britain. It is astonishing how he contrived to make his dinners and receptions the most attractive in England, while every Englishman of genius, who accepted his invitations, was snubbed and insulted, more than once, by his vixenish spouse. The stories told of her conduct, make one wonder that men who had any self-respect, should submit to her caprices, even when, by submission, they were introduced to such society. Ticknor disliked her from first to last, though he won her regard by the courage with which he replied to an insulting question by a more insulting answer.

She informed him that she understood New England was originally colonized by convicts, sent over from the mother-country. He retorted that he was not aware of it, but said that some of the Vassall family, (the ancestors of Lady Holland,) had settled early in Massachusetts; that a house, built by one of them, was standing in Cambridge; and that a marble monument to one of the family was to be seen in King's Chapel, Boston. She was at first stunned by this impertinence; but, in the conversation which ensued, she asked him to send her a drawing of the monument, which, on his return to Boston, he was careful to do. This is the most conspicuous instance, in Lady Holland's long career, in which her insolence and malice were fairly rebuked and overthrown. Shall we not exclaim, in view of the victory of our countryman over obstacles from which the first poets, politicians and publicists of Europe, had shrunk appalled, "Bravo, Ticknor?" From that time Lady Holland liked him; he never overcame his dislike of her.

As a natural result of his success in London society, Mr. Ticknor had an opportunity to be invited as a guest to some of the great country mansions of England. He passed two days at Hatfield, the seat of the Marquis of Salisbury, and three days at Woburn Abbey, the seat of the Duke of Bedford. At both of these places he met distinguished personages. His residence in Edinburgh brought him into relation with all the prominent Scotch celebrities, of whom Walter Scott and Playfair appeared to him the best. John Wilson, not then developed into the vehement professor of Moral Philosophy, and the Christopher North of the "Noctes," but known as the author of "The Isle of Palms," seemed to him "a pretending young man." James Hogg was so vulgar, that he thought his conversation corresponded to his name, and was strangely out of keeping with the exquisite delicacy of sentiment embodied in his poem of Kilmeny. Indeed, in Hogg, as in Ben Jonson, fineness of fancy seems to have been a sort of secretion of his mind, and to exist apart from the general character of the man, which was bluff, rude and coarse. Mackenzie, the novelist, appeared to him "a lively little gentleman," voluble in talk on common subjects, but conveying no notion of "The Man of Feeling." Jeffrey, whom he had met before in Boston, he found always charming, but though brilliant in all parties and assemblies, he was seen to best advantage in his own house. Dr. Thomas Brown, the metaphysician, and the successor of Dugald Stewart in the University, impressed him as a man affecting in society a "dapper sort of elegance, and writing poetry just above thread-

paper verses." Lord Elgin, then about fifty, he set down as a "fat, round and stupid man," whose conversation justified what his appearance promised. Scott delighted him beyond measure. Among other experiences of his intercourse with the great poet and novelist, he records going with him to the theater, to see a representation of *Rob Roy*, a drama founded on the novel. When the performance was over, Scott turned to him and said, "That's fine, sir; I think that is very fine;" and then looked up to him, with "a most comical expression of face, half-way between cunning and humor," and added, "All I wish is, that Jedediah Cleishbotham could be here to enjoy it!"

Mr. Ticknor left Liverpool on the last day in April, 1819, and arrived in Boston early in June. In August, his introduction to the professorships of the French and Spanish languages, and of the *Belles Lettres*, in Harvard College, took place. It is safe to assert that this young professor, at the age of twenty-eight, was the most accomplished student of general literature then resident in the United States. As far as comprehensive culture could fashion a man into largeness and fullness of mind, he was a model professor. He had not only studied hard, and accumulated a valuable library of books selected by himself during his four years' residence abroad, but he had enjoyed the inestimable advantage of a conversational intimacy with most of the first minds in Europe. He had, by contact with such minds, collected, in his own words, "that sort of undefined and indefinite feeling, respecting books and authors, which exists in Europe as a kind of unwritten tradition, and never comes to us, because nobody takes the pains to collect it systematically, though it is often the electric principle that gives life to the dead mass of inefficient knowledge, and vigor and spirit to inquiry." This is one of the profoundest observations in all Ticknor's writings. There is a certain something in the intellect and heart of a prominent statesman, or man of letters, or man of science, which cannot be learned from what he publishes, but which transpires in his familiar talk. Daniel Webster even went so far as to say, that conversation, in the large sense of being a commerce between good minds, was the most important element in culture. The secret thought underlying written thought, the secret doubt underlying positive assertion in written books, escape in the genial converse of one strong intellect with another. Ticknor, accordingly, had acquired much more in Europe than was contained in the volumes he brought with him to Boston. It may have been that it was knowledge of this kind which brought

him into continual collisions of opinion with the authorities of Harvard College. He appeared as a general reformer of the methods of college instruction; but, after having been an active professor for fifteen years, he resigned his position, with the feeling that he had succeeded perfectly in his own department, but had failed miserably in procuring such changes in the other departments, as he deemed necessary "to make the large means of the college more effectual for the education of the community." But this is anticipating events. In 1821, he married Miss Anna Eliot, the daughter of one of the first of Boston merchants, a marriage which was certainly among the happiest recorded in the annals of men of letters. His social position in Boston was in the front rank, both of fashion and literary culture. Among his intimate friends, were the two Prescotts, father and son, F. C. Gray, Dr. Jacob Bigelow, the Rev. William E. Channing, James Savage, and Daniel Webster. Of these, James Savage,—generally known later in life, as the genealogist of New England—was, in character, one of the solidest of the "solid men of Boston." He was the soul of integrity and honor; every form of baseness, meanness and fraud, instinctively shrunk from him abashed; no scoundrel of any kind, however rich or famous, could appear in any company which he honored with his presence, without slinking away, in abject fear of such a chivalric champion of common sense and common honesty. His hatred of iniquity sometimes blazed out in a fury of wrathful eloquence, which amazed those who specially esteemed him as a prodigy of genealogical knowledge, and even disturbed the equanimity of those who chiefly knew him as the most valued and trustworthy of friends. It is curious that James Savage, the most eloquent of men, when his soul was stirred to its depths, should now be particularly honored merely as an accurate antiquarian. We have listened to him at times, when his heart, kindled by the memory of some rascalities of politicians he had formerly abhorred, freed his utterance from all the feebleness of old age, and his voice rang, in piercing tones, through the whole house, and was even heard by passers-by in the street. Thomas Jefferson was his pet aversion, and, when provoked by opposition, his invective against that apostle of democracy, gave to his voice a penetrating power, which almost enabled the neighborhood to partake of the edification and enjoyment which were specially intended only for his guests. A certain tough and stalwart manliness characterized all he said and did. It was seen in his piety, in his benevolence, in his social affections, in his mode of conducting business, even in his rapid, defiant walk as he

paced the streets. As you passed him on the sidewalk, you felt the city was the safer for having such an embodiment of straight-forward integrity within its limits. In short, he was a model citizen—a character which, to our national loss, is gradually losing its old command of the respect of voters.

During the years of Mr. Ticknor's labors as a Professor, though engaged in a constant conflict with the men who governed Harvard College, he enjoyed unusual opportunities of discoursing with the most eminent Americans of his time. In 1835, he resigned his professorship, and, with his family made a second visit to Europe. Judging from the letters and diaries in these volumes, it was a triumphal procession. Every door, however jealously guarded from ordinary intrusion, seems to have felt the magic of Mr. Ticknor's "open sesame." His second invasion of Europe, indeed, was even more victorious than his first. He sought everybody, saw everybody, and was welcomed by everybody. It is useless to record his social exploits in detail. If anybody can name a European celebrity he should have liked to see, during the period between 1835 and 1838, he must be singularly exacting, unless he finds the name of that person in the index of this book. Among other men whom he now met for the second time, he was captivated anew by Sydney Smith. In 1819, in witnessing his witty victories in the contests of wits at Holland House, he had come to the conclusion that Sydney Smith's humorous sallies were really "logic in masquerade:" and when in 1835, he went to hear him preach, at St. Paul's, he decided that the sermon was the best he had ever heard in Great Britain, though he had listened to archbishops, bishops, and to representatives of all the various degrees of the Episcopal hierarchy. Still, in his second tour, one is provoked at the mention of so many names associated with so few ideas. The fashionable lords, ladies, right honorables and honorables, oppress the democratic imagination with a sense of titles of rank divorced from titles to consideration. It is vexatious that Lord this and Lady that, however charming in their surroundings, say nothing which equals in piquancy the ordinary utterances of Grub street. Without taking the extreme view of Matthew Arnold, that the English aristocracy, while presenting splendid specimens of gentlemanly manners, are still impenetrable to ideas, one is tempted to adopt that opinion in reading Mr. Ticknor's record of his intercourse with them.

It is impossible, in a brief review like the present, to do more than direct the attention of the reader to Mr. Ticknor's accounts of

his interviews with Miss Edgeworth and Wordsworth,—the first the representative of common sense, and the second of the sense which is uncommon; of his descriptions of Ludwig Tieck, and of his fine readings of Shakespeare's plays; of his reception at the court in Dresden, and the intimacy he formed with Prince John of Saxony, to whom he was bound by an interest, almost equal to that of the Prince, in Dante; and of his conversations with Neander, Humboldt, Ancillon, Savigny, Von Raumer, Retzsch, and other eminent Germans. Prince John's translation of Dante into German was subjected to as severe a test as that of Longfellow's into English. Ticknor was present when Tieck read a part of Prince John's unpublished translation of the *Purgatorio*; and the scholars present were relentless in criticisms.

Mr. Ticknor was surprised at the popularity of his pastor, Dr. William Ellery Channing, in Europe. He found that such persons as Mrs. Somerville and Joanna Bailie considered him as the greatest living master of English prose; and Channing's little book on slavery, which was published while Ticknor was in Dresden, added immensely to his European reputation. The demand for his books exceeded the supply; and Baron Bülow brought to Ticknor a letter from the Duchess of Anhalt Desseau, earnestly asking for aid in her desire to procure a complete copy of Channing's works. At Berlin, he visited Neander, the historian of the Christian Church. After mounting three or four flights of stairs, he found him in his scholastic den, buried in books, dirty in his person, so near-sighted that he could not see an inch before his nose, so absorbed in his studies that "his practical knowledge was not much wider than his vision," but learned, earnest, kind and conscientious. Alexander von Humboldt was the great personage at that time in Berlin; the favorite of the monarch and the idol of the multitude; talking freely on subjects which other courtiers carefully avoided; a liberal in politics, though the pensioner of a king; conversing equally well on all subjects with "incredible velocity, both in French and English," and unsparing in sarcasms on individuals he deemed worthy of his contempt. Mr. Ticknor discovered that his *valet-de-place*, and the people of the inn where he lodged, thought more of him when they learned that he was a friend of Humboldt.

At Vienna, Mr. Ticknor easily made his way into the most exclusive society of that city,—into that select and sacred circle, where no other American citizen, not an ambassador, had ever before been admitted. His account of his conversations with Prince Metternich bring into strong relief the prominent qualities of that statesman.

Metternich in Austria, Nesselrode in Russia, Palmerston in England, might be classed together as politicians who simply adapted their theories and conduct to the condition of the countries they aspired to govern. None of them had any political faith apart from the system of government established in the nation of which he was the first minister. Palmerston, transplanted to St. Petersburg or Vienna, would have acted as Nesselrode acted in Russia, and as Metternich acted in Austria; if Nesselrode or Metternich had been transplanted to England, he would have exercised all his skill in an attempt to "manage" the House of Commons. All these statesmen were powerful, not on account of their fixed convictions in regard to any of the principles of government, but through the pliability of their minds in accommodating principles to the facts "of the situation." Metternich seems to have talked frankly with Ticknor. "In your country," he said, "democracy is a reality; in Europe it is a falsehood, and I hate all falsehoods. . . . If I were a citizen of your country, I should belong to the old conservative party, of which Washington was the head. . . . You have always managed your affairs with foreign nations with ability. . . . You will become more and more democratic; your system is one that wears out fast. I do not know where it will end, nor how it will end; but it can not end in a quiet, ripe old age. . . . I do not like my business. The present state of Europe disgusts me. When I was five and twenty years old, I foresaw nothing but change and trouble in my time; and I sometimes thought that I would leave Europe, and go to America, or somewhere else, out of the reach of it. But my place was here. . . . And so I have gone on, and have been here at the head of affairs since 1809. . . . I labor for to-morrow. It is with to-morrow that my spirit wrestles, and I am but too happy if I can do something to prevent the evil it may threaten, or add something to the good of which it is capable." That dreadful "to-morrow" is indeed the phantom which all wise ministers of absolute monarchies have the most cause to dread. It is the immense advantage of constitutional governments, that with them to-morrow is abundantly able to take care of itself.

It is to be said of Prof. Ticknor that, in all his interviews with potentates and prime ministers, he ever stood bravely up to his principles as a citizen of a Republic. The Grand Duke of Tuscany, having asked him in what country he thought it would be the greatest good fortune for a man to be born, he instantly answered, "America;" and when called upon to give his reasons for such a preference, he somewhat bluntly replied that, in the United States,

the mass of the community "by being occupied about the affairs of state, instead of being confined, as they were elsewhere, to the mere drudgery of earning their own subsistence," were more truly men than the inhabitants of other countries, and therefore "it was more agreeable and elevating to live among them." The Duke "blushed a little, but made no answer."

Mr. Ticknor returned from Europe in the summer of 1838. His friends were among the first citizens of Boston; his literature and scholarship, generally acknowledged, were rendered more attractive by the zest he could communicate to a learned conversation by his reminiscences of distinguished European men of letters and scholars with whom he had been on familiar terms; and his ample means, his cultivated manners, and his possession of the best house, both as regards situation and elegance, which then existed in the city, made him a leader in the society of the place. His position was so assured that one of his friends, Nathan Hale, pleasantly suggested that the name of Boston be changed into Ticknorville. In New York, and other cities, the good society of Boston was for a long time regarded as the select circle of cultivated gentlemen and ladies in which Ticknor moved, and to which he almost gave the law. The mistake arose from an oversight of the fact that Boston has a hundred "circles;" that nobody who has anything to say on any subject, whether he be an extreme conservative or an extreme radical in all matters relating to society, politics and religion, can fail to find there a coterie "hospitable to his thought;" and that though the city is not comprehensive in the large sense of including in one society its best intellectual and moral forces, it is comprehensive in the minor sense of affording each division of these clashing forces a social stronghold of its own. The reader of these "Memoirs" will be a little surprised that such names as R. W. Emerson, John G. Whittier, Theodore Parker, Charles Sumner, not to mention others, are omitted in their pages; but then these men had inner social circles of their own. It was not to be supposed that Mr. Ticknor could, as a man of eminent respectability, have any sympathy with their audacities of thought and conduct; but we are disappointed that such persons as Longfellow, Holmes and Lowell should not have received the just praise, either in diary or letter, which is lavished by him on some European titled mediocrities. No notion can be obtained of the vital intellectual and moral movement going on in Boston and Massachusetts from 1838 and 1861, by studying Mr. Ticknor's letters. They indicate benevolent feeling, patriotic feeling,

good sense; but show little insight, though an occasional glimpse of foresight. As a political thinker he was somewhat of an amateur, taking no active part in politics, but generally agreeing in opinion with such statesmen and jurists as Webster and Curtis,—wise to the extent of being over-wise, thinking that political logic was an adequate offset to political passion, and underrating the force of the real elements of political power in the nation.

As a man of letters he was highly esteemed by his friends, and doubtless deserved their esteem; but to chance visitors, though always courteous, the metallic sharpness of his voice seemed to be an affronting expression of the settled convictions of his mind. There is an amusing story told of a young man, who visited him for the first and last time, venturing modestly to suggest that the case of Laura Bridgeman introduced some new problems in the philosophy of perception, as expounded by recent metaphysicians, but who was stunned into silence by Mr. Ticknor's decisive answer, that, "Mr. Locke's opinions had satisfied him on all matters of that kind." Socially, his judgments ever had something of this positiveness; his intellect was not open to new ideas; he excluded from his toleration what he had not included in his studies and experience; and he sometimes weighed heavily on the Boston mind during the period he was supposed to have undertaken its direction. But his great work, "The History of Spanish Literature," was all this time in process of composition. He enjoyed during ten years, as Mackintosh enjoyed during nearly his whole life, all the glory of an expected work, before a page of it had been printed. He was known to be engaged on his self-elected task; he had purchased, regardless of expense, the finest library of Spanish literature possessed by any living man; he had resided in Spain; and he had conversed with every European and American celebrity interested in the history and literature of Spain. The result showed how conscientiously exact he had been in verifying every date, estimating the value of every authority, weighing the worth of opposing schools of criticism. He indeed produced such a masterpiece of patient and exhaustive research that one of his critics declared there were not six men in Europe capable of reviewing it, as far as the facts of Spanish literature were concerned. Its form and construction were also praised by such critics as Prescott and Motley, who complimented the author for the art displayed in dividing the subject into appropriate periods, and connecting the literature of Spain with its history. The style of the work is excellent of its kind, clear in statement, manly in tone, but somewhat hard

and cold in its sustained elegance, and containing few of those felicities of phrase which are observable in the author's private diaries and correspondence.

It is curious that Hallam's letter to him,—declaring that his work indicated a marvellous reach of knowledge in a foreigner, that it could not be superseded by any writer out of Spain, and could not, unless Spain became very different from what it was in 1850, be superseded by any writer in it,—should have objected to Ticknor's too frequent use of the word “genial.” The word might be offensively prominent, but certainly not the quality. If the historian of Spanish Literature failed in anything, it was in not having a thoroughly “genial” appreciation of the peculiar character of the Spanish people and of the genius of its authors. His erudition was not accompanied by corresponding imaginative sympathy and insight; he never thoroughly, and with full heart and divining mind, put himself in the place of Lope De Vega, Cervantes and Calderon; the secret of the genius of Spain eluded him while he was diligently studying every book which could shed the faintest light upon it. He could not, by any effort of imagination, cosily make himself a contemporary of the age he aimed to depict. The materials of his work were, after years of tireless research, lodged safely in his house in Park street, Boston; but his verdicts on the great writers of Spain were, unfortunately, delivered from the same locality with a Bostonian's moral energy and emphasis. The wonder is that this greatest of Spanish scholars, outside of Spain, should have ignored or forgotten all he must have learned from such German students of Spanish literature as A. W. Schlegel and Ludwig Tieck. Incomparably superior to both of them as far as regards an external knowledge of the literature of Spain, he was, perhaps, inferior to both in all that interior knowledge which comes from the power of perceiving, realizing, interpreting, vitalizing and reproducing the spirit of a literary age, and the souls of the men who shed lustre on it. Wide as had been his experience of many lands and many peoples, he could not, like his friend, Prescott imaginatively expatriate himself, and while writing on Spanish themes, become so far a Spaniard for the time as to detect, by sympathy, the inner, vital facts of the Spanish heart and imagination.

As a citizen of Boston, Mr. Ticknor cheerfully took upon himself the duty of discharging all those unremunerated services, in the cause of education and benevolence, which the city exacts from its opulent and cultivated inhabitants. In Boston, a man loses “caste”

unless he submits to a tax on his time and property, entirely dissociated from the tax levied by the assessors. Benevolence there is one of the tests of respectability; and selfishness and avarice, pure and undefiled from any admixture of philanthropy, are considered not only inhuman but unfashionable. Mr. Ticknor, though a member of many benevolent associations, was specially attracted by enterprises which were intended to advance art, literature and science. The Boston Public Library, which is now the best public library on the American continent, and which promises to be one of the great libraries of the world, is indebted to him, as one of its original trustees, not only for his good judgment in selecting the higher class of works, but for making it so popular in the free distribution of books, that no party which has ever obtained power in the civic government, has dreamed, in its most economic plans for reducing expenses, of refusing to the trustees of the Public Library, any money which they asked. The library indeed may be called the most popular institution in the city, though its demands for money now average a hundred thousand dollars a year. The library was opened to the public in 1854, in a small school-house in Mason st., with a collection of 12,000 volumes. The munificent donations of Mr. Bates, of the firm of Baring, Brothers & Co., led to Mr. Ticknor's third visit to Europe in 1856. He was absent fifteen months, establishing agencies for the library, buying books, and aiding its interests in other respects. He was cordially welcomed by his old friends, and made some new acquaintances.

On his return from Europe, Mr. Ticknor was for some years connected with the Public Library, and, on the death of Mr. Everett in 1863, he was elected President of the Board of Trustees, and held the position for a year, when he resigned. Now, when the institution has outgrown in usefulness the most sanguine expectations of its founders, every citizen of Boston has reason to hold in respect the memory of George Ticknor, who did more than any other man to give it that popular character which insures its stability, and who left to it his magnificent library of Spanish books.

Shortly after his return from Europe, he wrote a letter, full of good sense, to Mr. Justice Curtis, in which he gave his reasons for believing that a civil war in this country would please the governing powers in Europe. "In my judgment," he says, "whenever the fatal hour that strikes the dissolution of our Union comes, *those who stand by it longest, will have the least sympathy in Europe.*" He thus predicted what, to the amazement of many American gentlemen, who

were great lovers of England, actually occurred, when the rebellion burst forth. The surprise was so great that old federalists, old democrats, anti-slavery men who had been accustomed to count on the sympathy of their friends in Great Britain, were united as one man, in their indignation against the governing classes of England, whether liberal or illiberal. In the eastern, middle and northwestern States, it may be safely said that there were few cultivated or uncultivated men, who did not feel a rage against "the mother country," fiercer than that which was felt in 1776 or 1812. Fortunately for the peace of both nations, the American mind, in such matters, is ungifted with the faculty of memory; and after the first explosion of righteous wrath was over, the enmity gradually subsided.

During the four years preceding the Rebellion, Mr. Ticknor was recognized as a supporter of the measures of compromise designed to avert it; after it had broken out, and during its continuance, he belonged to that class of conservatives which opposed almost all the daring "war measures" by which the Confederacy was eventually overthrown; and while warmly sympathizing with the cause of the nation, and giving freely of his means to sustain it, his mind was so oppressed by the technicalities of constitutional law, that he wished the war to be conducted on principles which would probably have insured the triumph of the rebels, had they been carried out. Mr. Jefferson Davis, in arms against the Union and reviling the "Yankees" as the scum of the earth, was specially disgusted at their violation of the constitution of the United States. Many intelligent and patriotic men of the North objected, on constitutional grounds, to the measures which Mr. Davis specially dreaded. Meanwhile Mr. Ticknor was engaged in a biography of Prescott, the historian, who had died in January, 1859. The volume, carefully and lovingly written, was published in 1864, when the writer had reached the age of seventy-two. For forty years the biographer and the subject of the biography, had been united in the closest bonds of friendship. The "Life of Prescott" attained an immediate popularity, and it still holds its place among the most delightful of literary biographies.

Mr. Ticknor survived the war, and all the measures of reconstruction which followed the termination of the war, preserving to the last his interest in public affairs. His life-long labor, his beloved "History of Spanish Literature," was always on his table, for corrections, alterations, omissions, or additions. His physical health was always remarkably good; and when, in January, 1871, he died, his death seemed the result of mere bodily decay, as his mind was

clear, to the last. Without pain he quietly withdrew from the world, having enjoyed in it every satisfaction the world could give.

It only remains to be said, that the letters and journals of Mr. Ticknor are of so interesting a character, and introduce the reader to so many men and women distinguished by rank, fashion, learning and genius, without requiring him to move from his own fireside, that they can not but obtain a wide and permanent popularity. As a biography, the work is open to the criticism that Mr. Ticknor, as he was, is almost submerged in his copious accounts of the celebrated people he knew. Though recognized in his native city as quite a formidable personage in himself, we continually lose sight of him in the still more formidable personages whom it was his good fortune to meet.

THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC.

THE discovery of America signalized simply a new starting point in the history of the human family,—the continuous life of different elements of the old world, transferred to a new ground, with new climatical and other conditions—the formation of a new society and the organization of new states, but not without the assistance and employment of the instruments of civilization, invented and created during hundreds and thousands of years, and augmented or perfected, by the genius and energy of new settlers in a new and isolated country.

This event happened at a time when many circumstances worked together for its final consummation—when the marvellous stories of the great Eastern traveler, Marco Polo, had spread over all Europe, calling forth and stimulating enterprises of discovery in every speculative mind,—when the doors to Asia were closed by the power of the Mussulmans and their conquest of Constantinople,—when their fanatical hordes had advanced to the shores of the Adriatic, and even as far as the city of Venice itself, devastating, depopulating and enslaving the country through which they passed ;—when their piratical fleets and vessels began to infest the Mediterranean Sea ; and Venice, to maintain her monopoly of trade with the Orient, became tributary to the Sultans of Constantinople, of Asia Minor and Egypt.

It is not strange that the states of Western Europe, shut out from all overland routes to Asia, and out-rivaled by Venice, turned their eyes with eager hopes towards the setting sun, to seek a new and unmolested passage to the golden gates and the spices of India and China.

And they found it, but not without striking on their way the little Island of San Salvador, and thereby giving a new Continent to the Old World, grown lame by poverty, bigotry and despotism. It was reserved to Italy to furnish the great discoverer and the explorers of America—Columbus, Americus Vespucius and the Cabots—who, although hired to Spain, to Portugal, to France and to England, were nevertheless Italians ; and the palm of the first all-important victories won in connection with this hemisphere principally belongs

to them. It has become the custom, of late, to impeach the character and the achievements of Columbus,—to say that he was a pirate, an impostor and humbug, a literary counterfeiter, a perjurer and religious fanatic, as Aaron Goodrich tells us;—that he assisted in seizing by force and robbing Venetian galleys, changed his name, Griego, into that of Cristoforo Colombo, to give himself the air of a Christian hero, a “Christ-bearer” and harbinger of fortune; that he stole his new ideas from a Spanish pilot, Alonzo Sanchez, and an Italian astronomer, Toscanella, and that he afterwards falsified his reports and became the fanatical oppressor of the poor Indians, a slave-hunter and money-monger, etc.:—but whatever may be said against him the one great fact is undeniable and unimpeachable that, after years of begging and praying, of argument and demonstration, he succeeded in commanding the first trans-atlantic expedition, organized and fitted out at Palos through his own exertions and for himself; that he set sail with the firm and never swerving purpose of reaching the heralded land by the western route, and finally succeeded in spite of the embarrassments, sufferings and troubles in his way. And even supposing that America had been known to the ancients, and rediscovered by the Irish and Northmen, and visited at about the end of the fourteenth century by a party of fishermen from Iceland, all practical connection of former times—if it ever existed—had been lost, and was reestablished by the boldness and success of the Italian navigator.

As Columbus had entered into practical life as a mariner when he was only fourteen years of age, it can not be supposed that he had acquired a thorough scientific education; but it must be admitted that by many years of experience on the ocean, by his travels and his connection with men like Toscanella, Martin Behaim and Perestrello, by his sojourn in Portugal and Spain, and his stay at Madeira, he had acquired such experience, and had come into possession of such facts and knowledge as were sufficient, in his opinion, to warrant his enterprise.

He was, like Garibaldi in our day, a practical man rather than a scientist; a man of smartness and boldness, rather than of theoretical education; an adventurer and man of the world, rather than a savant and literary student. But as it needed a practical man, a man of the courage and heroism of a Garibaldi, to realize the ideas of a Mazzini, and to add the power of the sword to the power of the pen, so Columbus struck out to the high sea, equipped with the sailing vessel, the compass, the astrolabe and the log-line, to test and real-

ize the ideas, notions, and speculations in regard to the new route to Asia.

By his maritime strategy he outflanked the Portuguese, who had already reached and doubled the Cape of "Todos los Tormentos," or Good Hope, just as they, the Portuguese, outflanked the Venetians; but we must also admit that he owed his success to the very fact of his ignorance in regard to the magnitude of the globe, and the existence of America, for no one will believe, to-day, that with his miserable caravels and poor outfit, he could ever have traversed both the Atlantic and the Pacific in one uninterrupted tour. The discovery of America was, therefore, in this respect, a great accident, and not the result of mere mathematical or geographical calculations, based on a correct knowledge of the dimensions of the globe and the extent of Europe and Asia.

Italy, in the fifteenth century, far advanced in civilization, in politics and mechanical skill, was the very focus of new ideas, the "fatherland" of Boccaccio, Dante, Petrarca, Ariosto, Tasso, Leonardo da Vinci, Michael Angelo, the Medicis, Dorias and Zenos; of Machiavelli and Guicciardini; the "*alma mater*" of Copernicus, Regiomontanus, and many other illustrious minds; the head and heart of mediæval civilization, with free cities like Genoa and Venice, Florence and Pisa, which had, under republican governments, become the representatives of liberty, of science and art, of power and splendor; Savonarola had then nearly finished his career as a martyr of politico-religious reform, and Porcari had fallen within the city of Rome which he had tried to restore to the people. It may seem strange that this great nation, which had twice risen, Phœnix-like, from the ashes to wonderful power and fame, whose commercial stations were scattered over the coasts of Europe, Africa, Asia Minor and the shores of the Black Sea, took so little part in the direction of affairs in America after the new high-road by the sea was found, and a new world was opened to enterprise and commerce; but in examining her condition at the close of the fifteenth, and during the first decades of the sixteenth, century, we see her condemned to a series of terrible calamities and troubles, ending with total dismemberment, political impotence, and social ruin. While the most serious dissensions existed in the ranks of her own people, the Turks threatened and pressed her from the East, and robbed her of one commercial station after another; the kings of France pounced upon her, like ferocious beasts, from the West; the Swiss and Germans from the North; the Spaniards landed in the South, and the Pope completed the work of

ruin from within. Her refinement, culture, and wealth, had excited the envy of foreigners, who, compared with her own citizens, were really little more than semi-civilized barbarians. Such a condition of things was not favorable to an interference, on her part, in the affairs of a far distant country. There were other reasons, also, which prevented Italy from taking a more active part in trans-atlantic expeditions, the most important of which was, that while on the Western coasts of Europe the sailing vessel had been in general use, the Italian cities, represented in commercial affairs by Genoa and Venice, almost exclusively depended on the rowing vessel, or galley, very well suited for coast service and for expeditions with intermediate stations, but totally unfit for trans-atlantic operations. And yet, here and there, we find the Italian name connected with American history, as, for instance, in the colonization of Brazil, in the participation of the Italian veteran Chevalier de Tonty in the expeditions of La Salle in Canada and the Mississippi Valley—in the establishment of a little colony at New Smyrna in Florida—then, during the revolutionary period, in the beautiful odes of Alfieri, and afterward in the classical history of Carlo Botta.

By mere chance, then, and not by right of discovery, Spain stepped in as the heir and executor of the Italian legacy, and took practical possession of the islands and coasts of the Gulf of Mexico and the coasts of the Pacific Ocean, while Portugal possessed itself of the Eastern coast of South America, and France of Canada and the Mississippi Valley. If we look back to the Spanish conquest and colonization of America, we are at once reminded of those iron-clad and iron-hearted hidalgos and conquistadores who planted their haughty banner on American soil in the name of the Cross and Crown, with an insatiable thirst for gold and silver. There they are, the heroes of Spanish-American conquest—Cortez and Narvaez, Balboa, Pizarro and De Soto—with their invincible legions and their undaunted courage and almost superhuman endurance, but also with their political and religious fanaticism and their cruel avarice; there they are, following the footsteps of the great discoverer, their swords trickling with the blood of the Moor, and their hearts filled with hatred against the heretic Jew!

They were only the life-pictures of the fanatical bigotry, the haughtiness and gallantry, existing at and about the time of Ferdinand and Isabella; and we must not, therefore, be astonished to find that, to persecute and to slaughter in the name, and for the glory, of the "holy faith" and their kingly rulers, was by them not regarded

a crime, and that the same chain which they had forged for the neck of the poor heathenish Indian was afterward, "as an act of grace to the red man," put upon the neck of the black. From that time until now, Spanish policy in America has been constantly the same: the policy of suppression and spoliation, of death and desolation, and it has never been relinquished save when set aside by force of arms in successive revolts and revolutions. So it was in Central and South America and in Mexico; so it was in Santa Domingo and so it is, and probably will be, in the Island of Cuba. Even in our own country there could be no rest and no peace, until we had destroyed that pestilential inheritance from Spain—negro-slavery.

But in spite of all these lessons and all the terrible facts of history, the American Republic stands at this very moment, and has stood for many long years, deaf and dumb before the barbarities of the Spanish henchman, and sees a heroic people perish in the defense of the same principles for whose vindication we have sacrificed a million of men and thousands of millions of treasure. And Spain herself, renowned and great by the valor and devotion of her people, by her own struggle against the Roman legions, the Moor, and the French invader, by her literature, art and science, by the untiring efforts of an intelligent minority to substitute the principles of liberalism and republicanism for those of despotism and bigotry; Spain will never be free and prosperous until she relies more on her own resources than on those of her trans-atlantic possessions, which she is unable to maintain and to rule in peace.

Turning from this dark picture of Spanish-American conquest and infamy, and casting a rapid glance at the affairs of the Portuguese on the coast of South America, we find that, although the genius of Portuguese navigators and pilots was far superior to that of Spain, the policy of Portugal was not different from that of her cruel sister, and the condition of her colonies became such as to present a veritable pandemonium of wild, heterogeneous elements; red, white and black, natives, imported criminals and kidnapped negroes; a reign of mamalukos, mulattoes and cafuzos, held in check by the *senhor* of the "pure blood." In his history of the Rise and Decline of Commercial Slavery in America, Edward E. Dunbar says:

"At the outset the Portuguese equaled, if they did not excel, the Spaniards in their cruel treatment of the natives, who were at once enslaved on plantations. Negroes were preferred, however, as they proved more capable and enduring. The Portuguese ransacked the country from end to end to capture Indians and keep up the supply of slaves in the mines. The depopulation of Brazil then went on at a

fearful rate and in a few years the natives ceased to form an element of any great value in the labor of the country. Something more than two millions of the Brazil Indians must have been enslaved and destroyed by the Portuguese and other European nations before the middle of the eighteenth century."

What Dunbar says, is certainly not exaggerated,—in the course of time this condition of things changed for the better, and to-day we see the independent empire of Brazil slowly but decidedly marching on in the great highway of emancipation, liberty and enlightenment.

If the decree of Pope Alexander VI. had prevailed, the American Continent would have become a Spanish province; but fortunately, not only Portugal, but France, England, the Dutch and the Swedes, very soon entered into practical competition with the Spanish conquerors, and while the French began their operations in Canada and in the Mississippi Valley, the English, Dutch, Scandinavians and Germans settled, slowly, but securely upon the Atlantic coast, forming the very germ and nucleus of what is now the United States of America. Then came a period of intrigues, of actual wars and battles, ending with the triumph of England over all her rivals and enemies on the North American Continent, and the supremacy of English law and the English language in all her colonies—original and acquired—on the coast of the Atlantic ocean. Except for this early success of England in America, the American Republic would have been impossible, not only because England was a great and powerful nation, well prepared to protect and defend her transatlantic colonies, but also for the reason that England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries represented more than any other of the great European nations the democratic principle of self-government, while the English language alone was capable of uniting the Germanic, Celtic and Latin elements easily and quickly under one government, and into one great commonwealth.

By a coincidence of most fortunate circumstances it so happened, that while every where else on this continent the despotic and bigoted government of France and Spain held unrestricted sway over conquered provinces, here, on the Eastern slope of the Alleghanies, grew up corporations and colonies of quite a different sort. Instead of the *hidalgo* and *filibustier*, the wild speculator and adventurer, the friar and the Jesuit, there came the Puritan and the Quaker, the Huguenot, the Dutch Reformer and Swedish protestant, the Moravian and Baptist, the German Lutheran and refugee from devastated Palatinate, Alsace, and Southern Germany. In fact, the most persecuted, but also the most liberal, elements of European

society sought shelter and a new home in the New World, and finally succeeded, by their energy, self-reliance and faith, by their love of liberty and love of labor, in building up new communities, cities, and states, and in laying the foundation of a powerful empire as a counterpoise to despotism, suppression, and religious intolerance; and as if to prepare those new-formed colonies for the coming struggle against the mother-country itself, the warlike qualities of the settlers were aroused and made effective in a series of preliminary wars, of wood and swamp-fights, of battles and sieges, for which they, the colonists, furnished their own men and money, gaining for England, by their assistance and valor, the most substantial victories. So it was, for instance, during King Philip's war from 1675 to 1676; in the expeditions against the French fortress of Port Royal, in Nova Scotia, 1707 and 1710; in the campaigns of Oglethorpe against the Spaniards in Georgia and Florida; in the two remarkable expeditions against Louisburg in 1745 and 1757; in the French and Indian war, and especially in the last memorable campaign against Canada, which ended with the battle on the Plains of Abraham, where the fate of France, in regard to this continent, was decided; and finally in the defense of Detroit and the capture of Havana, which city was afterwards exchanged for Florida. There was selected, by fortunate circumstances, one of those provincial soldiers of Virginia—a scout commander in the wilderness of the Alleghany and Monongahela,—a surveyor and militia-man, an aid-de-camp during Braddock's defeat—George Washington, who prepared himself in these warlike enterprises for becoming in due time the military leader and defender of the revolutionary coalition, and to stand foremost as one of the saviors of his country.

It is true that many of those who had left Europe on account of religious persecution inaugurated here the same system of intolerance which they had abhorred in their own country. Of this inconsistency, we find the most striking examples in the affairs of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island and Maryland, in the politico-theocratic government of the two first named colonies, in the banishment of Roger Williams and Anna Hutchinson, the voluntary exile of William Coddington and his followers, and even in civil war between the numerically more powerful protestants and the disfranchised catholics of Maryland. But these very dissensions, persecutions, and struggles led also to most important results, even before the great question of toleration was decided, at the end of the thirty years' war, through the peace of Westphalia; it led to the separation of church and state

in the Providential Plantation in 1636, *i. e.*, the recognition of the maxim of Roger Williams, "that the civil power has no control over the religious opinions of men;" it led to the all important declaration in the charter of incorporation of the United Plantations, by which, in 1647, "freedom of faith and worship was assured to all;" to the Toleration Act of Maryland, in 1649, and the "Great Law" of Pennsylvania, in 1682, which declares, "that no one believing in one Almighty God should be molested in his religious opinion," making, however, "faith in Jesus Christ" a necessary qualification for voting and for holding office.

These preliminary struggles, this substitution of "Almighty God" and "Jesus Christ" or the holy Scriptures, as in the Colony of New Haven, for Pope and Bishop and the tyranny of sects, were the natural and necessary conditions of that further progress and policy, which resulted, in the course of time, in the indirect declaration of absolute freedom of worship through the fundamental law of the United States. And while this process of religious emancipation was going on, political resistance began against the guardianship of England herself, against the despotism or incapacity of some of her colonial rulers, resulting in opposition like that against Governor Andros, and even in open insurrection, like that of Nathaniel Bacon and Jacob Leisler. Then another question, which, since the first Navigation Act in 1551, had been a disturbing element in the life of the colonies, came into the fore-ground. It was the financial question, the question of "free shipping" and "free fishing," of free inter-colonial commerce and navigation, of duties on exports and imports, and of internal taxation, leading to a general and determined opposition against the Stamp Act, to the cry of no taxation or legislation without representation, to the "Declaration of Rights," the "Committee of Safety," the organization of the "Sons of Liberty" and "Minute Men;" developing, within the period of ten years from 1765 to 1775, into open revolt and bloodshed; and culminating finally in the "Declaration of Independence," in secession and war. The result of all this was the emancipation of the colonies from the political control and government of England, the formation of an independent federation of States, and the adoption of the federal constitution. The war of 1814 was nothing more than the completion of that emancipation which had been inaugurated in 1776, and ended with the victory of New Orleans, in perfect enfranchisement from international supervision, and commercial independence.

By virtue of this great consummation, the colonies passed the

threshold of a new era. The young Republic, born in the fires of the revolution, and maintained by two great wars, stepped into the ranks of the nations of the world. The whole Atlantic coast, including Florida and Louisiana, belonged to her. She had proved her political ability and her military power on land and sea, had acquired an immense territory, increasing from decade to decade until it reached from ocean to ocean, and from the great lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, and had thrown her doors wide open to the crowded millions of the Old World. And they came—first by the hundred, then by the thousand and hundred thousand; but they did not come as the Goths and Vandals and Huns came into Southern and Western Europe—like an irresistible avalanche, with all the instruments of despotism and war, plundering and devastating and supplanting the old order of society by feudal masters and feudal laws;—nor did they come as the Saxons and Normans came to England, to subdue and absorb the native population, and to substitute their own language, political machinery, laws, and habits, for those of the conquered;—they did not come as the Moors came into Spain, to conquer, and dominate for centuries, to spread terror and light at one and the same time, and to disappear again, leaving behind only the ruins of their former power and not more than two thousand of their own words in the language of the Spanish people;—they did not come as the Mussulman came, to destroy by fire and sword the lands of the Byzantine Empire, to force upon the followers of Christ the lessons of the Koran, and to maintain Asiatic despotism in the midst of heterogeneous elements, unwilling and unable to adopt or submit to a political, religious and social system totally antagonistic to European civilization;—nor did they come as the Spaniards came to these continents and islands, to rule and ruin and enslave; but they came as refugees and exiles, to seek shelter and freedom from tyranny and oppression under a republican government and republican laws already existing; they came as laborers, workmen and mechanics; as teachers, scientists and artists, to earn their daily bread “in the sweat of their face;” they came, armed with the instruments of peace and civilization, not to conquer and subdue, but to live, to work and to grow among a people and in a society, too strong to be overwhelmed and supplanted, and too weak to refuse them, or even to exist without them; they came as civilized man comes to civilized man, not only submitting voluntarily to the existing political system, but also adopting the language of the people that received them. They did not come as the torrent comes, suddenly, with all its terrible powers, destroying, upsetting

and upheaving everything in its way; but they came as the flood of the Nile comes, slowly and from year to year, spreading out and fructifying and beautifying the country far and wide. This is the great secret of the rapid progress and success of American society; this slow, natural and gradual assimilation of European, and therefore homogeneous, elements; this vast expansion of millions of new-comers, all embraced in the folds of one general government, and led by one preponderating, able and energetic element,—the *Anglo-Saxon*. Nor could any other language than the English suit so well all these different nationalities, because it was the only European and highly developed language, which contained in its composite body the elements of the Germanic and Latin tongues, while the Irish people had already been won over to it and educated in it. They all found themselves naturally led to the adoption of this common medium, which would not have been the case, in the same measure, if the Spaniards, French, or Germans had obtained the preponderance at the first organization of a common government.

There was another circumstance of great importance and far-reaching influence in the development of the American people, which it is necessary to consider. It was by this immense influx of European immigration during a period of twenty years, from 1840 to 1860, which took its principal direction to the Northern part of the United States, and was composed of the dissatisfied, liberal, and revolutionary elements of Western Europe,—that the “Free States” obtained such an overwhelming preponderance over the South, as to make the election of Abraham Lincoln, the overthrow of the Southern Confederacy, and the final abolition of slavery, possible. Without this immigration, and this numerical and moral superiority of the North, such a total and radical revolution would not have taken place, at least, during this century, in spite of all the fulminant speeches made, the books and papers written, and the anathemas pronounced against the cruelty and obstinacy of Southern slaveholders. In this respect, therefore, the immigration “*en masse*” was “fatal” to Southern institutions, as it served as a lever to the anti-slavery element, and hastened the disintegration of the slave-holding power. However, the deed is done; the Gordian knot is cut; the “irrepressible conflict” is over, and what seemed “fatal” was simply an acceleration of a necessary process, which, sooner or later, must have led to the same result; the reorganization and reconstruction of the American Republic on its original basis of human rights and

liberty, and in accordance with the enlightenment and progress of our age.

From such a sudden and radical change, connected with a gigantic civil war of four years, extraordinary conditions arose; such as concentration of power in the hands of the dominating and victorious party; a total upsetting of the former political equilibrium by the elevation of the negro race, and its introduction into the political arena with all the rights and privileges of American citizenship,—which element was used as a political lever in the South, as the foreign element was used in the North before and during the war. Then came the creation of a large debt and the growth and wide-spread organization of a shoddy aristocracy, with all its corrupting influence on legislators and executive officers, with an era of military and carpet-bag rule in the Southern States. Besides this, there was an enormous increase of current expenses, in the machinery and personnel of the federal government; a proportionate increase of executive influence and patronage; oppressive taxation, almost bleeding the people to death; and, allied with it, a revenue system which, in a single moment, opened every house and counter of this wide domain to the relentless power of the tax-gatherer, and transformed American citizens and soldiers into secret agents, spies, and political drummers and runners. There was, in brief, a total revolution in politics, as well as in the practical administration of public affairs, and in the life and habits of the people. And even now, at this present hour, after experiencing such great changes for good and evil, while trying to recover from the effects of a terrible war, and a financial collapse almost equal to general bankruptcy, new and momentous questions are thrown upon the poor and dissatisfied masses; the spirit of intolerance rises again, in double-headed form, and the President himself points with great emphasis to the coming danger of a religious war, while at the same time the disgraceful exposure of the venality of some of the highest servants of the people shocks the whole civilized world, provokes its sneers, and makes every true American heart bleed, if not almost despair of Republican institutions.

But, after all—the world is moving—“*e pur si muove.*” Let us look around and gather strength and new courage from what we see.

What a wonderful change since the days of Columbus and Cortez—what a contrast between now and then! The Old World, reformed and regenerated, totally revolutionized and reorganized; Italy regained, with almost every foot of Italian soil, and united under an enlightened and progressive government, with liberated Rome as her

center, and bearing on her banners of freedom, the illustrious names of that stern, uncompromising, and self-sacrificing republican, Joseph Mazzini, the great campeador and liberator Garibaldi, the consummate statesmen and diplomat Cavour, and the good and noble king Victor Emanuel!

France, after four centuries of wars and revolutions, of blood and tears, of glory and defeat—republican again, for the third time within less than a hundred years, but this time with a fairer prospect than ever, that she will remain so.

Germany, a great empire—the long cherished hopes of her patriots and martyrs realized, at least in a great measure, and steadily progressing in the path of political, social and religious reform, while Austria has thrown off "*nolens volens*" the papal yoke and the hereditary policy of reaction, and is fulfilling her mission of guarding and protecting the doors to Western Europe, as she has done in the past, with the assistance of the Magyar and the Pole.

Russia, four centuries ago one great battle-field of heterogeneous elements and half-barbarian chieftains, and scarcely beginning to consolidate its isolated and widely separated parts, grown up to an organized state of eighty-five millions of inhabitants, with an immense power and territory, touches the Baltic in the West, meets the Pacific in the far East, and stretches out toward the South-East as far as the head-waters of the Oxus and Iaxertes. To-day, she is driving before her the Tartar and Mongolian, as they were driving her in the fifteenth century. By a political and commercial strategy, grand in conception and wonderful in execution, she has reopened the old lines of communication established by the Genoese, Venetians and Armenians, from the emporiums of the Black Sea, through the Caucasus, or by the Don and Volga to the Caspian Sea, and from thence to Persia, India and China. If she continues as she has begun, the end of this century will not only see her vedettes crown the heights of the Hindoo-Koosh, and her Eastern high-roads crowded by the caravans of Western merchants, but also an iron girdle, reach from Moscow and Petersburg, to the lake of Baykal in Southern Siberia. While Russia is thus working out her gigantic plans toward the far East, the "Celestial Empire" has been opened from the West to the commerce of the world. Marco Polo has made his appearance again, but this time with the iron tongue of persuasion, and a passport written with the point of the bayonet. The United States has spanned the Isthmus of Panama and the immense territory between the Atlantic and the Pacific, with appropriate Yan-

kee hoops, and has paid the first great visit to Japan, equipped with the fiery horse and the electric battery.

As to the two greatest and most dreaded powers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries,—the Turk and the Spaniard,—we find them just finishing the cyclus begun at those times:—the one, by slowly but surely receding from Europe into Asia, from whence he came, the other by having been driven out of the Netherlands, Germany, France and Italy, and by having lost all his important possessions in America except the two islands of Cuba and Porto Rico, from which it is probable that he will also recede after a little time.

And England, whose vessels before the year 1577 could not appear in eastern waters except under the flag of France, has become the mistress of the sea, the "Empress," or as Max Müller styles her—the "Adhiraja" of India,—the mother and grandmother of many children and children's children, and has nourished and brought up on American soil a giantess, more robust, more prolific and promising, than any of her other offspring. Step by step and favored by one victory after another, England has successively and successfully put herself in the place of the Hanseatic League, the Dutch and Portuguese, the Spaniards and the French, and now she takes hold of the Suez Canal and the mouth of the Euphrates and Tigris, to keep pace with the Russian Bear in his onward march towards the waters of the Indus, while she plans a new confederation in Africa, and sticks firmly to her possessions in West India and Central America, to control the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico.

So the great movement is marked by incessant struggles, but also by continuous progress and reform. Even the fate of Spain and Turkey shows clearly and unmistakably the invincible force of human nature and human aspirations, which ever and ever breaks forth and revolts against oppression and abuse, until the day of deliverance arrives.

Amid all this progress, what of the American people?

Shall they alone stand still, or even go backward? Shall this Republic, the beacon-light of humanity, the last hope of the toiling millions of the Old World during many years of tyranny and oppression, become the prey of pirates, cliques and rings, and never recover? This new Atlantis, surrounded and protected by the vastness of the ocean—this wonderful country, with all its inexhaustible resources, its majestic mountains and rivers, its railroads and telegraphs, its great political institutions, its free press of more than four thousand batteries, spreading out the light of intelligence and

information among more than forty millions of inhabitants;—with its free schools and religious freedom, the universality, the intelligence, skill and energy of its citizens—shall it remain what it has been, or shall it become degenerate and corrupt? Shall it resist the storms of time and the corroding influences of egotism, extravagance and corruption, or will this present unfortunate condition of affairs become permanent, and the close of another century look down upon the ruins of a once mighty and prosperous nation? We believe that through the strong common sense and patriotism of its people, it will stand firm, resist and conquer. Republics must have their time of development, as monarchies have had theirs; they must pass through a series of trials and experiments, to find the system which harmonizes best with their particular conditions, aims and ends, and when moved from the same, they must, from time to time, by the process of reform or revolution, return to the basis upon which they were founded, employing the great lever of popular sovereignty to remedy the evils of the hour. At this very moment the most important questions are to be solved. We are upon the eve of a Presidential election, as important in its bearings on the future of the country as any that has preceded it. The people have to consider the financial question, the school question and religious question; the question of civil service reform, of immigration and international commerce, and the Spanish-Cuban question. We must meet them manfully, conscientiously and patriotically. We must meet them as the founders of this Republic met the questions and dangers of their days, in the spirit which prompted them to stake upon the issue their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor. We must understand that, whoever may be carried to the Presidential chair, to fulfill his mission, must have the support of good and patriotic men; must treat with impartiality, the North and South; and his policy must have the sympathy of the masses of the people, and be in harmony with the cosmopolitan character of our Government.

We have not only to maintain and protect, but also to reform and develop our public school system, so as to make it acceptable to all classes of society, without reference to religion or nationality; and while we should, on one side, be on our guard against all undue influence and interference of the monarchico-hierarchical power of a foreign church, in matters of education and politics, we have, on the other side, to respect the principle of religious toleration, and discountenance dark-lanternism and political ostracism on account of religious belief.

We have to reform our civil-service and to punish the traitor of public trust and honor, whatever be his station. But while demanding that honesty shall be the first quality of a public officer, we are to bear in mind the fact that honesty is greatly and constantly imperiled without stability and security in public, as well as in private position; that the maxim of "to the victors belong the spoils," originated by President Jackson and applied in our politics since his day in spite of all remonstrances and efforts to the contrary, and the system of "rotation in office," favored and publicly defended by Andrew Johnson, have worked like a deadly poison on the body politic of the nation, and corrupted the sense of honor and morality in hundreds and thousands of our people. How can we expect our public officers to be honest, while the sword of Damocles is suspended over them, continually threatening the termination of their official life? When, in spite of all endeavors to do right, to fulfill their duties faithfully and so become stronger by professional experience, they are pressed out or thrust out of position like so many dogs, by some favorite who would make room for other favorites? Can such a summary and infamous process enhance their feelings of honor, of justice, of right? Surely it is vain to hope that we may be rid of this poison, until we are rid of the system which creates it.

We can neither suppose nor desire, that the elective power, vested in the people, shall be abolished; or that the President of the United States, the members of his Cabinet, and the foreign ministers representing the policy of the Government and the party in power, or the high officials of states and municipalities, may not be changed periodically in accordance with the provisions of their respective constitutions and laws; nor can we admit, that it will be impossible to find men able and honest enough to fill high positions of trust and honor; but we must insist that the example of honesty, self-abnegation and patriotism, shall be found and taught in high places, and that no subordinate officer be subjected to ignominious removal from position, unless by a procedure not dependent on political patronage and favoritism. The division of the spoils by the party in power for political or personal services rendered, and the exclusion of the minority from the public business, is nothing less than a system of indirect bribery and injustice, which leads to the formation of conspiracies and rings, to a kind of modern feudalism which absorbs and appropriates that which belongs to the *whole* people, for the exclusive benefit of a ruling class.

In regard to the financial question we must remember that, to give up the "metallic basis," would be to throw away a very decided advantage which the United States possesses over other countries, in the production of gold and silver; but at the same time we should not enforce a financial policy leading to the ruin and strangulation of the middle classes, and the concentration of the monetary power in the hands of a relentless minority of capitalists and great corporations.

In this modern struggle for national strength and superiority, all our forces should be united. Whatever may be our political differences, there should be one paramount idea controlling every true American, native or foreign born; that this country is our home, now and forever, in adversity or prosperity; that we must identify ourselves with it, live and work for it, promote its welfare and facilitate the process of its growth, in the course of time, into one homogeneous nation, represented by one general government, standing on one and the same national constitution, and recognizing one language, the English, as a *national* medium. We are to solve the problem as to whether so many and different elements of race and nationality can live together in peace and harmony, and develop, as integral parts of the nation, their characteristic faculties, without serious dissensions and conflicts. It is impossible to decide *a priori* a question which, by the evidence of over four millions of colored people in our midst, and the influx of the Chinese from the West, has undoubtedly become one of great importance, but from the past we may draw certain conclusions in regard to the future, and form our opinion accordingly. And in this respect we have found that, in spite of negro-emancipation and the eight and a half millions of immigrants which have arrived in the United States from 1820 to 1875, peace rules in the land and there is not a State in the Union in which the English-speaking population has not maintained or gained superiority over every other. We can not close our eyes to the significance of this fact. In spite of spasmodic efforts to reverse this order of things, by natural laws and, as it were, by epidemic influences, a continuous, irresistible assimilation is going on; and physically, socially, and intellectually, the Republic advances slowly but surely in the pathway to a more complete unification.

Those who, like the Germans, French, and Italians, are proud of their own nationality, may be pained in the thought that it is lost in America; but such a supposition is somewhat chimerical. The process of assimilation is mutual, general and unexceptional. It relates to the "Yankee" as well as to the man from Tipperary, to the Italian

and Frenchman and the German, as well as to the native-born American of the West or South. No one, who is living in the midst of American society, can escape the influence of those around him. Wherever we are and go, we see the influence of foreign science, art, literature, labor and industry, and of foreign habits and customs; we find it in political life, in the workshop, in our institutions of learning, and even in the English language, which expands and enriches itself as the general receptacle of new ideas and new forms of expression. What is good and great and noble in other nations, has begun to find its way into the mind and heart of the American people, and will live and bear its fruits long after the present generation has ceased to exist.

Once aware of the astonishing strength, and the many advantages, lying in the existence and application of such multifarious forces for the benefit of the whole people, we must come to the conclusion that national unity, power, and greatness, will be best promoted by avoiding any policy of suppression or intolerance which shall rudely interfere with the individual habits and inborn qualities of those who have chosen the American Republic as their adopted country, because such a policy must necessarily lead to antagonism, separate organizations, and obstinate resistance. Rather must we believe that it is by the greatest possible social, political, and religious freedom, by the enlightening and equalizing influence of a common education, by the power of common interests and by awakening in their minds the full consciousness of a common destiny, that we are to attain to that unity as a people, which is a condition to our success as a nation. We must remember that the days of adventure and mere good luck are passed; that we have to compete with other great nations in the race for national life, commerce and prosperity; that the Mediterranean Sea has become again a great center of commerce and enterprise, fostered by new lines of communication with the East, and by the rising power and prosperity of the land of the Pharaohs under an enlightened and energetic Mohammedan prince; that emigration has ceased to be a great factor of our national wealth and progress, at least for the present, and that we have to regain what we have lost, by a wise policy and by honest thought and hard honest work.

If there are any utterances specially appropriate to the great task before us, they are those which breathe the spirit of the sturdy and heroic English soldier at the battle of Trafalgar:—to apply the words of Nelson to our own situation—*The American Republic expects every man to do his duty.*

THE NEWSPAPER PRESS AND THE LAW OF LIBEL.

THE condition of the newspaper press in this country is a subject of constant observation and constant complaint. Nobody defends it. The newspapers themselves deplore it. The "*New York World*," of the 30th of last April, in its leading article bewails the outrageous license of its fellows, recognizing the truth, "that private character, no matter how honestly or how brilliantly earned, has absolutely no valid safeguard in this country, except in a much keener and livelier sense of its sanctity and value than has of late years existed among us." . . . "Every reputable man in a civilized society," it asserts, "belongs to a permanent citizens' association bound to punish disgraceful conduct with disgrace, bound to defend honest men against slander, bound to bring the slanderers of honest men, first to contempt and then to chastisement. A society which loses its sensibility to any one of these duties is on the downward road to social disintegration, and in sharp peril of losing all that can make the social bond either beneficent or durable."

We have collected articles from different papers, with the design of publishing extracts from them at the head of this article, as specimens of the food which American newspapers serve to their readers. But we reserve them for another occasion, simply observing that no language of disfavor can be too strong for their unsavory condition. Meantime we propose to make some observations upon our newspaper press generally, in connection with our law of libel.

In Mr. Hudson's book on "Journalism in the United States," he estimates the number of newspapers and periodicals in the whole world, outside of this country, to be 7642, and the number in this country he puts at 5871. No wonder that he also says: "To-day the newspapers are filled with personal allusions, and all sorts of charges are made against individuals and office-holders. Some of them are of a very serious character. These charges are against presidents and politicians, lawyers and lobbyists, clergymen and choirs, counsel and

clients, brokers and bankers. Notes of correction are sometimes published. No other notice is taken of many of them. Still, the *Herald* says there are nearly a thousand suits pending, with \$50,000,000 in damages depending on the result. Let us have a national law of libel—a national code that will benefit alike the press and the public. That will be a step in the right direction.”

When, in 1871, a series of gross frauds upon the municipality of New York was first made public, an investigating committee of citizens was appointed, and here is what they said of the relations of the press to the municipal authorities of that time:

“Of the expenses [of advertising] incurred by the county, \$182,468.22 have been approved by the present Board of Supervisors, \$173,800.22 of which was for bills of sixty-nine newspapers for advertising approved by the Board, 19th September, 1870.” . . . “The Legislature passes laws limiting the number of newspapers to advertise notices of various kinds, but the proprietors disregard such limitation, publish every notice they see in the papers duly authorized, and the Supervisors thereupon ‘audit and allow’ the bills, or if they do not, suits are instituted against the county, which generally result in judgments to be paid by the Comptroller.”

We have a country newspaper now before us. Its name we will not mention, contenting ourselves with observing that it is the principal paper in a town of more than 10,000 inhabitants. Weak in thought, common in expression, vulgar in anecdote, and flat even in its jokes, the only thing about it, which could make it tolerable to any decent reader at home, is its local news. This is one of its paragraphs copied from another paper: “‘Periodical Neuralgia’ is what they call it in Washington now. Grant has it, and has not been able to see visitors for several days. Parson Newman prayed for him on yesterday, and the parson’s intimate relations with divine Providence, backed by continued liberal doses of hydrate of chloral, justify the hope that the patient will get his nerves steadied in a day or two.”

We might be thought extravagant, if we were to say that this paragraph, copied by one paper from another as fit reading for the subscribers to both, is a fair sample of the items with which three-fourths of the newspapers published in the United States abound, but we believe it to be a fair sample nevertheless.

That there is something radically, flagrantly wrong in the conduct of most newspapers in the United States, no candid person will deny. That this something lies in the general tone of editorial comment and the indulgence of personalities, is equally manifest. That

the right of reputation, that great right, without which all other rights lose half their value, is habitually violated, and that there is no adequate redress for the wrong, are palpable facts. The demoralization is widening, and has widened steadily for three-quarters of a century. Jefferson said, in his time, that the press was *putrid*. It has since become putrescence putrefied. The first effect is to make cowards of nine-tenths of our public men. These live generally in such servile dependence upon popular favor, that the first whiff of a newspaper, which may possibly affect the votes of half a dozen unthinking voters, sets them trembling. They make a mistake, for independence and pluck are more prized by the people than favor with newspapers. When a candidate for office makes his appearance, he is assailed of course; if he is elected, there follows a short lull, and then comes an attack for official neglect, or official abuse. Not long ago, there was appointed a new police superintendent in this city. Almost simultaneously with notice of his appointment, there came notice of his trial for something. If the newspapers are to be believed, scarce an honest public officer exists in the whole country. Does it not occur to these traducers that the surest way to make men dishonest is to create a universal belief that they are so? As things go now, all distinctions are confounded; the honest man and the knave are alike suspected and alike denounced; and each has about the same chance of vindication before the courts or the country. Respect for public office, a respect which is even more important to be maintained in a republic than in a monarchy, seems to have faded away. The President of the United States is saluted in the newspapers as "Boss Grant," and the Governor of New York as "Sammy."

What is the explanation of these phenomena? We all know that the greater number of American newspapers do not represent the opinions, the tastes, or the morals of the better classes of the American people. Why is it so? To answer this question, we have to consider the general office of a newspaper, and the peculiar influences which affect our own. The primary office is what its name imports, to publish news, the secondary one, to give a running commentary on men and things thus brought into view. The publication of a newspaper is a trade. The object of the publisher is to make money. In the pursuit of this object he employs such editors as he thinks will gain or save the most. Moral considerations are secondary. To feed the appetite, flatter the self-love, satisfy the curiosity, or catch the whim of the largest number of readers at the passing moment, is the supreme motive. The love of truth, the sacredness of right, the

public good, kick the beam, when weighed in the scale against the love of gain. All that contributes, or is supposed to contribute, to thrift, that is, whatever will increase the number of copies sold, and of advertisements handed in, such as startling news, public or private scandal, sensational comments, these are sought and used. As the press of advertisements bears a certain ratio to the circulation, whatever will procure the most buyers—which is the same as to say that whatever will satisfy the wants or gratify the tastes of the most readers—will find its way into the paper. It is made up, not for the cultivated few, but the uncultivated many. Whenever the choice lies between ministering to the lower but wider and more remunerating tastes on one side, and on the other, informing and stimulating the minds and hearts of intelligent and thoughtful men and women, the former will have the advantage. Hence we hear so much of the comparative circulation of different papers, the angry contentions between them about it, and the absurd boasts, not of the quality, but the quantity let loose.

The visitor to the Beecher trial last summer always found gathered a crowd of reporters watching over the details of the disgusting scandal like cormorants over a carcass, that they might fly with the pieces to the four winds of heaven.

We do not forget, in making these observations, the influence of party. That is undoubtedly one of the forces which deflect the press from its true direction. The subserviency to party manifested by editors of newspapers, is, however, a fault not peculiar to them, but common to most Americans.

Our newspapers have a larger number of readers than any other papers in the world. Almost everybody here can read, and almost everybody is too busy to read except hap-hazard and by snatches. If ever waiting or idle, the American takes up the nearest readable thing, and that of course is the newspaper, reads a little and lays it aside. It thus furnishes the principal reading to ninety-nine hundredths of our countrymen, and is fashioned to attract the majority of these ninety and nine. This will account in a great measure for the low tone of the American press, compared with the tone of the press in other countries, where the readers are fewer in number and more choice in their tastes.

But it will hardly account for the personal abuse with which our press abounds, unless it be supposed, what we are unwilling to admit, that the great majority of Americans delight in calumny, and roll hard names as sweet morsels under their tongues. This we do not

think is a just estimate of their character. They prefer on the whole to have their neighbors praised rather than blamed, to believe good of them before evil. We must seek other causes of the personal bitterness, which disfigures American journals, and we think they are to be found in what, for want of a better expression, we will call personal journalism.

It is a favorite argument of our newspaper men that the paper is and should be impersonal. On this theory they defend its anonymous publication. If you insist, that the protection of private character requires that all articles should have an avowed sponsor, with his name subscribed, they answer you that it would weaken the authority of the publication and make it less independent and therefore less valuable. This is not true in reason nor true in fact, in any country or under any circumstances; but if it were true at some times and places, it is not, and could not be, true here, so long as we have editors who make their columns their personal organs, or the organs of little coteries to which they belong, the instruments of their likes and dislikes, their self-love and their spite, their friendships and their hates. Sometimes they claim a sort of judicial function and even talk of rendering their verdicts. Yet so little have they of the judicial character that they never wait to hear both sides, they never stop to exhaust the sources of information, most of them serve a party, they say what they please of every body as freely as they would do if they were speaking to bosom friends in the confidence of the fireside, they are under no restraint, legal, moral or social, and they gratify their private feelings at will, subject only to their hope to increase or fear to diminish their circulation.

Our political freedom has begotten personal and social recklessness. People appear to feel no restraint and no sense of responsibility, and they move on with an apparent disregard of consequences. We see this in private business, and in public administration; in traveling by land and sea, and no one who has sailed in American and in English ships, but must have observed how superior to us in discipline, are our cousins over the water.

It seems to be almost a point of honor, with an editor, that what he has once published he will never retract, save with comments and qualifications, which are really an aggravation of the original wrong. Point of honor, indeed; as if true honor, did not require the righting of a wrong as speedily as possible! In how few instances has it occurred, that an editor, proved to have published a libel, has been willing to recant and apologize, as a gentleman would in the

ordinary intercourse of private life. Yet why should he not? Does the publishing of a newspaper give the publisher a greater right to say what he pleases of another, than the same person would have, in a private parlor, before a select company of gentlemen?

It is easy to see where lies the fault, and what is the remedy. We are all in fault, the journalist first, in doing the wrong, and the rest of us in submitting to it. The greater the means and opportunity to injure, the stronger the obligation to guard against the possibility of injustice. Every man in his sphere has the power to do an injury. A lawyer has many opportunities to injure those whom he dislikes; he can drag their names in on many occasions, and fling a slur upon them before many audiences; but if he should make such use of his opportunities, he would be pronounced unworthy the society of gentlemen. So an editor, who from spite or other unworthy motive, drags a name into his columns to asperse it, is false to the plainest of his duties. The cowardly ruffian who, concealed behind his types, throws anonymous libels at his betters, is as execrable a wretch as lives upon the earth.

But we, that is, the rest of the community, have ourselves to blame for not putting a stop to the abuse. We can do so by the law in part, and for the rest by public opinion. Our law of libel, it must be confessed, is imperfect, and our administration of it still more so. It is generally assumed, that the truth of a story is a sufficient reason for publishing it. The assumption is wrong. A German gentleman lately put this question to an American, "Is it true, that in America, any person may publish what he pleases of another," and received for answer, "yes, if the publication be true." "Then," replied the German, "I do not wish to live in your country." There are many cases where the truth should not be published. The secrets of families and forgotten scandals are among them. If a worthy citizen fall into contention with his neighbor, the latter has no right to publish, no matter how true, that his enemy's father was once in prison for a criminal offense. The publication of the truth under such circumstances would be an outrage upon the individual and upon society. Or suppose the citizen to have been betrayed in his youth into youthful indiscretions, the publication of them would be a like breach of morals and of decency.

The letter of our law, it is true, forbids it, but that is a dead letter. It does indeed require that the matter charged be not only true, but that it be "published for good motives and for justifiable ends." But who can remember when a libeler has been punished, after

proving the truth of the defamatory matter? When that is done, further inquiry is practically abandoned. Hence the derision, with which the phrase is invariably treated; "The greater the truth the greater the libel." Nevertheless, it was a true phrase, in the sense in which it was uttered. The libel consists in the defamatory matter, the truth is received, not as a disproof of the libel, but a justification of it, not by itself, but only when a justifiable motive and a good end are also proven. In practice, however, as we have said, these qualifying words, concerning motives and ends, might as well have been omitted, for any protection they afford to the right of reputation.

The graver the offense imputed, the stronger is the reason for not imputing it, unless the good of society requires the truth to be known. The right of the individual is the concealment of whatever may do him an injury; and this right gives way only when a greater right of society intervenes. We will suppose another case, stronger than the two already supposed. Imagine the case of a boy who commits, in the heedlessness and temptations incident to boyhood, the crime of larceny, for which he is convicted and punished: he expiates his offense by his punishment, and he comes out of prison repentant and reformed: the law is satisfied, society is, or should be, satisfied, since it has expressed in its laws the penalty for the transgression; and it is a high crime against him, and against society and the law, to bring the accusation again to remembrance, except, perhaps, on some rare occasions, when a greater good and a higher law require it.

Our law sometimes preserves a formula, which, however significant once, has lost its vitality. One of these respects what is called the liberty of the press. Because long ago, in their English homes, struggling for liberty and life against the prerogatives of princes, and the divine right of anointed kings, our forefathers asserted and maintained their right to criticise freely the measures of government and the acts of public men, therefore we, mistaking their danger for ours, renew in each successive constitution the same protest for free speech and a free press. Our danger is from another quarter; the tide here is setting in the opposite direction. If a constitutional provision on the subject of the press is needed at all, it is for its restraint instead of its protection. The right of reputation should be declared one of the fundamental rights of men, and the duty of the legislature to protect it by adequate laws asserted and enforced. Instead of this, we have set up an historical monument for a constitutional bulwark.

We do not forget that the constitution does at least imply, that protection is due to character from the abuse of the press, when it declares that "every citizen may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right, and no law shall be passed to restrain or abridge the liberty of speech or of the press." It is the failure to make the responsibility effective that we are complaining of, and the means of making it so that we are considering.

The enforcement of this responsibility is prevented by several causes. One of them is the unanimity required of juries. They have to pass on the various questions of publication, justification, and damage, including in the last, probable cause. Here is such scope for disagreement, that a suit for libel becomes an ordeal which few prudent persons would be willing to pass. The case of *Opdyke* against *Weed*, tried several years ago, is an illustration. There was a gross libel, without any justification, upon a worthy citizen and incorruptible magistrate, and yet, after a long and laborious trial, the jury disagreed upon the amount of damage, and were discharged without a verdict. It would be difficult to find a case more strongly requiring the punishment of a libeler than that, but since the prosecution failed in that instance, who can hope for a better fate, in resorting to the law for the vindication of character?

The fact is palpable, that in this country there is practically no adequate protection for character, deplorable as the fact may be. The right of reputation is one of the most valuable rights of man in civilized society, we had almost said, the pivot of them all. And whenever in any country, this right is not protected, no other right will be protected long. Those who use the press for calumny are therefore the worst enemies of society, and our first duty as citizens is to punish and restrain them.

What adequate means of punishment and restraint can we find? This should not be a difficult question to answer, since it has been answered in other countries. Everywhere else in the world reputation is protected. It is only here, that it has lost all protection. With the example of success elsewhere in comparison with our own failure, it would be a reproach to our intelligence and spirit, if we did not find a remedy, appropriate to our circumstances, and conformable to the general scheme of our laws.

If the law of libel could be enforced, as they enforce it in England—for their law, in this respect, is nearly the same as ours—there would be little need to change it. But unfortunately this branch of the law,

like some others, is executed, here, with a laxity in surprising contrast with its execution there. Their judges are more strict and more independent; their juries are more select; and they do not allow the newspapers to interfere in the administration of justice. The same general causes which make the laws against some other crimes to be less rigidly enforced, weaken also or prevent the enforcement of the laws against the crime of libel. Our laxity is the fault of judges, juries, and it may be added, of the general body of citizens. And if new laws are needed, as we think they are, it is because the laxity of administration, allowed and encouraged by public opinion, needs to be corrected by new legal provisions.

Some of these provisions are plainly to be perceived. We have already mentioned the unanimity required of juries as one cause of the present difficulty. We would, therefore, allow a verdict by a given majority, say two-thirds, of the jury in a civil action for libel. We would provide for a speedy trial, by giving, if need be, a preference upon the calendar of the courts; and in order to obviate the inconveniences arising from disagreement upon the amount of damages, we would fix a sum, by way of penalty, to be given in all cases of ascertained and unjustified libel, unless the jury should agree upon a larger sum. We would never allow the defendant to attack the plaintiff's character, except in strict justification of the libel. The practical result of a civil trial for libel now-a-days is a reversal of positions, and a trial of the plaintiff upon his general character, instead of a trial of the defendant for libel. And we would further provide by law, that a responsible individual publisher of every newspaper should be registered, and that the name of the writer should be published at the foot of every article reflecting upon character. The practice of creating corporations for the publication of newspapers, latterly adopted, makes it all the more important to provide for ascertaining and enforcing personal responsibility. Take, if you please any journal published by a corporation. If a libel upon somebody should appear in its columns it might be difficult to find the right person to indict should a criminal prosecution be designed; or in case of a civil action, those considerations of motive and guilty intent, which would affect the question of damages in an action against an individual, would be wanting in an action against a corporation.

Two of these suggestions were made to the Legislature of New York, in 1865, by the Commissioners of the Code, in these terms:—"The law of libel has passed in the last hundred years from one extreme to another; from excessive severity to excessive laxity.

The abuse of the freedom of the press, not only in the wantonness of its attacks upon public men, but in its assaults upon private citizens, has become so great, that a remedy for the evil must be sought, or violence will take the place of law. The license in which this freedom has degenerated leads, not only to the frequent invasion of private rights, but to the corruption of public morals. If the Commissioners had been certain of the true remedy, they would have proposed it in the text of the code. They would venture only to suggest that a more certain punishment for wanton or careless defamation being needed, a remedy may perhaps be found in affixing to it a penalty to be recovered in every civil action for libel, in addition to the damages which the jury may find. This would, at least, render it unsafe for libelers to rely upon the caprice or prejudice of juries as the means of escape with nominal damages. Requiring the name of the writer to be signed to every personal article, might also have a salutary effect. If the Legislature should think these provisions desirable, two sections like the following, would answer the purpose :

§ Any article published in a newspaper containing matter which would be libelous if it were false, must be signed by the writer, and his name must be published at the foot of the article. A violation of this section is a misdemeanor.

§ In every civil action for libel, if the plaintiff recovers a verdict, he shall be entitled to judgment against the defendant for — dollars as a penalty, in addition to the damages found by the jury, and the costs of the action."

We have said, that our law of libel is much like the English. We received the same by inheritance, but we have made a few changes, not always for the better, sometimes very much for the worse. One of them is in the law of contempts. Comments which may tend to affect pending suits are in England strictly forbidden and summarily punished. We, by failing to punish, allow them, to the manifest detriment of justice, and the debasement of the press. We have changed this law most unwisely, and shall be obliged to retrace our steps, for such comments, or indeed any comments upon the merits of a cause depending in court, are incompatible with an impartial and effective administration of justice, and justice is the first interest of every civilized community. It will not suffice, however, to rely on the law alone. There must be a public sentiment behind the law,

stimulating the authorities to the performance of their duties, and inflicting social penalties also upon the transgressors. In the intercourse of private life, the liar is discredited and shunned ; but the man who says what he knows to be untrue, is but a slight remove from him who asserts for facts what he does not know, or publishes as true what he has not, upon examination, the most certain reasons to believe. An unjustified libel is a great crime, and society should treat the libeler as a criminal, according to his deserts.

One would suppose, from the license of our press, and the failure to restrain or punish it, that there prevailed here an indifference to character, or a general belief that newspaper abuse did not affect it, or universal depravity among the people. Neither the first nor the last is true ; and though there is a prevalent notion that the calumnies of newspapers cause little harm, that is not a reason why they should continue unrestrained. For no result is more certain, than that universal evil-speaking will lead, sooner or later, to universal evil-doing.

The condition of the press is therefore a subject of general concern. It affects not only the maintenance of individual rights, but the good name of the commonwealth. Nothing has done more to bring discredit upon this country than the conduct of its newspapers. The defamers in their columns not only defame each other and whomsoever else they please, but they defame us all. No wonder that we have fallen into disrepute in the world. Not one evil thing that is said of us abroad is worse than that which our editors say of us at home. If we were required to prove our public servants to be everywhere corrupt and our people to have sunk into general debasement, we should need to do no more than display any day's issue of the journals, for they teach us to think evil of ever public and almost every private person.

If this is not a pleasant picture, it is nevertheless a true one. It need not continue to be true, that is to say, it can be changed by resolute and united effort. We have said that the newspaper has two offices to perform, one to publish news, the other to give a running commentary. Of the two offices, one is here performed better and the other worse than it is performed in any other country. In collecting and laying before their readers news from all parts of the world, our daily journals are unequalled and unapproached. In the pursuit of it they traverse sea and land, penetrate the remotest regions, and discover the most hidden secrets. No dangers appal and no hardships deter them. Would that the ambition of the journalist would raise the other office to the level of this in its performances,

free the comment from the impotence and personality with which it is now afflicted and disfigured, and make it in richness and vigor a fit complement to the wealth of news which his journal spreads before its readers. This would be an object worthy of his highest ambition. A newspaper occupies ground that nothing else can occupy. No other agency can reach so many persons in so short a time. Sheets, that are rolled from the presses of New York each morning, are carried as fast and far as wheels can bear them. They are read by millions of readers, upon whose minds they make an impression, which, however feeble and transient, will leave some trace, even after the correcting processes of truth and time. The calling of the journalist is therefore one of great responsibility. Though it be not classed with the learned professions, it requires for its due exercise, an amiable temper, a clear head, a true heart, and a facile pen. It has three drawbacks, however, and must always have one, which will tend to prevent its attracting to itself the highest talent of the country. One is the necessity of writing so much on the spur of the occasion. This must inevitably beget immature thought and careless composition. No advance in journalism can obviate this, because the number is limited of subjects which can be foreseen as likely to come within the journalist's field of vision. The other two, though incidents of journalism now, may not always be in the way. One is the anonymous and the other the self-extolling element. A gentleman instinctively shrinks from concealment, and the practice of writing anonymously must always detract, to a greater or less extent, from the self-respect of the writer. An anonymous accusation is abhorred of all men, for it is an instinct, that a person accused shall be confronted with his accuser. An anonymous letter is the weapon of a coward. And as for the puffing, who can imagine any respectable member of a liberal profession resorting to it. The barristers of Ireland have just been scandalized because one of them has endeavored to get business by advertising.

We have thus endeavored, though in a manner altogether imperfect, to discuss the present condition of journalism in this country, to explain its true office, trace the causes which have made so great a difference between the newspapers of other countries and our own, and which have rendered so many of ours common and personal, and to set forth withal the need, and, by more stringent laws a more exacting public opinion, and higher talent, the means, of making them more reputable and more useful.

Before the change comes, and so long as the press continues to

be what it is now, what should one do who is assailed by it? This is a question which a great many persons have to consider. To sue is not to be thought of, as the law now stands and is administered. The libeler will laugh at you and berate you. To call upon him, flatter him, explain to him, and bespeak his recantation, would prove you not only deserving his calumny but contempt also. To reply in the columns of the paper itself might lead to interminable controversy, because a repetition of the falsehood would be sure to follow the reply, or such an excuse for it, as to redouble the injury of the first publication. Two courses only are open to you. One is silence and indifference. The other is to strike back, not by defending yourself, but by attacking your assailer. The former course appears to us the wiser one. The injury to you will fade away sooner or later. "Neglected calumny soon expires," says Tacitus, and though he did not live in the days of newspapers, we are not sure that he would not have expressed himself all the more strongly, if he had observed the discredit into which newspaper comments have fallen. If some old women in petticoats or pantaloons think the worse of you for their calumny, comfort yourself with the reflection that they do not, after all, much affect the course of this world. But if, rejecting our advice, you make up your mind to strike back, waste no time on the editor. He may be an adventurer, hired for the time, transient and irresponsible. Do as Sir Walter Scott and his friends did for a libel in their day, seek out the proprietor and strike him. He is generally of the class that live in glass houses. Why such persons should be attracted toward newspapers for investment is an ethical problem, not difficult to solve. Striking thus, you will probably reach the root of the evil for the occasion. Then wait in patience for the time, which is sure to come, when the daily press will be delivered from the power of those who love scandal, or "who-soever loveth and maketh a lie," and will take its proper place, and perform its true functions, as a teacher and leader of the people.

QUEEN AUGUSTA AND THE RED CROSS.

AMONG various objects displayed under the Red Cross of the Convention of Geneva, at the International Exhibition at Philadelphia, may be seen a table on which the Central Committee of the great German Association for wounded or sick soldiers, has placed a collection of all the annual reports and other publications of the German Unions, male and female. It is a considerable collection in red and violet binding, and contains, among other things, prize essays on sanitary accommodations, sketches of barracks and ambulant *lazarettos*, of sick-carts, and of the outfits of sick-nurses of the different societies. In the center of this collection, the eye is attracted by a book bound in dark velvet, relieved by the imperial arms in gold. It is the German prize-work of Dr. Lueder, on the Geneva Convention, and belongs to the Empress Augusta, Queen of Prussia. Next to this book one sees a red morocco *necessaire*, with silver clasps, bearing the arms and the initials of the Empress. This is Her Majesty's apparel-bag. It contains all that is necessary for a first apparel; bandages, instruments, and the most current medicines. The newest inventions are adopted. Of course it is not through the practical use of this surgical apparel that Her Majesty shows the self-denying charity for the sake of humanity, to which she has devoted her life. Its practical helpfulness is in the hands of hundreds and thousands of matrons and maidens, headed by the Queen, who, with a wonderful talent for organization, has called into life this league of charity, and knows how to maintain it. It is truly a great work which Her Majesty will leave to posterity as a lasting bequest.

It was the Empress's ardent wish to see the German associations of the Red Cross represented at the great International Exhibition at Philadelphia. She gave expression to this in speeches at a session of the chief Male Association for nursing the wounded, and in a committee of the chief patriotic ladies' association. Her Majesty recalled the fact that Europe owes to the United States of America the first idea of humanizing war, by taking all possible pains to organize the

nursing of the wounded on the battle field. "Germany," she said, "is doubly indebted to America for the sympathy it has shown, and the help it has given us, while we fought our last great war." The Empress could not accomplish as much as she intended. The exhibition of Bruxelles, which also takes place this summer, is *exclusively* devoted to the hygeian and safety apparatus. Owing to the impossibility of arranging in so short a time *two* pattern collections of this sort, Her Majesty was obliged to limit her wish. But what Philadelphia sees of the works done under the German Red Cross, has been sent there at the bidding, and partially at the expense of the Empress. As for the two first-mentioned objects, which are her private possession, she wished, in sending these, to show to America her particular interest and high regard.

During and after the last great wars, in 1866 and 1870, with Austria and France, vast institutions were created in Germany under the "Red Cross," which divide among themselves the labor of this organization. "The Emperor William Foundation" with a large capital aims only at providing for those invalids or bereaved families to whom the lawful help of the government can not be extended, or proves insufficient. The institution of the male sick-nurse union of the Red Cross, devoted in common with the governmental organs to the nursing of the wounded and sick in war-time, spreads a net of four hundred unions over North and Middle Germany. In South-Germany, that is, in Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden, and Hesse, it acts in harmony with the female sick-nurse union.

The Central Committee of these male sick-nurse unions, is at Berlin, and every other German state union is represented in it by delegates. Under the state union are the provincial district and local unions. The Central Committee aims at maintaining conformity and harmony in the labor of these unions; not so easy a task, since in peace their only work is to prepare for war, by the improvement of sick-nurses, and the furnishing of model depots with surgical apparatus, hospital utensils, etc. To this end in a conference of technical men, and the most renowned physicians and surgeons of Germany, a catalogue has been edited, and approved as normal by the war office, in order that no useless material may be furnished.

Germany owes the contrivance of model depots, likewise, to the care of the Empress Augusta; but her most important creation under the Red Cross is the "patriotic ladies' union" in North Germany, with its branches, forming a general German ladies' league with the South German ladies' unions. A special newspaper under the

auspices of the Red Cross "Ladies League" appears at Berlin and at Munich.

The Empress has given a statute to the ladies' unions of the Red Cross, which not only assigns to them the duty of teaching sick-nurses, of preparing dressing apparel, etc., after the prescribed models, but which constitutes all "ladies' unions" in times of peace as charity commissions for extraordinary distress and calamities, assigning to them also in the community the duty of lending help and service in all works of benevolence. This creation of the Empress exercises the most extensive and far-reaching influence and will prove an important motor in the social question. In activity, as nurses of the sick, women far excel men; and we must give our highest praise to the energy and endurance of the royal protectress, who enlivens and increases the efficiency of the "ladies' unions," shunning no personal fatigue and sacrificing the greater part of her revenues to deeds of humanity under the Red Cross.

The patriotic ladies' union, with its collateral branches, originated from small beginnings at the end of the Austrian war in 1866, Her Majesty summoning such matrons and maidens as, during the war, were help-mates of the male sick-nurse union, to organize into separate unions. A year afterward, when forty-four patriotic ladies' unions were formed, with the chief union at Berlin, typhus fever broke out in the provinces of East and West Prussia. By virtue of the statute, 170 unions sprang up immediately in those districts, spreading, as district and local unions, over wide plains, where climate and other unfortunate circumstances invite illness and misery. The chief union sent a special commission to the afflicted province, which still retains its beneficent organization.

The institution of the patriotic ladies' union is continually increasing. At the beginning of 1876 it numbered, in Prussia and North Germany, three hundred and eighty-three unions, one hundred and forty of these in the very needy provinces of East and West Prussia alone. The remaining two hundred and forty-three are allotted to the other provinces, and the non-Prussian States in proportion to the exigencies. Among the catholic population of the western provinces there is less want because of the beneficial foundations of the church, the opulent communities, and the wholesome activity of the protestant mission.

Nevertheless in the richer provinces, in the center of Germany, these unions have often created whole systems of institutions, infirmaries, clinics for women, societies for improving female sick-nurses,

asylums for children and baby-schools. Furthermore the union has erected reformatories for children of both sexes, asylums for the deaf and dumb, etc. In the poorer eastern provinces, often visited with epidemics, the number of orphan houses surpasses all the other institutions founded or maintained by the union; they have twenty-seven orphan houses and other asylums in the provinces of East and West Prussia alone.

In the manufacturing districts, in little towns, and in the country, these unions are the greatest blessing. The wives of men of the highest position in the provinces or the districts, the wives of army generals, colonels, and majors, are found at the head of this philanthropic body; likewise the wives of clergymen, of physicians and squires. These unions can boast of more efficiency than those directed solely by men, or the state government, and they serve also to prove with how little means intelligent women will establish such works, and how efficiently they step forward to prevent corruption in founding shelter houses and saving-houses for young girls.

Queen Augusta has communicated her desire to all in chief authority to lend a helping hand to these beneficiaries.

A leading principle with them is to exclude everything of a confessional character and to have no regard to religious beliefs in administering help to the poor. For instance, in a town of about 15,000 inhabitants, in the western part of Germany, the protestant branch of the union has a deaconess as a communal sister. She takes care of the sick and the poor, and gives every month a report to the committee-session, which is followed by a conference. Every fortnight the deaconess holds a mending-school. She distributes the necessary materials to the poor women who come to her, for mending their clothes and linen. Every Sunday afternoon the deaconess has her Sunday-school with boys and girls, and every fortnight the ladies of the union assemble to sew and work in common for the poor. With a revenue of 1000 marks, this little union has provided with food, (through soup-kitchens) twenty men, three hundred and nine women, fifty-one girls, thirty-seven boys, and furnished them with clothes, linen, books and money. How highly must we appreciate, therefore, the helpful capital of women's labor!

As a counterpart to the above mentioned union, we may look at another, well regulated and active, in a little district town of about 8,000 inhabitants, in the south-west corner of Prussia. Its members have divided the district into six parts, proportionately. It controls a hospital and refuge-house, where sick-nursing, by ambulance, is

practically taught in the district, and which till now have been in the hands of deaconesses. Connected with the refuge house are a baby-school, a sewing and a mending-school. A collective fund for a little model depot is founded. In the country, noble and intelligent ladies are inspired to similar efforts under less favorable circumstances. On an estate in the Ober Lausitz, for instance, the lady of the manor not only helps with her purse, but with her most assiduous labor: two deaconesses, with some help from the surrounding country ladies, act for eight villages of the parish. They administer to a baby-school of fifty to sixty boys, a sewing and a mending-school of seventy to eighty girls. The government gives permission to unite the obligatory sewing-school, and the latter contributes twelve thalers per annum. In addition there is a Sunday-school of fifty children and a union of young girls who exercise their influence especially among the manufacturing girls.

The ladies' unions of the chief provincial towns, which can dispose of larger means, often originate excellent establishments.

At Berlin the Empress Augusta, aided by the ladies' union, has called into life sundry admirable institutions which bear her name. During the winter and spring she never fails to be present at the chief meetings of the gentlemen's union, as well as the ladies' union of the Red Cross.

The three hundred and eighty-three patriotic ladies' associations of Prussia and North Germany stand under the particular patronage of the Empress of Germany; the associations of the States of South and West Germany under that of the Queen Dowager of Bavaria, the Queen of Saxony, of Wurtemberg, the Grand Duchesses of Baden and Weimar, and the Princess Alice of Hesse.

A general meeting takes place at Berlin every year, to receive the annual reports, to discuss the interests of the association and the important questions of its organization. The Empress and the Princesses take personal part in these deliberations, at which the delegated ladies of all the states of Germany also appear.

At the 1876 meeting recently held, the Grand Duchess of Baden, the Grand Duchess of Saxe-Weimar, and the Hereditary Princess of Hohenzollern were present; the Queen of Wurtemberg was represented by the president of the consistory and the central charity association of Stuttgart. The Empress, who on the 23d March had taken part in the discussion of the delegates' meeting, closed the following general meeting of the 24th in the midst of the princesses who surrounded her, by a short address. She especially emphasized

the importance of the impending development of the ladies' associations, and expressed her confidence in their satisfactory results in removing need and misery. Another meeting will take place in a short time, when it is expected that the Empress will again appear, as at the first general meeting at Frankfort-on-the-Main in 1874.

The Empress is the representative of that spirit of religious toleration, which belongs traditionally to the house of Hohenzollern, and stands perhaps foremost among the levers that have raised Prussia to her high position; it is the leading spirit of the institutions the Empress has called into life, it prevails in all the associations of the Red Cross in Prussia, and has proved itself in the years of sad and proud remembrance—1866 and 1870. The Catholic Westphalian battalions fought willingly for Prussia against Austria, the greatest Catholic power; the Catholic and the Protestant priests on the battle field, the Jewish merchants' wives, and the Christian ladies of the two leading professions here, did hand in hand the work of love.

Suggested, as was said, by the Queen, who resided at Berlin, while the King and his prime-minister were on the battle-field of Königsgrätz, the *Preussische Staatsanzeiger* published the following note:

"One of the most brilliant proofs of how well Prussia performs her historic civilizing mission in the heart of Germany, we can observe now in her rank on religious ground. Prussia's old maxim, to have the greatest regard, not only for the freedom of religious professions, but also for their respective peculiarities and rights in administering the affairs of the two great ecclesiastical corporations, verifies itself to-day, in Prussia's great struggle for Germany's nationality, as well as for her internal good. Protestant clergymen and the high dignitaries of the Catholic church in Prussia, have striven for religious and political *peace* in the present grand and fateful time, and have earned visible success. Religious controversies do not disturb the patriotic, and especially is it true that, among the members of the two great ecclesiastic corporations, reciprocity of esteem and the most conciliatory spirit always governs. Thus Prussia earns also upon the field of religious toleration, the fruits whose seed her rulers have sown along the centuries past."

The Queen passed the distressful time of 1870, at Berlin. Solitary were the apartments of the King's palace, but around the Queen there was no solitude. The mighty impulse of the popular heart in those days of eminent victories, carried the people to the palace, as if to crowd near their Queen. The spirit of 1813 lived in every class; Prussia's whole history revived in those most impressive

moments. And when the day of Sedan came, the youth of Berlin gathered before the Queen's windows, where she stood with tearful eyes, an unstudied dramatic scene of most touching effect. The boys stormed up the statue of the Great Frederic ; they adorned him and his famous crutchstick with laurels, and into the hands of Prussia's spiritual standard-bearer, they pressed the standards of Prussia's new victories.

Queen Augusta was destined to do a work denied to the forgotten Queen Louisa ; at the head of the Prussian ladies, she could support and promote the march of the armies, she could soften pains and dry tears. And she does this work with heart and mind, and unchangingly in the spirit of religious toleration, whose representative she continues to be, though the current of politics has taken another course, and though she has become unpopular for her unswerving opinion.

But this unpopularity of the Empress, having no basis of reason and truth, can not last, and is perhaps even now fictitious. The people of Prussia are too clever, and, under their somewhat crusty outline, too good-hearted, not to understand and not to value a Queen whose every thought works out a benefit for themselves. The people's impulse turned to her in the days of glory, when the beloved King at the head of his army was far from his land ; and now the people know well the ever-open heart and hand to which they can turn in the days of calamity.

But, though it should be the Empress's lot not to live to the day when a clear comprehension of her thoughts and aims may give her the joyful support and well-merited satisfaction of unanimous popularity—one thing is certain ; her work will not die. It will live to be her monument, an ever-living teacher of purity and goodness to coming generations.

Public sentiment in Germany, has already pronounced the names of her daughter, the Grand Duchess of Baden, and of the Queen Karola of Saxony, as successors to her task, to carry forward and perpetuate her high-minded ideas.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE IONIAN NAME.

AS there followed a new era of Greek culture, when the tribes and towns, on the hither and farther shores of the Archipelago, entered into intimate and mutual relations; so the community of studies, on both sides of that ocean which is to the modern, what the Mediterranean was to the ancient world, marks a new epoch in modern intellectual development.

The choicest spirits of the American people are sensible of the necessity of acquainting themselves with the progress of scientific research in Germany, seeking, it may be, in studies directed to this end, a safeguard against the dangers of exclusive devotion to material interests; while to the Germans the sympathy of the new world, and contact with its fresh life, afford refreshment and invigoration. Thus the ancient bond of blood-relationship between the two peoples becomes the basis of a union in common intellectual pursuits which is full of promise for the future.

To the number of these men in America, who have wrought most earnestly in common with the Germans, belongs James Hadley. To him it fell to unite a keenly penetrating power of special research with a learning extending over northern and classic, ancient and modern languages; over History, Literature, and Law. His paper on the "Nature and Theory of the Greek Accent" had just been republished in George Curtius's *Studies on Greek and Latin Grammar*, Vol. V., 1872, when the author, in November of the same year, died.

In 1873 there appeared a volume of his collected writings under the title "Essays; Philological and Critical," New York: Holt & Williams. Through this publication Hadley's essay on the Ionians¹ became known, for the first time, to a wide circle of readers. The "Magazine for the Literature of Foreign Lands" (Berlin, issue of May 15, 1875) gave full extracts from this paper, and did not conceal

¹ The critique here referred to is contained in two papers: the first, a review of Curtius's pamphlet "The Ionians before the Ionian Migration," was read before the American Oriental Society in 1856; the second, on "Recent Discussion and Opinion concerning the Ionian Migration," was presented before the same body in 1863.

the opinion that my view upon this question had received its refutation at the hands of the American scholar.

The matter here at issue is no special question, of interest only in the eyes of special students; it is rather a question fraught with importance for the entire history of Greece, and therefore for this reason, since unfortunately I can no longer argue with Hadley himself, I will seek, after an impartial consideration of his objections, to unfold the present aspect of the inquiry.

Since the Dorians and the Ionians are the two Greek stems most clearly characterized and sharply contrasted in language and customs, in art and political institutions; since they play the chief rôles in Greek history, an unavoidable necessity is imposed upon scientific research to seek to trace up their origin to its source. Each of them must have had a home in which it attained its growth and developed its individual character. The home of the Dorians we know to have been the mountainous regions of northern Greece. Where, now, was the native place of the Ionians? Where did they, in a dwelling-place adapted to their nature, develop their language and their customs? This is a question which, until recently, had scarcely been mooted, much less answered. It has been the habit to regard Greece in Europe as a land entirely by itself—as the single and only *Hellas*,—and it was imagined that the Ionians, after the analogy of the Dorians, had immigrated from Thessaly. Yet of continental traits in the Ionians, or of an original home inhabited by them in Thessaly, there exists no trace. We know of them only on the coast, especially in Attika and in Argos. Why then should the cradle of the Ionian stem be sought only on the European side of the Archipelago? Only, indeed, for the reason that, according to ancient usage, it has been the custom to regard the *Ægean sea* as a wall of division between Hellenes and non-Hellenes,—as the natural separation between countries and peoples.

Against this antiquated error I opposed the assertion¹ that nowhere else in the world can two coasts be found so connected and so grown into one as those of Asia Minor and of Greece; that they, at all times, have been more closely identified with each other than with the interior of the continents to which they respectively belong.

If, then, I said, the Ionians settled on the eastern borders of Europe, and made their way thither not by land, in the masses of a great popular movement, but by sea, in isolated expeditions in quest

¹ In the essay before alluded to, "The Ionians before the Ionian Migration," which Curtius published in 1855, before commencing his history of Greece.

of plunder and discovery, then their proper home is to be sought in the more remote [Asiatic] continent, where, at the mouths of four great rivers (Maiandros, Kaystros, Kaïkos, Hermos), ample dwelling places have been provided favorable to the development both of their manners and of their language. With this view the "Ionian Migration," which history places in the year 1104 before Christ, is rather to be regarded as a return into the ancient fatherland; while only on the supposition that they settled in an hereditary territory, can the rapid and genuinely Hellenic development of the Ionian Dodekapolis be explained.

Against this course of argument, Hadley directs his first objection. He adduces the parallel of the colonies in Magna Græcia and in Sicily. Here, he says, the region was indisputably barbarian, and yet the towns established there speedily surpassed their mother-states, in fame and power. The latter part of this statement is certainly true; but, so far as Italy is concerned, we have the unanimous tradition that the towns and cities there founded were preceded by older settlements of Greek stems, especially by settlements from Kreta.

We not only hear of landings of the Kretans, but also of the Taphians and the Teleboans who, in pre-Homeric times, were the navigators who controlled the commercial intercourse between Italy and Greece. The inhabitants of the south-east peninsula of Italy, the Messapians, were already definitely designated [as non-barbarian], when the period of the colonization of the cities of Magna Græcia began. The ground thus prepared, it was easy for the new settlers to unite themselves in marriage with the daughters of the land, without introducing a barbarian element into the citizenship. For, we must remember, the men who came over in small sailing craft, came without wives, and we can clearly illustrate what was the result where Greeks united themselves with alien wives by the example of Miletos, where a Karian population had settled before the Greek colonists. These Karian women were not of equal birth with their husbands, and hence the wives occupied in this colony a subordinate position, and the marriage was not a genuine Greek marriage. This is especially mentioned by Herodotus as an exceptional case. In the other cities of Ionia, we hear naught of such unequal unions; the older and the younger elements combine in perfect harmony. Nor are the localities where no extensive immigration can be established, *e. g.* Chios, on that account the less genuinely Greek. Samos too received only a small contingent of colonists from Epidauros. How was it then that Samos and Chios became so thoroughly Ionic, unless an Ionic nucleus

existed already indigenous in the people? We must presuppose such a kernel, since otherwise the uniform traits of the Ionian character, wherever we find it, can not be explained.

The immigrants, moreover, were a heterogeneous and confused mass of wanderers from Phokis, Boiotia, Messenia, Argolis, and it is hard to conceive that, out of this, the Ionian people, in essentials of character so uniform, should have developed, unless the lower stratum of the population, with which the colonists incorporated themselves, had been Ionian.

But, finally, it is an entirely undisputed fact, that Delos was the sacred center of a great Ionian popular festival long before the Ionian migration. The Homeric Hymn to Apollo describes with inimitable grace¹ how "Many a forest-grove and all the promontories of the Ægean are holy to the god, yet that he finds in Delos above all other places his especial delight, in Delos where the Ionians, clad in long garments extending to the feet, assemble with wife and child to delight him with boxing, with the dance, and with song."

Such is the picture of the oldest festal life of the Greeks, which Thucydides, in Bk. III. of his history, lays before his readers.

At an early time then (long previous to the composition of the Hymn to Apollo), there were wont to come, from all the neighboring islands and coasts, maritime Greeks, their ships laden with treasures, and to gather at Delos. We can trace, by the aid of Egyptian archives, the first beginnings of navigation in the Archipelago back to 1500 B. C., and there is no reason to doubt that the high development of Ionian maritime life portrayed in the hymn just cited, had, in the year 1000 before our reckoning, already been reached.

Hadley raises against such a development of Ionian civilization, at so early a date, a double objection.

First, the strange fact, supposing the theory to be true, that the name of the stem is withdrawn entirely from sight in the Homeric poems. The name Ionian occurs only in two passages in the *Iliad*, both regarded as later additions. This clearly stands in opposition to the supposed pre-eminent importance of the name in the earliest history, a history which, according to my view, might properly be called Ionic.

But is it not very natural that we should behold in the transparent mirror of the Homeric epic, only the figures of the heroes, who bring to pass the deeds celebrated; while the men, among whom the recollection of those deeds survives, retreat wholly out of sight?

¹ "Hymn to Apollo," lines 143-150.

These heroes are the Achaïans—distinct from the Ionians, although related to them—the Achaïans in combat with the Dardanians. The recollections of this contest were preserved in Smyrna, where the Ionians and Achaïans dwelt together, by the Ionians, and with the love for fable peculiar to them were amplified and enriched. The Ionians surrendered themselves to the subject matter of the tale with that objectivity which the genuine Epos requires. Forgetting utterly themselves, they united the songs into one great whole, in which no place remained for mentioning their own circumstances and their proper present.

We must, then, call in the aid of the traditions embodied in the Homeric Hymns, in order to inform ourselves as to the places in which, and as to the conditions under which the Epos came into being. We must resort to the story of the blind bard who dwelt in rocky Chios, and went thence to Delos to attend the great Ionian festival, and take part in the contest of the rhapsodists. In this blind singer, this wandering rhapsodist, whose figure belongs so entirely to the popular life of Ionia, Thucydides has already recognized the ancestor of the Homeridæ, even Homer himself. In any case, the Ionian origin of the Homeric Epos is an uncontested fact, and though the name Ionian plays no part therein [in the Epos], we must explain this circumstance from the nature of the Epos; we are not justified in attributing to this omission an historical significance.

A second objection of Hadley's is drawn from the geographical errors and fables which are found in Homer. How is it possible, he says, that an Ionian bard should bring forward so many *speciosa miracula*, and betray so unclear and so limited a knowledge of other countries and peoples, if the Ionians had already, for a long time, been settled in the Nile, and had established colonies in Sicily, Sardinia and elsewhere?

Before entering upon this objection, I must remove a misconception of my meaning. I assume that the sea-board Greeks had already, about the year 1500 B. C., learned the art of navigation from the Phœnicians; and I believe that this view, since the time when I first put forward my theory as to the Ionians, has received a very important confirmation through the Egyptian records, of which Rougé has been the first to fully avail himself, in his work "Les attaques dirigées contre l'Égypte par les peuples de la Méditerranée," 1867; and, after him, Chabas, in his "Études sur l'antiquité historique d'après les sources Égyptiennes," 1873.

I am, however, far from conceiving of this diffusion of Greek mar-

iners in the south and the west, as a colonizing movement. I make an emphatic distinction between the epoch of a *sporadic diffusion*, and that of a *political colonization*—two periods lying a century apart. In the first, it was bands of adventurers, who, having gone forth in quest of booty and gain, temporarily placed themselves at the disposition of the Pharaohs, going out, like the Normans in century IX., in single companies. They entered the service of the Pharaohs, just as the Varangians served as the body-guard of the Byzantine Cæsars. They formed unions with the Libyans, but they came and went as opportunity offered; they kept up no systematic communication with their home, and it did not enter into their thoughts to establish permanent settlements.

Later, in times of tranquillity, the colonies came into existence, and their object was to provide such places for exposing wares, as the commercial relations of their mother-cities demanded. In the sporadic diffusion above described over very remote regions, it is evident that there could have been no exchange of information as to the strange languages and peoples, and that no systematic knowledge could have developed as to the Mediterranean sea. Moreover, Epic Poetry delights in marvels, and the rhapsodists would not have given up the Cyclops and Læstrygonæ, even if accurate knowledge of the various lands had been within their reach.

But the most difficult point in the whole inquiry, is that into the history of the name of the Ionians. We have, indeed, the fact, that the Greeks are called, by all the ancient peoples of the Orient,¹ by one name which may be traced back to a common source with the word Ionian. This leads to the natural inference that the Ionians were those of the Greeks who dwelt the nearest, and were first known to, the nations of the Orient. This argument has never been refuted, yet it is not an argument which compels a conclusion. The occurrence of the name Ionian, in the earliest records of oriental history, has not yet been certainly established, and it is impossible to refute him who affirms that the name only became diffused abroad in the Orient after the foundation of the twelve Ionian cities.

Hadley has also, with great justice, directed our attention to the fact that, in the designation of foreign peoples, much is often retained that is merely accidental; and hence, that inferences drawn from a name alone are liable to mislead. Thus with the word "Franks," by which the Orient of to-day designates the European;

¹ By the Indians, Javanas; by the Hebrews, Javan; by the Persians, Juna or Jauna; in Aramaic, Jaunojo; in Arabic, Jaunâni; in Armenian, Juin; in Coptic, Uinin.

or with the word "Allemands," which, in the mouth of the French, includes all German stems.

Having thus attempted to show that the finely taken exceptions and the acute objections of Hadley allow me a welcome opportunity of examining the subject from a new side; yet that they, in my judgment, do not invalidate the strongest grounds on which my theory rests, I will adduce, in conclusion, a few points, which may, perhaps, shed light upon the entire inquiry.

The land where we first make the acquaintance of the Ionians, as a historically active element, is Attika. Here, alone, can we expect to form a conception of how the Ionian stem makes its first historic appearance, and what function it assumes in Greek history.

The Athenians have made every effort to obliterate all traces of foreign influence from their history, to the end that it might appear as if formed in one mould, and as a product of the land itself; but they have not been able to put out of sight tradition.

This runs as follows: Ion, the representative of the Ionians, came to Athens from without; and only obtained indigenous rights by union with the house of the Erechthidæ. The arrival of the stranger is an epoch in the history of the land, for with him comes the worship of Apollo.¹ With him, moreover, there is introduced a classification of families into four orders, the names of which refer to as many different callings, separated like castes. These are the so-called Ionian Phylæ, or tribes. The families belonging to these tribes, and whose distinctive mark was this, that they practiced the worship of Apollo, formed a class of hereditary nobles, which owed its power to warlike prowess. The scene of its warlike operations was, at first, an extremely limited territory, a mere outer corner of the Attic domain, favored, however, in an advantageous coast-contour: it was the region about Marathon.

From thence, as a starting point, the Ionians diffused themselves throughout the whole of the province, and gradually became united and commingled with the aboriginal inhabitants of Attika. Herodotus relates of Kleisthenes, that he cherished this special purpose, to humble the Ionian nobility: this, then, had been imported into Attika, just as the Norman nobility, with its love for art and its civil organization, into England. This Ionian influence made its way from the harbors on the east coast of Greece into the interior: the strangers came then by sea from still further east. Now, since we know that the worship of Apollo, which the Ionians every where

¹ Hence the legend calls Ion the son of Xuthos = Apollo.

brought with them, was native on the coast of Asia Minor, especially in Lykia, whence it came to Delos ; since we know, too, that, in pre-Homeric times, Delos was the holy center of Ionic festal celebrations which united the coasts of Asia Minor with the islands of the Kyklades ; since we know, finally, that Ionian towns existed in Asia Minor, the origin of which can in no way be explained on the theory of an immigration from Europe, *e. g.*, Chios and Samos ; in view of all this, there is seen to offer for the entire historical movement with which Greek civilization begins, scarcely another possible explanation than this, namely: that we regard the lower river valleys of the Maiandros, Kaystros, Kaïkos, and Hermos, as the land where the Ionian people and the Ionian language first developed.

To this end, there was required a broad, continuous extent of territory. Scattered groups of islands can not be regarded as suitable to become the cradle of a national stem, with its characteristics so uniform and so deeply imprinted.

That immigration from the East which we are able to recognize most clearly as having taken place in Attika, was not confined to Attika. In the same way Euboia became Ionicized. So, likewise, Argos, called in Homer Ionic Argos, and the coast of Lakonia, the inhabitants of which, the Kynurians, spoke Ionic.

Everywhere the regions first Ionicized are seen to be those which face the coast of Asia Minor. Later the Ionians penetrated the gulfs, Ionicizing the shores of the Saronic and Argolic seas ; they even made their way into the western sea whose name, Ionian, has preserved the trace of their pre-historic activity.

I believe, then, that the former view, which would limit the development of the Greek stems to the European side of the Archipelago, is wholly untenable. It is impossible to designate a district upon the western continent, where the Ionians can be shown to have had their original home.

I would distinguish three great periods for the early ages of Greek history.

First : the period when the Greek nation, then established on both sides of the Archipelago, became acquainted, through the Phœnicians, with the Orient, and entered into relations with it—a time when the coasts of Greece were dotted with Phœnician colonies.

Secondly : the period (beginning 1500 B. C.) when the East Greeks, the ancestors of the Ionians themselves, became navigators and occupied the shores of the European continent. This is a period in

which Greek history is controlled by Ionian influence, and which we may call, in Attika, the epoch of Theseus.

Finally: there comes the period in which the mountainous tribes of Northern Greece set themselves in motion and with wife and child take possession of the southern peninsula [the Peloponnesus]. This is the period of reaction against the maritime influence; of the struggle of the Dorians with the Ionians; of the final expulsion of the coast population, which emigrated to Asia, its original home.

The Doric migration is an attempt to sunder the two shores of the Ægean. This unnatural separation fails of accomplishment, especially in Attika, which had so deeply absorbed the Ionian civilization that it could not let it go again, as could the districts of the Peloponnesus, which had only come into external contact with it.

The greatness of Athens is due to the circumstance that here that interaction between the two coasts, upon which the entire history of Greek development rests—the mutual relation between continental and maritime Greeks—was most fruitfully and fortunately realized.

Can we claim that in arriving at the results above indicated we have carried our historical inquiry to its conclusion? By no means. It remains an imperious necessity to make more clear the successive stages of pre-historic development, and we may hope that, in time, this will be accomplished.

What we especially lack is an accurate knowledge of the original condition of the Asiatic coast-land, that region where we are compelled to assume the home of the Ionian people to have been. We are in the situation in which the historian of the middle ages would find himself, were he able to recognize the action and influence of the Normans in England, and even to detect their trans-marine origin; while it should lie beyond his power to establish the place of their previous abode, and the regulations by which their life there had been ordered.

The most important source of information, as to the pre-historic condition of any people, is its language. It will only be when we shall have learned to trace the Greek dialects in their historical development, that we shall be able to arrive at greater clearness of knowledge respecting the original separation of the Greek people into different stems; as to the successive stages of their development; and as to the localities where these developments took place.

Thus far the science of language has yielded scanty aid toward realizing this end. Yet what there is to be found is illustrated by

the recent deciphering of the Cyprian language, which Johannes Brandis was the first to recognize as a Greek dialect.

Through this discovery it is established that the population of that remote island, which we had been accustomed to regard as belonging to the Syrian Orient, was Greek. This is, moreover, the island which was formerly believed to have been for the first time Hellenized by Greek colonies, even as such a Hellenization was formerly assumed for Ionia. The existence, then, of Greek stems, at a very early date, upon both sides of the sea, even to the borders of Syria, has been, in a surprising manner, confirmed.

Secondly, the newly discovered Cyprian dialect shows a remarkable resemblance to the dialect of Arkadia, so that the old legend of a bond of union between Paphos [in Cyprus] and the inland Arkadian city Tegea, receives a documentary confirmation. If we are able then to detect, in dialectic forms, influences which extended, by maritime emigration, from Asia Minor into the isolated elevated table-land of Arkadia, this is, at least, an analogon for those migrations and influences which we believe to have taken their rise in the middle portion of the west coast of Asia Minor, and to have been directed upon Euboia, Attika, and Argos. It is possible that other linguistic remains will be discovered and deciphered in Asia Minor, which shall throw a clear light upon the connection of the Greek language with the cognate languages of Asia Minor, especially with the languages of Phrygia and Lykia. The exploration of Asia Minor, the connecting link between Greece and the Orient, has hardly begun, and it is certain to yield rich results as to the inquiry respecting the Ionians.

For the present we must content ourselves with forwarding the inquiry as far as the discoverable traces of this enigmatical stem allow.

Its early home, we continue to maintain, was Ionia, and although this hypothesis rests upon an historical combination, the combination is one the binding force of whose united links has not been diminished,—much less has any other hypothesis been proposed which rests upon firmer support.

MR. FRANCIS PARKMAN'S HISTORIES.'

THE settlement of North America, and its early conquest by the French ; their long and weary battle with the elements and the Indians ; their splendid discoveries and disastrous mistakes ; the great effort of the Roman Church under Jesuit leadership to retrieve her losses from the Reformation by the conversion of the red men of America ; the magnificent deeds of heroism, and glorious acts of martyrdom which accompanied the planting of the cross on the St. Lawrence and its tributary lakes, and in the great West ;—constitute the outline of seven substantial volumes, of Mr. Parkman's still unfinished work. Other volumes are to follow, and the treasures of our earlier civilization seem exhaustless in his hands. It is a great comfort to have a wise and strong man take up some section of history, and exhaust the subject till we can feel that nothing more is to be said. Mr. Prescott did this for Philip II., and the early Spanish conquests in America ; Mr. Motley has done thus much to elucidate the struggle for liberty in the Netherlands ; Mr. Bancroft, with stately rhetoric, has thus made our early Colonial history, and the beginning of our National existence his own field ; but none of these have more completely won the suffrages of success for work very thoroughly done, than Mr. Francis Parkman. It is only such devotion as his, indeed, by which the brilliant picture of the past can be reproduced, and we can discern the germs of the present civilization in Canada and the United States.

His works are not the fancy picture-painting of romance, but the conscientious retracing of the past, till the wild scenes of the forest throb and thrill with life. Their value consists in fidelity to nature and actual facts, and in tracing out the characteristics of the aborigines, and their contact with the first civilization of America. They touch the very springs of our national life. They show the reason why the red man has succumbed to his white brother ;

¹ "The Oregon Trail," pp. 393. "The Pioneers of France in the New World," pp. 451. "The Jesuits in North America," pp. 473. "The Discovery of the Great West," pp. 449. "The Old Régime in Canada," pp. 468. "The Conspiracy of Pontiac." Two volumes, pp. 387, 392. Boston : Little, Brown & Co. 1875.

they illustrate the struggle between liberty and absolutism; they reveal the causes of the failure of French civilization in Canada; they disclose the danger of too great ecclesiastical influence in the State; and they exhibit, in its strongest light, the defects of social, political, and religious life, in the Old World. Thus, though dealing with events of two centuries ago, and describing how our earliest institutions were born out of the necessities of the hour, they record the first beginnings of life where, now, many millions of busy feet tread in the paths of industry; and where strong nations have entered upon the fruits of their labor, who took their lives in their hands, to convert the wily Indian, to discover a new pathway to China, or to fill their coffers from fabulous mines of treasure. It is a noticeable fact that two motives led to all the discoveries and early settlements in this country, out of New England,—the greed of gold, and the passion for converts. We began with a religious foundation, and every sect of Europe had its full scope in the American wilderness. Gradually the practical need of thrift, developed out of stern want, got the better of religion, and the harder elements of character which belong to the English race, and of which New England has been the exponent, gained a very decided influence over the whole country. What Mr. Parkman calls "the grand crisis of Canadian history," the English conquest, had a much wider application.

"It was the beginning of a new life. With England came Protestantism, and the Canadian church grew purer and better in the presence of an adverse faith. Material growth, an increased mental activity, an education real though fenced and guarded, a warm and genuine patriotism, all date from the peace of 1763. England imposed, by the sword, on reluctant Canada, the boon of national and ordered liberty. Through centuries of striving, she had advanced from stage to stage of progress, deliberate and calm, never breaking with her past, but making each fresh gain the basis of a new success, enlarging popular liberties while bating nothing of that height and force of individual development which is the brain and heart of civilization; and now, through a hard-earned victory, she taught the conquered colony to share the blessings she had won. A happier calamity never befel a people than the conquest of Canada by the British arms."

What England did for Canada, she has done for the United States everywhere, and this first contact of France, and then of England, with the savage life of America, it has been Mr. Parkman's good fortune to describe. Hence the importance of these volumes can not be exaggerated. While we are reading an interesting story, we are tracing out the rude hamlet of the forefathers; and the pioneer, the trapper, the priest, and the fur-trader, lead in the march of civilization.

The way in which Mr. Parkman has told his story, deserves great

praise. His task was rather to narrate events, than discuss their bearings; to make pictures, than to enunciate principles. The essential thing for him to do, was to write from behind the scenes, to view his subject from the Indian point of view, to reflect their motives, to understand their life, and then to become such a master of the literature of the early French priests, explorers, and rulers, that he could see the whole history from their point of view; in one word, it was for him to reproduce the past. This he has done with great success. "The Oregon Trail" is the fruit of his early studies among the Indians, a trip undertaken when he was just out of college, in order to understand the people who had such a leading share in the history he was to write; and "The Conspiracy of Pontiac" contains these studies carefully worked out in the narrative of the plan of the chieftain Pontiac, to remove the white man from North America. Mr. Parkman has also acquainted himself, by travel, with the localities which he describes; he is a true lover of nature, and nothing is lost upon him. In the narrative, these bits of landscape act as a foil to the deeds of heroism or adventure, and help to make the story impressive and real. He never obtrudes himself. His story is presented on its own merits, and there is just that amount of passion and intensity which is in keeping with the subject. His rhetoric is always sufficient for the occasion, and the style is so good, the literary charm is so perfect, that the reader is almost unconscious of its grace and easy movement. How grandly simple is the close of the story of the great Indian Warrior. "Neither mound nor tablet marked the burial-place of Pontiac. For a mausoleum, a city has risen above the forest hero, and the race whom he hated with such burning rancor trample with unceasing footsteps over his forgotten grave." The following is a specimen of his more serious style:

"The nursling of civilization, placed in the midst of the forest and abandoned to his own resources is helpless as an infant. There is no clew to the labyrinth. Bewildered and amazed, he circles round and round in hopeless wanderings. Despair and famine make him their prey, and unless the birds of heaven minister to his wants, he dies in misery. Not so the practiced woodsman. To him the forest is a home. It yields him food, shelter, and raiment, and he treads its trackless depths with undeviating foot. To lure the game, to circumvent the lurking foe, to guide his course by the stars, the wind, the streams, or the trees,—such are the arts which the white man has learned from the red. Often, indeed, the pupil has outstripped his master. He can hunt as well; he can fight better; and yet there are niceties of the woodsman's craft in which the white man must yield the palm to his savage rival. Seldom can he boast, in equal measure, *that subtlety of sense, more akin to the instinct of brutes than to human reason, which reads the signs of the forest as the scholar reads the printed page, to which the whistle of a bird can speak clearly as the tongue of man, and the rustle of a leaf give knowledge of life or death.*

With us the name of the savage is a byword of reproach. The Indian would look with equal scorn on those who, buried in useless lore, are blind and deaf to the great world of nature."

Here is the happy choice of a style which is unconsciously correct, which adapts itself naturally to the matter, which is like the best conversation, and has the glow and sparkle of the subject it presents to the reader.

Mr. Parkman has also the indispensable qualification for a writer in his chosen branch of literature,—the historical imagination. He always gives a good picture. Artists could illustrate his pages without difficulty. He presents the salient points of his sketch so vividly that we instinctively fill out its true proportions. His sketch of the baptism of the first Huron adult, illustrates what we mean :

"It was a strange scene. Indians were there in throngs, and the house was closely packed ; warriors old and young, glistening in grease and sun-flower-oil, with uncouth locks, a trifle less coarse than a horse's mane, and faces, perhaps, smeared with paint in honor of the occasion ; wench in gay attire ; hags muffled in a filthy discarded deer-skin, their leathery visages *corrugated with age and malice*, and their hard, glittering eyes riveted on the spectacle before them. The priests, no longer in their daily garb of black, but radiant in their surplices, the genuflections, the tinkling of the bell, the swinging of the censer, the sweet odors so unlike the fumes of the smoky lodge-fire, the mysterious elevation of the Host, (for a mass followed the baptism,) and the agitation of the neophyte, whose Indian imperturbability fairly deserted him,—all these combined to produce on the minds of the savage beholders an impression that seemed to promise a rich harvest for the Faith. To the Jesuits it was a day of triumph and of hope. The ice had been broken ; the wedge had entered ; light had dawned at last on the long night of heathendom."

Here is the picture brought out by a few bold touches, just enough to impress it upon the reader. Mr. Parkman knows what to leave out, and yet to the reader nothing is wanting, and it is all wrought out of Mr. Parkman's imagination with incidents gleaned, perhaps, from the Jesuit journals.

But we turn from the method of the literary artist, to his works themselves, and the subject-matter with which they deal. In reading the volumes, "The Pioneers of France in the New World" comes first ; "The Jesuits in North America" follows ; the next in order is "The Old Régime in Canada ;" then comes "The Discovery of the Great West," and finally "The Conspiracy of Pontiac." Other volumes are to follow, of which "The Rule of Frontenac" is already announced. The Pioneers of France in America were the Huguenot adventurers in Florida, who were speedily exterminated by the Spaniard, Menendez, himself to be subjugated by the French in turn, while the coast of

Florida was drenched with blood, and colonization was made impossible by a warfare of religion. Further north, the great Champlain, with his associates, laid the foundations of the French colonies in the New World, coasting first along the New England sea-board, founding Quebec in 1608, exploring the St. Lawrence, discovering Lake Champlain and Lake Huron, planting Jesuit missions in the depths of the wilderness, and dying in the fortress of Quebec, after a painful illness, at the age of sixty-eight, on Christmas day, 1635. He was engaged for twenty-seven years in the attempt to explore and secure Canada for the French, never lost his enthusiasm for the wilderness, and was *chevalier*, crusader, romance-loving explorer, and practical navigator, all in one.

The story of the Jesuits in North America is painfully interesting. The annals of missionary enterprise contain no more thrilling adventures, no greater sacrifices, no martyrdoms attended with less satisfactory results. Mr. Parkman, in a lengthy statement of Indian usages and customs, shows why but little progress could be made in the conversion of the aborigines. "The primitive Indian was as savage in his religion as in his life. He was divided between fetich worship and that next degree of religious development which consists in the worship of deities embodied in human form. His conception of their attributes was such as might have been expected. His gods were no whit better than himself. Even when he borrows from Christianity the idea of a Supreme and Universal Spirit, his tendency is to reduce Him to a local habitation and a bodily shape; and this tendency disappears only in tribes that have been long in contact with civilized white men." The Jesuit priests attempted the impossible, but the way in which they exposed themselves to every indignity and outrage and discomfort, that they might win these savage men to the Cross, must always command admiration. They awakened a wonderful interest in France by the narratives, which they sent home, of their sufferings and conquests among the savages. The frequent wars between the Indians themselves, rendered general missionary work impossible, but the Huron mission was a present success, and Quebec, as the headquarters of the movement, became a town in which the Jesuits enforced religious rites with all the strictness of the New England Puritan. Father Lalemant, in his journal of 1639, speaks of the daily life of these missionaries as a living martyrdom, "since abuse, threats without end, the smoke, fleas, filth, and dogs of the Indian lodgers—which are," he says, "little images of hell,—cold, hunger, and ceaseless anxiety, and all these continued for years, are a portion to which many might prefer the stroke of a tomahawk."

Nothing in romance can exceed the thrilling interest of the attempt to establish the Huron Church; and the long captivity of Father Jogues among the Iroquois, his tortures, his deliverance at the hands of the Dutch, his willingness to go back to captivity to secure their conversion, his return to Europe, his appearance at the Court with mangled hands, his special dispensation from the Pope—so that his disfigurements might not hinder his offering the sacrifice of the Mass,—his final mission among the Mohawks, and his cruel murder at their hands,—all this is like a leaf out of the history of the early Church. Mr. Parkman gives these thrilling narratives with great fullness; but no efforts, of even the indomitable Jesuits, could change the character of the North American savage. The guns and tomahawks of the Iroquois were the ruin of their hopes, and the country of red men—New France, and the great West,—changed into a Christian State, to eclipse even the parent Church in Europe in purity and devotion, became a dream of the past. Had these men succeeded, feudalism would have become the established government; the virgin wilderness would have been cut up into fiefs: and the principles of Richelieu and Loyola, would have met England and liberty, in later years, in terrible conflict.

In "The Discovery of the Great West," Mr. Parkman has traveled over ground hitherto almost unoccupied, because the materials of history were inaccessible; yet here, as elsewhere, he has pieced together detached stories, and been able to reproduce a connected narrative of the discovery of the Mississippi, and to give in full the story of the adventures and explorations of the brave La Salle, who was miserably shot, by one of his own followers, near the very river which it was the great ambition of his life to explore. La Salle left France in 1666 to join his brother, then a Sulpitian priest at Montreal. He had lately escaped from the training of the Jesuits, and his imagination was already fired with a scheme for the discovery of a western passage to China. In the preliminary execution of his purpose he discovered the rivers Ohio and Illinois. Marquette anticipated him in the discovery of the Mississippi, but La Salle, though penniless, had already conceived three projects, any one of which was enough to satisfy a great ambition. He wished to open a passage to India and China across the American continent; to anticipate the Spaniards and English in the occupation and development of the Great West; and to establish a fortified post, at the mouth of the Mississippi, as an outlet for the trade of the interior, and as a base of operations against the Spanish settlements in America. Count Frontenac, then in command of the Canadian settlements, favored his

schemes, and he was successful in obtaining money through his family in France. Pushing his conquests, he made Fort Frontenac, at the mouth of Lake Ontario, the base of his operations; and then with a few followers, among whom was Father Hennepin, a Franciscan friar, started for the distant Mississippi. Hennepin soon parted from the company, some deserted, some were captured by the Indians, and La Salle, cut to the heart, was left among the Indians, to make his way back to Fort Frontenac as best he could. During sixty-five days he traveled about one thousand miles through a country beset by every form of peril and obstruction—"the most arduous journey," says the chronicler, "ever made by Frenchman in America." Again he returned with better success, and descended the Illinois to the broad eddying current of the Mississippi, the destined avenue of his ambition and his hopes. Returning to Canada for new resources, he attempted the exploration of "the Father of Waters" to its mouth, and took possession of the whole of Louisiana, for Louis XIV. Having succeeded so far, he again proceeded to France, and organized an expedition to colonize the new territory, to convert the Indians, and to conquer the Spaniards in their Mexican provinces. Through numerous disasters, this expedition came to nothing; he was deceived by Beaujean, the commander of the fleet; his store-ship went ashore in a storm; the natives attacked him; he passed the mouths of the Mississippi, by mistake, and landed in Texas; many of the colonists died from exposure; the remainder attempted to fight their way through the forests to Canada; and all the grand hopes of this most persistent and undaunted man, chiefly, it is supposed, through the malignity of the Jesuits, came to nothing. His mastery of himself, amid all his disappointments, was wonderful. He made the best of every thing. The story of his adventures, centers in himself as the great explorer of that age. Mr. Parkman has for this brave leader, who battled all his life with adverse fortune, the strongest words of praise: "Beset by a throng of enemies he stands, like the King of Israel, head and shoulders above them all. He was a tower of adamant, against whose impregnable front, hardship and danger, the rage of man and of the elements, the Southern sun, the Northern blast, fatigue, famine, disease, delay, disappointment, and deferred hope, emptied their quivers in vain. Never, under the impenetrable mail of paladin or crusader, beat a heart of more intrepid mettle than within the stoic panoply that armed the breast of La Salle. America owes him an enduring memory; for in this masculine figure, cast in iron, she sees the heroic pioneer who guided her to the possession of her richest heritage."

In strong contrast with the opening of the "Great West" is the story of "The Old Régime in Canada." This volume has already been carefully noticed in the September number of this Review, and therefore demands but little attention now; yet we can not forbear a few words. De Tocqueville says: "The physiognomy of a government can best be judged in its colonies, for there its characteristic traits usually appear larger and more distinct. When I wish to judge of the spirit and faults of the administration of Louis XIV., I go to Canada. Its deformity is there seen as through a microscope." The monarchical administration of France grasped the North American continent at the moment of its greatest success at home; its mistake was that it grafted upon a new country the methods and order which had adapted themselves to an old civilization. Hence the colonies always failed to meet the expectations of France. They lacked the hardy pioneer and industrial element, and were unable to develop their own resources. If men like Champlain and La Salle, and the Jesuit fathers, could have been followed by a brave and hardy peasantry, and the Indian tribes could have been pacified, it would have hastened the colonization of North America by half a century. As it is, Mr. Parkman is forced to record the continual failure of the old régime. The way in which he has managed this part of his story, lighting up, what was at best, only a dry statement of facts, with bits of landscape, and touches of pathos and philosophy, shows his literary workmanship, and the volume is not less interesting than those in which there is nothing beyond the simple narrative.

"The Conspiracy of Pontiac," relates the efforts of an Indian chief to exterminate the English from America. The French settlements upon the St. Lawrence, and its tributary lakes, in 1755 had spread themselves in every direction, and by a wise alliance with the Indian tribes of the Great West, were far in advance of the English settlements on the Atlantic seaboard, in gaining possession of the country. The English had taken no pains to conciliate the Indians, and William Penn, almost alone among the British colonists, had maintained friendly and honorable relations with them. At this time, the red men had learned to use the weapons of the Europeans without adopting their civilization, and hence had become formidable antagonists. They also felt that of the two invading parties, the French were the surer friends. In the contest to determine whether the French or the English should be the masters of North America, the Indian became a terrible enemy upon the English frontier, and the blood still freezes in one's veins at the story of their fearful cruelties. The middle of the eighteenth century will be ever memorable for a war, which, kindling

in the forests of America, extended even to "the sultry empire of the Great Mogul." "It was this war which controlled the destinies of America, and was first in the chain of events which led to her Revolution, with all its vast and undeveloped consequences." It raged nowhere with more fierceness and desperation than upon the frontier of civilization, and when the heroic Wolfe calmly breathed his last, on the 18th of September, 1759, the destinies of America were virtually decided. His was a victory gained at fearful odds, and fought against men who had staked everything upon the impregnable fortress of Quebec.

Although the old régime passed away with the adoption of the English rule, it was a long time before the new governors of Canada completed the conquest, and when the numerous forts in the wilderness had changed garrisons, the Indians were united by Pontiac in the famous conspiracy to drive the hated English from the country. This hostile confederation embraced all the Indians who lived within reach of the whites, except the Iroquois, who were kept in friendly relations, partly through their enmity to the French from the time when Champlain killed their chieftains, and partly through the diplomacy of Sir William Johnson. Pontiac was an Ottawa chief, and had a wider range of intellect, greater energy, and more ambition, than is common with Indians. He was now fifty years old. He saw that his own race was doomed with the advance of the English, and determined with the promised help of the French, to drive them into the sea. He united those wily and treacherous savages to a remarkable degree, and by his courage and eloquence animated them with his own convictions. The result was a wilderness warfare which raged around the forest garrisons, upon the great lakes, and along the unprotected frontier, with terrible severity, for five years. The massacres of men, women, and children, were heart-rending; and had the Indians been able to overcome their characteristic habit of acting from impulse, and their restless individuality, they would have completely uprooted civilization in America. Pontiac had the grasp and strength of a Napoleon, and always met his disappointments by developing fresh resources. His siege of Detroit, was masterly in conception and detail, and he added the skill of the superior race, to the secrets of Indian warfare; but the French deceived him by false promises of help from the great king, the different tribes quarreled among themselves, it was impossible to compel unity of action in a warfare which ranged a thousand miles through the wilderness, and Pontiac was finally doomed to await the inevitable, and received his death at the hands of an Indian assassin. He was the greatest Indian chief known

to history, and his awful earnestness, his subtilty, his treachery, his fertility of resource, his bravery, his wonderful power of controlling savages and awing distant tribes into co-operation, lift him into the rank of a great Indian hero. The story of his conspiracy, reproduces life upon the frontier and in the wilderness a century ago, with almost startling reality, and not even Cooper's novels picture so vividly the savage in his own haunts and his terrible hatred of the superior race.

Though the stories of these pioneers in conquest and religion, seem already remote and legendary in face of the occupation of the land they once held by a present civilization, and though the trapper and the Indian are now shorn of their pristine glory and will soon become the relics of a by-gone age, the volumes of Mr. Parkman can never grow old in interest; they contain too much which is inwrought with our very life to become obsolete; and they are so largely the history of the first era of civilization in America, that, though the fascination and charm of legendary story are felt on every page, they can never pass into the list of old romance. His statements in regard to the Indian race, and the accounts of their customs and beliefs, are worked into his story so that they have no resemblance to a dry catalogue of facts; and yet it would be impossible to find any where a better analysis of Indian character, or more information which is precisely that which is desired. He keeps the line always distinct between legend and fact. His whole story is the reflection of European civilization upon the wilderness of America, and, apart from its interest as unfolding the germs of American institutions, it shows the lights and shades of Europe in the seventeenth century, in strong relief. What we have now said, reads more like eulogy than sober criticism; but Mr. Parkman is one of those happy literary workers who does not rush into print till he has obeyed the Horatian maxim of delay, and nothing crude, nothing which must be revised, proceeds from his pen. His histories are as nearly perfect as it is possible for such work to be; and when it is added that physical infirmity has compelled him to make patience a crowning virtue in their execution, the silent heroism of the man, inevitably blends with our admiration of his literary skill and grace.

CLIMATE AND TIME.¹

THE disclosure of the evidence demonstrating the reality of a glacial period in terrestrial history, was an advance step in geological science which has only been equaled by the discovery of the cosmical conditions under which it occurred. As the "*Système Glaciaire*" of Agassiz first gave expression to the inductive evidences of former continental glaciation, so must Mr. Croll's "Climate and Time" be regarded as the first complete and systematic statement of the deductive evidences, not alone of a glacial period, but of a succession of glacial periods. In the researches and discussions of the last decade, which have all along visibly converged toward the conclusions here set forth, Mr. Croll has been a leading participant. We discover not less than thirty-seven papers from his pen, discussing topics collateral with the central idea of his latest work.

The search for a cosmical cause of continental glaciation had been, indeed, undertaken by Humboldt, Arago, Lyell, Sir John Herschel and others; but only to become convinced that all the suggested causes are inadequate. M. Adhémar, however, had more recently satisfied himself that the existing eccentricity of the earth's orbit, in connection with the revolution of the equinoxes, must result, upon each hemisphere, in a succession of geological winters, at intervals of about 21,000 years, alternating with a succession of geological summers—the geological winter of one hemisphere being coincident with the geological summer of the other. Notwithstanding these older researches, Mr. Croll has earned the credit of tracing the phenomenon of continental glaciation to its cosmical cause; for he has shown that the considerations presented by Adhémar will not bear investigation, and that other inquirers had not probed the problem to the bottom.

The chief astronomical factors brought into view in the discussions upon the cause of continental glaciation, have been the secular changes in the obliquity of the ecliptic and in the eccentricity of the earth's

¹ "Climate and Time in their Geological Relations." A Theory of Secular Changes of the Earth's Climate. By James Croll, of Her Majesty's Geological Survey of Scotland. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1875.

orbit. It is now generally admitted that the secular changes in the obliquity, can never result in such a revolution of climate as we seek to explain. Sir John Herschel, and after him, Humboldt and Arago, made it apparent, also, that neither increase nor diminution of the ellipticity of the earth's orbit, could directly influence, to any material extent, the amount of heat received by the two hemispheres respectively, or so disturb the annual distribution over either hemisphere as to result in a permanent and general glaciation. Mr. Croll, recognizing the validity of these conclusions, has shown, nevertheless, that a considerable *increase* of eccentricity above its present value, would so modify the oceanic currents as to greatly increase the precipitation of snow in the northern hemisphere, and to diminish the amount of snow and ice in the opposite one.

The calculations of astronomers have shown that when the eccentricity is at its maximum, the earth will be 14,212,700 miles farther from the sun in aphelion than in perihelion. As the periods of high eccentricity continue from 50,000 to 75,000 years, the procession of the equinoxes will bring the winter solstice of either hemisphere to coincide with the earth's aphelion once or more during the continuance of a period of high eccentricity. At the present time the winter solstice of the northern hemisphere occurs in perihelion. When brought to occur in aphelion during a cycle of extreme eccentricity, the earth would be 8,641,870 miles farther from the sun in winter than at present. This difference would cause the sun's intensity to be one-fifth less during winter than at present. It is true that it would be one-fifth greater during summer and thus the annual constant would not be diminished. To speak precisely, it would be increased by one three-hundredth part, since the annual amount of heat is inversely proportioned to the minor axis of the earth's orbit. It is also true that while the sun's intensity during the northern winter would be diminished one-fifth, the duration of the season would be prolonged forty-four days beyond its present length, and would be thirty-six days greater than the duration of the summer. But while the prolongation of the winter would secure the same absolute total of solar heat as at present, its diminished intensity would result in a greatly increased proportion of snowy precipitation. The amount of snowy precipitation would be increased, both by diminished solar intensity, and by prolongation of the wintry season. The effect of a coincidence of the winter solstice, with aphelion, during a period of high eccentricity, would be the accumulation of a vast amount of snow, stretching many degrees farther from the pole than the snow-cap of our present

winters. But when the short, hot summer should succeed, would not the snow-cap be removed to as great an extent as under the actual circumstances? Mr. Croll maintains that it would not; and the chief original merit of his work consists in an elucidation of the reasons for this denial.

Let it be the northern hemisphere which has its winter solstice in aphelion during a period of high eccentricity. The intense summer rays, falling upon continents clothed with a thick mantle of snow, would be largely expended in the conversion of snow into water. As long as the general covering of snow should remain, no intensity of solar rays could elevate the climatic temperature much above the freezing point of water. The atmosphere in northern regions is nearly diathermanous, and would not be warmed; and the heat striking the snow would be converted into mechanical energy instead of accumulating. Little compensation, therefore, could result from the occurrence of summer in perihelion. Observations made upon extensive snow-covered surfaces, as in Greenland and upon the Antarctic continent, completely confirm these deductions. Moreover, the rapid liquefaction and vaporization of the snow, would result in so cold an atmosphere, in the formation of fogs and clouds, which in turn would, by obstructing the solar rays, react upon their cause. The annual climatic result would, therefore, be a depression of the temperature of the northern hemisphere. The converse of all these conditions would exist in the southern hemisphere. Its winters would be mild, and accompanied by little snowy precipitation, while its summers would be comparatively cool.

At the present time, the southern hemisphere is known, from observation, to possess a lower temperature than the northern. The state of things supposed would be more than a reversal of the existing relations of temperature in the two hemispheres. Mr. Croll, therefore, inquires what would be the effect upon the ocean currents of such a transposition and change of climates; and how would the change in ocean currents react upon climate?

The answer to the first question involves the determination of the physical causes of ocean currents. Since the appearance of Maury's "*Physical Geography of the Sea*," it has been generally conceded that the circulation of the waters is simply an interchange between the arctic and intertropical regions, resulting from a difference in densities. Mr. Croll, however, has pointedly demonstrated that this hypothesis is untenable, and that Maury's own reasonings result in mutual nullification. Increased density (saltness) in intertropical regions, result-

ing from excess of evaporation, would be equalized by diminished density resulting from excess of heat. Dr. Carpenter's recent theory sets forth excess of intertropical temperature analogous to that which occurs in the atmosphere through the same means; as the moving cause of a general circulation of the ocean waters, the expansion of the intertropical waters creating a protuberance, which tends to destroy the general equilibrium; while a constant tendency to its restoration would be manifest in a flow of the surface waters toward the poles, and a cold, compensating underflow in the opposite direction. Mr. Croll demonstrates that the observed difference of temperature of equatorial and polar waters, would disturb the equilibrium by only the trifling amount of four and a half feet, which, distributed between the equator and the poles, would not constitute a descent sufficient to overcome the viscosity of the water. A consideration omitted by Mr. Croll, it seems to us, might have been added. If the actual circulation of the ocean, like that of the atmosphere, is caused by excess of intertropical heat, the true relative positions of outgoing and returning, currents of the ocean, should be the same as the relative positions of the trades, and anti-trades, of the atmosphere; that is, the outgoing movements, modified by terrestrial rotation, and neglecting the influence of continental barriers, should be *toward* the north-east and south-east (with an eastward direction immediately over the equator) in the upper portion of the film; and the returning movements should be *from* the north-east and south-east, (with a westward direction over the equator) in the lower portion of the film. Observation shows, however, that the upper portion of the watery film is characterized by movements coincident with those of the lower portion of the atmospheric film. The two sets of motions can not, therefore, be traced separately to the same physical cause. While we must recognize the existence of a necessary tendency to a circulation of the waters, identical with that of the air, and proceeding from the same cause, the actual circulation demonstrates that this tendency is more than counterbalanced by some influence producing coincident movements in the films of air and water, in contact with each other. This coincidence is, indeed, so complete as to suggest a causal relation between the atmospheric and the oceanic movements. The suggestion is further sanctioned by all that we know of the power of winds to move the surface of the ocean's waters. Within a few months, an easterly wind has so piled up the waters of the Gulf of Mexico along its western border, as to inundate and devastate entire cities and villages. We are quite justified, especially in view of the demon-

strated inadequacy of the causes urged by Maury and Carpenter, in pronouncing the system of prevailing winds the physical cause of the system of currents.

Now it is apparent, in the next place, that the force of the winds—the trades, for example—is determined by the difference of temperature of the northern, and the equatorial, regions. If, furthermore, the cold of the arctic regions equals that of the antarctic, the northern trades will meet the southern trades at the equator, and the equatorial current will flow westward midway between the tropics. If, as at present, the cold of the southern hemisphere is in excess, the south-east trades will possess greatest force, and pass to the north of the equator, determining the position of the equatorial current somewhat nearer to the northern tropic than to the southern. If, on the contrary, the cold of the northern hemisphere should, as we have supposed, become excessive, the equatorial current would be shifted to some latitude south of the equator.

The configuration of the continents is such that the position of the equatorial current exerts a most important influence upon the direction of its trend out of the torrid zone. At the present time, for instance, with this current a few degrees north of the equator, the larger portion of it is deflected northward, by the shore of South America, and, passing through the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico, issues as the Gulf Stream, which diagonally crosses the north Atlantic and impinges upon the shores of Western Europe. Its movement across the Atlantic is aided, and we may well believe, is caused, by the prevailing westerly winds of the North Temperate zone. With the equatorial current flowing as far south of the equator as would be implied in the extension of the persistent snow-cap of the northern hemisphere, the contact of the current with the coast of South America, would take place to the south of Cape St. Roque, and its deflection would be into the South Atlantic. Whatever influence the Gulf Stream at present exerts upon the climate of the northern hemisphere, would, on the hypothesis of an extended northern snow-cap, be completely withdrawn.

To what does this influence amount? Mr. Croll has shown that about one-fifth of all the heat possessed by the waters of the North Atlantic, within the limits of the North Temperate zone, is derived from the Gulf Stream. According to Dore, the mean temperature of London is 10° above the normal temperature of that parallel of latitude. This excess has been justly attributed to the influence of the Gulf Stream. But this by no means measures the absolute influence

of the Gulf Stream. This current, with the other outgoing currents from the tropical zone, raises the general temperature of the North Temperate zone, so that the "normal" temperature of the London parallel is 30° above the temperature which would be normal, were all the ocean currents arrested. The absolute influence of the Gulf Stream upon the climate of London is represented, therefore, by $30^{\circ} + 10^{\circ} = 40^{\circ}$. A depression of the mean temperature of London to this extent would constitute a serious modification of its climate. Now let the reduction, which must result from the arrest of the Gulf Stream, take place when the intensity of the solar radiation during winter should be diminished one-fifth, and the winter season prolonged thirty-six days, and it becomes easy to admit that the wintry precipitation of Great Britain and all northern Europe must be in the form of snow, and in such amount as to outlast, like the living Alpine glaciers, the dissolving action of the intensest summer sun. We seem, therefore, to have discovered, in high eccentricity, a cosmical cause capable of putting in action such terrestrial agencies as must necessarily lead to the extensive glaciation of the northern and southern hemispheres alternately. This being the case, we obtain a clew to the solution of the difficult problem of geological time. The epochs of high eccentricity are susceptible of determination by mathematical analysis. The results of calculation show that a period of high eccentricity terminated about 80,000 years ago, and another period about 720,000 years ago. To which of these shall we refer the Glacial Period of Post-Tertiary time? Certain geologists, impressed with the vastness of geological intervals, would decide promptly in favor of the remoter period. But as we have stratigraphical evidence of the occurrence of an earlier glacial period, in Miocene time, the date of this would be removed back to the next preceding period of high eccentricity, 2,500,000 years ago. The admission of such an interval since Miocene time would set back the commencement of sedimentation beyond 100,000,000 years, which, as Sir William Thomson has demonstrated, is the largest interval which can be admitted since the commencement of terrestrial incrustation. We have then, to examine whether an interval of 80,000 years is sufficient for the whole amount of denudation which the continents have suffered since the Glacial Period. An ingenious investigation shows that the actual denudation is not less than one foot in 6,000 years. If we assume the Glacial Period to have terminated 720,000 years ago, the denudation in the intervening time, must have amounted to 120 feet, which, Mr. Croll thinks, would imply the removal of all the detrital deposits of the continental

glacier, and is consequently too high a figure. If we assume it to have terminated 80,000 years ago, 13 feet of rock, or 18 feet of drift must have been removed from the whole face of the continents; and this, Mr. Croll thinks, is all that has been done. For our own part, we have little doubt that the rate of denudation has been very much higher than Mr. Croll assumes; so that we should regard 80,000 years as a most ample allowance of time. This opinion is confirmed by what we have observed of changes in progress before our eyes, in the recession of glaciers, the transportation of soils, the filling of lakes, and the shifting of river-channels, as well as in the disappearing relics of the continental glacier, hidden in mountain gulches and rocky crevices, or slowly wasting beneath accumulations of common drift.

The formation of an extensive ice-cap about either pole, and its relative diminution about the other, must have a tendency to displace the earth's center of gravity toward the loaded pole. Beneath a film of water free to adjust itself with reference to the preservation of the old center of gravity, the displacement would not actually occur. The protruding polar ice would press the unyielding core of the earth through the spheroidal shell of water, sufficiently to conserve the position of the center of gravity. But the incidental result would be a relative subsidence of the loaded pole and an emergence of the opposite one. These deductions are in perfect accordance with the indications of geological facts.

Another feature of the cosmical theory of terrestrial glaciation is discussed by Mr. Croll. As the periods of high eccentricity must continue from 50,000 to 75,000 years, the coincidence of the winter solstice with the aphelion must occur at two or three epochs during a term of high eccentricity; and these epochs would alternate with coincidences between winter solstice and perihelion. That is, two or three epochs of intense glaciation must occur during one term of high eccentricity, separated by interglacial epochs of mild and equable temperature. Phenomena precisely answering to this deduction, are believed to present themselves in connection with the deposits of the Glacial Period of geology; and Mr. Croll has undertaken to summarize the evidences. Without questioning the general position, we venture to confess an inclination to the opinion that many of the geological facts adduced by Mr. Croll, come very far short of satisfactory records of glacial action. This is especially the case with simple accumulations of worn rock-fragments—even transported fragments—and mere local patches of soil which contain disseminated vegetable remains.

A few other minor points in Mr. Croll's most important and inter-

esting work suggest discussion—such as the alleged causal relation of “law” to events (pp. 5 and 6), the rate of actual denudation, the thickness of the sedimentary rocks; and his statement that, at the rate of denudation assumed by him, “the whole area of drainage” of the North American continent “will be brought down to the sea-level in less than 4,500,000 years, if no elevation of the land takes place.”¹ The occasions for adverse criticism, however, are of little importance in comparison with the great principles which he has so well set forth and so immovably established.

¹ P. 331.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE, ART, AND SCIENCE.

RECENT AMERICAN BOOKS.

HISTORY OF THE ARMY OF THE CUMBERLAND.¹—This sober battle history makes no departure from the path of fact to eulogize or to censure commanders, and shrinks from no details of evidence which are needed to make the narrative complete. One great characteristic of the work is its monumental relation to Major-General George H. Thomas. His acts and words stand out in full relief, so that the author is lost sight of in admiration of the hero whose character is thus unfolded. The comparative absence of critical notes upon battles, and battle direction, is most impressive, because so suggestive of the great simplicity and dignity of General Thomas himself. Each battle movement, however, is carefully presented in its proper relations, so that the reader is enabled to form a fair judgment. This rare quality in the historian is evident throughout Chaplain Van Horne's work. Where military movements are criticised, as in the brief discussion of the "Turning of Dalton,"² only a dispassionate statement is given, which secures to the reader a clear understanding of them. The introductory review of the condition of Kentucky at the outbreak of the rebellion, and of the organization of The Army of the Cumberland, is a valuable and compact contribution to the history of the war. While the eastern armies were at once confronted by active hostilities, there was a semi-neutral region, at the west, which required peculiar tact and skill, on the part of the generals commanding. The invasions of Kentucky by Kirby Smith and Bragg, and the dashes made by Morgan and other guerilla leaders, rendered this territory a difficult one to control. The pages which record General Thomas's connection with the campaigns in this department, show, in a conspicuous manner, the wisdom, forethought, and great good sense which characterized all his movements. He never lost self-possession, and was never hurried into rash enterprises. On the contrary, he calmly, firmly, and squarely obeyed orders, and enforced orders, which may account for his invariable success.

Chaplain Van Horne places a right estimate upon the battle of Franklin, so destructive to Hood's army, and so opportune, as affording to General Thomas sufficient time to organize for the defense of Nashville. The

¹ "History of the Army of the Cumberland." By Thomas B. Van Horne, U. S. A. In two volumes, with Atlas. Robert Clarke & Co.: Cincinnati. 1875.

² Chapter XXVI.

description of the heroism of Opdyke's brigade, and that of other brigades,¹ which saved the issue at Franklin, secured the safe retreat of the army with its artillery and wagons, and put more than six thousand of Hood's army *hors de combat*—is thrilling, and typical of the universal enthusiasm which inspired soldiers who made George H. Thomas their model.

These volumes have special value at the present time, as they place before the people the judgment of General Thomas himself, upon the principal events of the war. By his authority, through the use of his journal, and to a great extent under his direct supervision, this work is presented to the nation. The author has been true to the dictation of his superior officer, and by plain, yet glowing recitals of facts, he has secured a record that will be as abiding as the national life. The captious reader who scans this history for the purpose of finding weapons with which to attack other great captains, will be disappointed. The keen and incisive dispatches of Sherman are placed beside the more sober words of Thomas, and yet there is full harmony, mutual confidence, and mutual support, in every movement.

The title hardly does justice to the work, whose scope can be better understood by the non-professional reader if he will bear in mind the fact that the Army of the Cumberland began its life at the very outset of western military movements, and completed its career only when the march to the sea had realized its last mission.

While, therefore, the character and life of General Thomas are strongly illustrated by very necessity, the author has evidently subordinated personal admiration for his chief, to the task of writing the facts of history. The description of the battle of Peach Tree Creek, which was the result of Johnson's forethought, as made use of by his successor, General Hood, is exceedingly graphic. The volume of maps which accompanies the history, is an indispensable key to a fair understanding of the battle movements.

It is well to have the services of the soldiers of the Union recorded in volumes like these, so that future generations may honor those to whom some of their contemporaries seem unwilling to award due praise.

AS TO ROGER WILLIAMS.²—An earnest and persistent effort has been made to enroll Roger Williams on the list of heroes by extolling him as the Apostle *par excellence* of religious liberty, and this at the expense of the "Governor and Colony of the Massachusetts Bay." Not only by that very respectable denomination of Christians whose views of baptism he for a time adopted, but by that widely different class of persons whose pleasure it is at every opportunity to disparage the virtues of the Puritans, it has been asserted as an undeniable fact of history, that Mr. Williams was flagrantly persecuted, and finally banished simply for holding liberal opinions. It is

¹ Pp. 200 and 212.

² As to Roger Williams, and his banishment from the Massachusetts Plantation; with a few further words concerning the Baptists, the Quakers and Religious Liberty; a monograph. By Henry Martin Dexter, D. D., etc. Boston: Congregational Publishing Society. 1876.

easy to make assertions of this sort and to repeat them indefinitely till many receive them without question. The magistrates and people of the Massachusetts colony have in this way suffered great injustice.

But time is apt to vindicate the truth of history. It has been gradually doing this for the last fifty years. Mr. Bancroft in his "History of the United States," and Dr. Palfrey in his "History of New England"—neither of these writers being in theological sympathy with the Puritans—have done good service in vindicating them from unjust charges and exhibiting their spirit and action in a true light before the world. Other writers of less note have, from time to time, helped to disabuse the popular mind, so greatly misled by reckless and unsupported statements. But we have seen no contribution to a right understanding of the doings of the Massachusetts colonists in relation to the fanatical disturbers of their peace comparable, in thoroughness and real value, to the recently published monograph, by Dr. Henry Martin Dexter, entitled "As to Roger Williams, and his 'Banishment' from the Massachusetts Plantation." Probably no man living has devoted more time at home and abroad, to the careful study of the original records and papers relating to both the Pilgrims and the Puritans, than Dr. Dexter. In this volume, with its ample notes and references, he places before the lovers of historic truth, not Roger Williams as he has often been represented in partisan traditions, but Roger Williams *just as he was* according to the authentic records of the time. He describes the treatment he received and the reasons for it in the language of the records of the colony. Those who have so freely censured the colonists for their course in relation to Mr. Williams have assumed that the Massachusetts Plantation was a State politically organized as such, and open to all comers. No such thing was true. It was simply a *Plantation*, owned by a private company and holding its own domain in fee simple, under a charter from the crown. It had the same right to decide whom to admit into its territory and whom to exclude from it, as has a company of settlers that has unitedly secured a title to a township in Colorado. The whole country was open to Mr. Williams, and he was left entirely free to gain as he afterwards did, another piece of territory for himself and his friends, on which he might organize a colony after his own liking. His banishment was simply sending him away from the private domain of the Massachusetts colony, to go and do what he chose on a private domain of his own *forty miles away!* This is just what his banishment amounted to, and nothing more.

That Mr. Williams had many estimable and some great qualities was freely admitted by the colonists of Massachusetts. They were very patient and forbearing with him on this account. That in his later life he contributed to the development of larger views of religious liberty—was one of many who came to see more clearly and to define more accurately the truth on this great subject—Dr. Dexter furnishes good reasons for believing. But that he in his early life was *rash*, self-willed, contemptuous toward those who differed from him, unmindful of the rights of the colony and vexatious and

disorganizing in his conduct, it would seem that no candid person who has read this volume can hesitate to admit. That he was conscientious in his errors rendered his case all the more difficult to deal with; but it is quite clear that the colonial authorities were abundantly justified in excluding him from their domain. They deprived him of no right, but only of the opportunity of infringing the rights of others. The same was true in relation to the Anabaptists and Quakers, to whose treatment by the colonists Dr. Dexter also briefly refers. Under the pretense of being moved by the spirit of God, the Quakers—widely different in character from the quiet "Friends" of later times—outraged public decency and disturbed the public peace in ways that to-day, in any town or city of the United States, would at once subject them to arrest and punishment. It is quite time that intelligent people should understand the facts and place the blame where it really belongs. Neither Mr. Williams nor the Anabaptists, nor the Quakers, would have been molested for their opinions, if they had demeaned themselves as peaceable citizens in obedience to good and wholesome laws.

Dr. Dexter deserves thanks for the patient and exhaustive examination he has given to this subject. It is a great public service to sweep away unfounded allegations that cast dishonor on the memory of good men to whose labors and sacrifices the world is so deeply indebted. It is right that Roger Williams should have the praise which in later life he merited by many things said and done wisely and well; but it has been a flagrant wrong that his mistakes should be put to the account of men wiser and better than he. We commend the volume of which we have spoken, as a most timely undertaking, executed with the hand of a master. It is fitly dedicated to Hon. Robert Winthrop, LL. D., President of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

SAXON STUDIES.¹—Mr. Hawthorne tells us, that "The front door is not always the mouth through which proceeds the true utterance of the house." His words are meant to apply to the exterior of Saxon dwellings, but we can not help regarding them as equally applicable to the collection of garrulous opinions which he has attempted to dignify by the use of an undeserved title. He confesses as much in a preface which is as audacious and presuming as the title is deceptive. After telling "the legendary Gentle Reader" that he "has not consciously written anything calculated practically to avail the least instructed visitor to Saxony;" he says that "He is free to admit that his interest in Saxony and Saxons is of the most moderate kind,—certainly not enough to provoke a treatise upon them." "They are" he says, "as dull and featureless a race as exists in this century, and the less one has to do with them the better."

One wonders, after reading this, why he wrote at all. His explanation is that "the Saxon capital chancing to have been his residence of late years, he has used it, rather than any other place, to serve his turn"—by

¹ *Saxon Studies*. By Julian Hawthorne. Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co. 1876—12mo. \$2.00

affording him "some concrete nucleus round which to group such thoughts and fancies as he wished to ventilate."

It would seem that assurance could carry an author little farther; but with a mingled sense of weakness and defiance, Mr. Hawthorne hastens to meet expected criticism by stoutly asserting that "So far from being abashed at any critic's discovering nothing essentially Saxon in 'Saxon Studies,'" he will "insist upon thinking such a verdict complimentary!"

We doubt if any sane writer ever succeeded in compressing into the same space, more of foolish assumption and egotism.

Fortunately Mr. Hawthorne has not carried into the pages following, in so large measure, the spirit which manifests itself in the preface. He seems, in this remarkable effusion, to have relieved himself of a plethora of spleen, and his after attacks of the same difficulty are less violent. He treats of the environs of Dresden, and its beer gardens; Saxon soldiers, civilians, and Mountaineering in Saxony, in a series of sketchy papers which are far from uninteresting, although too superficial in their style to deserve the title of "Studies." He does not hesitate, however, wherever occasion offers—and often where it does not,—to indulge in covert and open sneers at almost everything Saxon, be it people, education, manners, or art.

No one will pretend to say that the Saxons are without serious faults. Indeed, all who are sufficiently familiar with the subject to speak advisedly well know that their faults are of such a character as to detract very greatly from the pleasure of a chance sojourn in any part of Saxony. But to deny its people the possession of all, or nearly all, of the virtues which grace civilized life, is to paint a picture wholly composed of shades—it is neither attractive nor true.

Those who have regarded Mr. Hawthorne's late romance entitled "Idolatry," with favor, and have thought that they detected in it something of his father's genius, will regret the conspicuous absence of the father's most marked qualities, in "Saxon Studies." It is doubtless true that the junior Hawthorne possesses a measure of the talent characteristic of the elder; but if he seeks to gain a reputation more than that given him by his father's name, he must add to his inherited talents more of modesty, candor, and industry, than are apparent in his last production.

THE RELIGIOUS SENTIMENT.¹—No late contribution to the Philosophy of Religion excels in importance this inquiry by Mr. Brinton into "the source and aims of the religious sentiment." Partly because of his thorough scholarship, and wide research, and partly on account of his independent and bold, and yet charitable and conservative views, his work will command wide and respectful attention. "The Science of religion," says Mr. Brinton, "as we know it in the works of Burnouf, Müller, and others, is a comparison of systems of worship in their historic development. The deeper in-

¹ "The Religious Sentiment." Its Source and Aim. By D. G. Brinton. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1876. Large 12mo. \$2.50.

quity as to what, in the mind of man, gave birth to religion in any of its forms; what spirit breathed, and is ever breathing, life into these dry bones; this, the final and highest question of all, has had but passing or prejudiced attention." "The deeper inquiry" to which Mr. Brinton addresses himself, involves the most difficult problem which can engage the human attention. A thinker who solves its main enigmas to his own satisfaction, can not expect to carry conviction to the minds of more than a small number of thinkers in the same field. In this experience, Mr. Brinton is no exception to the common rule. While very many will accept some, or all, of his premises and much of his reasoning, as sound and instructive, very few will agree with him in all of his conclusions. This fact is, however, due more to the impossibility of reconciling diverse opinions upon the speculative questions discussed, than to any lack of ability in their treatment. Mr. Brinton is, for example, very evidently a thinker whose views upon theological questions will hardly bear the test of the orthodox schools. He is nevertheless entirely respectful in his treatment of the question concerning which he is at variance with the schoolmen; and with little danger of becoming altogether converted to his way of thinking, his books can be read with profit by orthodox theologians.

Those who wish for clear conceptions concerning the fallacy of Pessimism, and other fallacious ideas based upon speculations concerning man's present position with reference to a future state of existence, will find here much that will be helpful, even in that which is not in accordance with their own convictions.

What he has to say¹ regarding "the growing immateriality of religious thought," and "the devitalizing of the doctrine of immortality," will also afford subjects worthy the earnest attention of those who believe in the cardinal doctrines of christianity, and who would have these doctrines retain their hold upon the minds of others. If he does not present satisfactory solutions of the questions which continually arise in connection with man's spiritual nature, he has certainly formulated much of the current thought upon the subject in such a manner as to make his book worthy the careful study of every scholar.

RELIGION AND PROGRESS.²—The author of this book would place the foundations of religion on the consciousness of our relation to God. He can not imagine a period in the history of human progress, when this factor—man's conscious relation to God—indispensable as he regards it, shall have lost its importance. Building upon this broad foundation, he endeavors to place religion in an attitude where it is neither hampered by the dogmas of the schools, nor in conflict with the cause of progress as represented by the scientist. His effort, evidently, is to harmonize religion and science, not by

¹ Pp. 265-6.

² "Religion and Progress." An Essay. By Henry C. Pedder. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1876.

the ordinary methods, which consist in attempts to reconcile apparent discrepancies in the dicta of the two, but by leading both into a wider latitude, where these differences disappear in a nearer approach to an apprehension of God, as He reveals Himself to the consciousness of man. With Max Müller, he believes that the religions which preceded, or have existed contemporary with, the Christian religion, have been improperly regarded by Christian thinkers, and he finds in science the means which may lead to a revision of that orthodoxy which regards as "outcasts, forsaken and forgotten of their Father in Heaven, all who have not been taught in the tenets of Christianity." "We need," he says, "to penetrate beneath the rubbish of ages for those immortal flowers, which, independently of all creeds, thrive in every human heart, made beautiful by the sunshine of heaven." He claims for religions other than the Christian a more charitable consideration; and this charity broadly applied, he believes, will bring scientists and Christians nearer together, in the common recognition "of that higher consciousness which brings us face to face with the stern realities of life and eternity."

STORIES FROM THE LIPS OF THE TEACHER AND STORIES OF THE PATRIARCHS.¹—Mr. Frothingham writes excellent English. His style is attractive without floridity and is particularly distinguished by his adherence to the use of simple monosyllabic and dissyllabic words, and short sentences, full of directness and force. These characteristics, prominent in all of his published writings, are especially so in his "stories" derived from Scripture, which are written in a style suited to the comprehension of a child, and not too simple to interest older readers.

The material which he here makes use of is found in the Parables of Christ, and various narratives from the Old Testament Scriptures. He has employed it, without irreverence, in such a manner as to invest it with the charm of romance; and without attempting to inculcate, in connection with the stories, as he tells them, any peculiar doctrines of his own, he makes them the means of conveying, in a natural and easy manner, moral lessons of the highest importance. Those who can not countenance the divorce of the matter made use of from its connection with the teachings of the systems of theology in which they have been educated, will not regard these books with favor. Others will find in reading them that it is possible to invest the familiar material of the Bible with an interest and a significance never dreamed of; and this is what Mr. Frothingham has succeeded in doing.

IMITATION OF CHRIST.²—Of few books, beside the Sacred Word, can it be said that they were written for all time. To Thomas à Kempis and Jean Gerson, belong the distinction of having given to the world such a book.

¹ "Stories from the Lips of the Teacher." Retold by a Disciple.

"Stories of the Patriarchs." By O. B. Frothingham. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1876. 2 vols.

² "Imitation of Christ." Thomas à Kempis, with an introduction by Rev. F. W. Farrar, D. D. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1876.

The "brief, quivering sentences" of the *Imitatio Christi*, well deserve a setting in which they may find their way into the homes and hearts of the people, and this edition of the work, with the excellent critical and biographical introduction from the pen of Dr. Farrar, is admirably adapted to secure such an end.

SALVATION BY CHRIST.¹—Some years ago a series of discourses by Dr. Francis Wayland, delivered before the students of the University at Providence, was published under the title of "University Sermons." These sermons, which treat of many of the most important doctrines of Christianity, have been thoroughly revised by the author, and with some additions and omissions, and under a new title, are now republished. Dr. Wayland's arguments are well considered, and all of his utterances are of such a character as to win respect, if they do not carry conviction. To a pastor, the book will prove exceedingly suggestive; and in this, we apprehend, will be found its chief merit.

ESSAYS ON LEGAL SUBJECTS.²—This Collection embraces a Discourse on Law as a Science delivered as the introductory lecture of a Course to Law Students, and a number of articles published at different times in Law Journals. They are all able and thoughtful, and some of them deserve attention at the hands of other classes besides the profession for which they were specially prepared. One on the preservation of the Common Law is particularly able and valuable, and will be likely to suggest some difficulties in the codification of the *Corpus* of the law which would not have occurred to minds of a less practical cast. There is in it a striking comparison of Hallam's labor in rendering the principles of the English Constitution clear to the general apprehension, thereby substantially removing them from the field of controversy, with Madison's in framing a Constitution of inflexible rules concerning the scheme of which fundamentally opposed theories have ever since been held and maintained. A review of M. de Coulanges on the Religion, Laws and Institutions of Greece and Rome, is perhaps the most interesting in the collection. The place of the family in Grecian and Roman institutions is clearly and forcibly shown, and its preëminent importance well illustrated.

POMEROY'S CONSTITUTIONAL LAW.³—The issue of a third edition of this book, which was first published shortly after the war, would seem to indicate a considerable demand for it. Probably its comparative brevity makes it available as a text-book in educational institutions. The book has no glaring faults, except its tremendous rhetoric whenever any constitutional question,

¹ "Salvation by Christ." Discourses by Francis Wayland. Boston: D. Lathrop & Co. 1876.

² "Essays on Legal Subjects." By Professor James Parsons, of the University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia: Rees Welch, Publisher. pp. 153. 1876.

³ "An Introduction to the Constitutional Law of the United States." By John Norton Pomeroy, LL. D. Third edition. New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1875. 580 pages.

affected by the war, comes under discussion ; but on the other hand it can not be given very high commendation. The subject is a great one, and for its fit treatment requires the culture of a great lawyer and of a thorough student of constitutional history.

CIVIL LIBERTY AND SELF-GOVERNMENT.¹—The increased attention which is being given to the science of politics by citizens generally, has created an unwonted demand for books upon that subject. Many almost forgotten works of merit, such as Mr. Skinner's treatise upon "The issues of American Politics," Mr. Sterne's essay on "Representative Government," Mr. Hill's little book on "Liberty and Law," and finally Dr. Lieber's more elaborate work on "Civil Liberty and Self-Government," are again brought prominently before the public.

Dr. Lieber's important work, first published in 1853 when its author was a professor in the University of South Carolina, has passed through successive editions, each time winning new favor. The present edition has been carefully edited by Theodore D. Woolsey, LL. D., who worthily recognizes, in his introduction, the talent and patriotism of its distinguished author, who died in the city of New York in 1872.

Dr. Lieber recognizes the science of politics as resting on the "idea of justice and of rights;" and in determining the practical solution of the problems which must always arise as to what constitutes justice and right as between government and people, he would depend upon the experience and wisdom of practical men, rather than upon the views of political theorists. A German by birth, and an American citizen by choice, he was, as Dr. Woolsey remarks, and as his book clearly indicates, an Englishman in many of his ideas. One great value of the work is its exposure of some of the most prominent faults in American politics. The author was evidently familiar with all of the various experiments which have been made in self-government, and his knowledge has been brought to bear in such a way as to make his book of real value to students of Political Science.

PRINCIPIA; OR, THE BASIS OF SOCIAL SCIENCE.²—This is the second edition of a work which has been for some time before the public. There is nothing in the volume as now published to change the judgment formed upon its first appearance. It is the unsuccessful effort of a thinker of undoubted ability to construct a theory of social science, which shall embody principles of universal application. A confusion of terms is introduced at the outset, where he defines Social Science as the Philosophy of Politics. In making these two terms interchangeable, the author opens the way to ambiguity, uncertainty, and various difficulties, which, with minor faults of

¹ "On Civil Liberty and Self-Government." By Francis Lieber, LL. D. Third Edition Revised. Edited by Theodore D. Woolsey. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1876.

² "Principia, or the Basis of Social Science." By R. J. Wright. Second Edition. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1876.

a like nature, obscure his meaning, and make many parts of his book a puzzle. It is just to say that while Mr. Wright fails to establish his theories regarding a system of social science, he has nevertheless made a serviceable contribution to the literature of sociology. Many of the topics considered are thoroughly practical, and some of those which have a bearing upon the important practical questions of the day, are discussed in a statesmanlike manner. The author's evident devotion to his subject, and the vigor of his style, add not a little to the interest of his work.

THE PROTECTION OF MAJORITIES.¹—The time-honored name of Quincy, which appears upon the title-page of this little book, is sufficient, in itself, to attract attention to the subject matter. This consists of papers which formerly appeared in *Old and New*, and which treat of political and other affairs of public importance. "The Protection of Majorities"—the first paper—is a colloquial discussion of reform questions, and contains many truths which are worthy of attention; but that their importance is made more manifest, or that any new ideas of value are suggested in connection with them, in this paper, is a matter of doubt.

The essays upon Coercion in the later stages of Education, Functions of Town Libraries, and The Abuse of Reading, are of far more direct and practical value.

DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY.²—This work, first published several years ago, is intended to present a biographical summary, as complete as possible, of the principal facts connected with the lives of those Americans who have attained prominence in art, science, literature, politics, or history. In addition to the ten thousand notices contained in the first edition, the present edition has a supplement containing several pages of new matter. Of none of the persons referred to, is the history brought to a later date than 1870.

SCIENTIFIC AGRICULTURE.³—This book shows a familiar acquaintance with the best writers upon the science, and the art of agriculture and horticulture. If it does not add much to these teachings, it has the merit of presenting them in systematic form, so as to be available for students in the class-room. Mr. Pendleton has not only done a good work for the young men in our agricultural schools, but for all intelligent cultivators as well. There is hardly a gardener or farmer who thinks at all upon the economy of his daily toil, who would not be benefited by the study of this work. It is full of practical hints, showing how money may be made in the purchase and use of fertilizers, in the mechanical preparation of the soil, and in its

¹ "Protection of Majorities, or considerations relating to Electoral Reforms, with other papers." By Josiah Phillips Quincy. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1876.

² "Dictionary of American Biography." By Francis S. Drake. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1876.

³ "Scientific Agriculture." By E. M. Pendleton, M. D., Professor of Agriculture and Horticulture in the University of Georgia. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co.

thorough cultivation while crops are growing. If the teachings of this book could be followed on every farm and plantation, it would add many millions of dollars annually to the agricultural products of the country.

RECENT ENGLISH BOOKS.

HISTORY OF CREATION.¹—Ernst Haeckel is, next to Darwin, the greatest expositor of the philosophy of evolution, and is second to no man in Europe in his profound knowledge of the lower forms of animals and plants. These volumes are a translation of a well-known German work, in which he endeavors to give a popular view of the great subject of the origin and history of life. He first, in true German style, travels over a very wide field of historical discussion regarding the views held by successive naturalists, and then develops his own theory, which is substantially that held by Darwin. He first states a number of laws or principles supposed, and then traces the pedigree or “phylogeny” of the vegetable and animal kingdoms from their lowest forms to man, illustrating them by many elaborate genealogical trees. In the course of the details into which this investigation obliges him to enter, he brings forward, in a condensed yet clear form, a vast mass of biological information of great value in itself and much of it not easily accessible to the general reader or even to the scientific student. Most of it too is accurate and up to the existing state of knowledge, though there are some errors and inadvertencies; as for example when he asserts, vol. ii, p. 91, that a large proportion of coal is composed of algæ, and his assumption throughout of the possibility of spontaneous generation, which has recently received such damaging if not fatal contradiction from the crucial experiments of Tyndall, and which must always have appeared to any biologist accustomed to the investigation of the lower forms of life, not only unproved but in the highest degree improbable. The reader needs also in this book, as in others of the same school, to be on his guard against assumptions of what should be proved, and vague reasonings from analogy. Of the former, the book is pervaded with the gigantic instance, that while all things are believed to be derived from one another by phylogeny, and no power is admitted outside of matter itself, we are required to assume without any cause, the existence of matter and its potencies and tendencies, the whole of which are coolly taken for granted and reasoned on; as if for example, the tendency of certain elements to combine as albumen, and of albumen to assume the forms of life, and of these to go on in certain developmental processes, were something too simple to require any explanation: whereas it is obvious that, without going to the root of these powers and tendencies, all explanations based on them must be in a philosophical sense superficial

¹ The History of Creation by Ernst Haeckel, From the German. The translation revised by Prof. E. R. Lankester, M. A., F. R. S. King & Co., London. 1876.

in the highest degree. Of vague analogies one of the most glaring is that in which crystallization is placed in connection with organization, and the properties of organized beings traced to those of carbon. Stripped of specious coloring, this amounts to the extravagant statement that the tendency of carbon to crystallize as graphite or diamond, enables us to comprehend the arrangement of the molecules that constitute an animal or vegetable cell. Yet this vague sort of unreasoning statement is put forth with the utmost naiveté, as if it were a profound scientific truth. With these cautions the book may be taken as one of the most earnest and elaborate attempts to work out the genesis of the earth and man, in some detail, on a Darwinian basis, and to arrange in conformity with this theory all organic beings according to the order of their development.

Haeckel has no idea of any power beyond the material universe. He adheres to what he terms "Monism" and which he defines in this wise—"Where teleological dualism seeks the arbitrary thoughts of a capricious creator in the miracles of creation, causal Monism finds in the process of development the necessary effects of eternal immutable laws of nature." This sentence in truth photographs perfectly the philosophical standpoint of the man. While he can see nothing inconceivable in the idea of eternal immutable laws, with or without eternal matter and force, and these producing a systematic development in time, on the other hand he sees nothing in the possible work of a creator except what is arbitrary, capricious and miraculous. The old idea of plan and law in creation has no place in his mental horizon. From such a mind theology and holy Scripture can expect to receive little consideration and somewhat scant courtesy. Yet in this respect he is more fair than some of the shallower English disciples of his school, for in one passage he goes somewhat out of his way to pay a tribute of praise to the "Mosaic hypothesis of creation" for its clear testimony to the ideas of separation or differentiation and of development or perfecting, and also to the grand features of the progress of the creative work. He might have added, its testimony to the unity of nature and to the dominance of law and definite plan. He unfairly accuses it of holding the earth as the centre of the universe and man as the sole object of creation—the latter an accusation to which Haeckel's own system is more exposed.

In the assumption of monism as the basis on which to build our ideas of the origin of things, Haeckel is in advance of Darwin, or at least of the avowed opinions of that great observer and speculator; and though many of the English evolutionists appear sometimes to see that their system cannot fairly avoid this extreme, they evidently shrink from it, not only on account of its theological heterodoxy, but also because of its apparent conflict with common sense. This however, does not appal Haeckel, and perhaps one can best measure the precise position in which he places himself by noticing what he calls his "proofs," as summed up in the end of the book, and his summary of the "Phylogeny of Man."

The "proofs" then, may be shortly stated as follows, along with the points

in which they seem to fail, as evidence of monism or of milder forms of evolution. The *first* consists in the fact that the earlier organisms known to the geologist are simpler and less specialized than their successors, and that there is thus a progressive perfecting of organisms. This may be good evidence of a development of some sort and within certain limits in the progress of nature; but it does not prove Haeckel's doctrine, unless we can be perfectly sure that such progressive development has not been a plan dictated by intelligence. To take a very familiar instance—Assume that the wild *Brassica oleracea* has by some means been specialized into a cauliflower; this does not prove a spontaneous development, unless I can be quite sure that no gardener has intervened with intelligent selection in the process. The *second* proof is that every individual animal is developed from a simple embryonic condition, and that this is a type on the small scale of the development of groups on the large scale. But this is obviously a mere analogy, and that a very vague one. Further, even this disappears when we find that the adult animal produces simple germs which, as far as our observation goes, pass through the same changes with the previous individuals. The *third* proof is merely a development of the analogy implied in the first and second. The progress of the individual animal may be a type of that which species undergo in geological time. Proof *fourth* is based on the similarity of internal structure in many kinds of animals very different externally. But if there is any intention in nature, this is precisely what we should have a right to expect. The *fifth* proof is the connection of the inward structure of the animal with the changes which it may be supposed to have passed through. This of course depends on our previous reception of monism to give it any value beyond that of a mere adaptation. The *sixth* proof is that there are rudimentary or unformed organs for which no definite use has been discovered. But then we are not sure that they may not have uses yet undiscovered. Even if they have no use, they must either be old organs giving out or new organs coming in, if monism be true. In the former case the monist has to show cause why they were produced and also why they are being lost. In the latter case it seems impossible that he can have any way of accounting for them. Rudimentary organs are often appealed to by evolutionists, apparently in entire unconsciousness that these constitute one of the chief difficulties in their system. The *seventh* proof is that in classification groups of animals branch from each other in a manner to indicate blood relationship;—that is, of course, if we exclude altogether the idea of plan, and suppose that creatures specifically distinct may have been produced from one another indefinitely. But even the genealogical trees have many fatal breaks. The *eighth* is the geographical distribution of animals and plants, which shows that like forms inhabit like regions, and arise from similar centers of origin. But this must equally be the case on the theory of creation according to plan, and of adaptation of organisms to their surroundings. The *ninth* is the most singular reason of the whole; namely, that the adaptation of organisms

to external circumstances, which is usually supposed to be evidence of design—a superficial view, Haeckel thinks, though Mill, a much more profound thinker did not—really proves that the surroundings produced the organism. Thus light caused eyes and sound ears; the rock produced the *Lithodomus* which bores it and the Acorn-shell which clings to it; the tube produced the *Serpula* and the specific gravity of water the shell of the *Nautilus*. We may almost add, the mill produced the miller and the net and boat the fisherman. The *tenth* and last proof is perhaps that which weighs most with the believers in evolution, and which must be especially potent in proportion to the disinclination of men to face difficulties in research and reflection. It is this, that if we admit the validity of the previous proofs and the dogma deduced from them, we can explain anything in a way more or less satisfactory, always excepting that question of questions—how this wonderful concatenation of causes and effects can have been instituted at first.

We have detailed these proofs, because they give the essence of the doctrine; but if the reader wishes to learn all that can be said in their favor, he must have recourse to the book itself.

A very important part of the work is that which relates to man. The map of his affiliation is surprisingly orthodox, giving in the main much the same views ordinarily taken in our books of biblical geography, except that, as there can be no question of the existence of fully developed man from the earliest times in southern Asia, it is convenient to assume a primitive continent of Lemuria, now submerged under the Indian Ocean, in which the stages of his transition from ape to man were passed, and from which unfortunately they can never be recovered. About these stages of the development of man, however, Haeckel has no doubt. They are twenty-two in number, and extend all the way from *Monera* to man. The four last are—

19. Tailed Apes.—(*Mendocerca*.)
20. Man-like Apes.—(*Anthropoides*.)
21. Ape-like Men.—(*Pithecanthropi*.)
22. Men.—(*Homines*.)

It is a curious and instructive point in this genealogy that stage twenty-first, the ape-like man, can nowhere be found, either recent or fossil. There may, it is true, exist men sufficiently ape-like, in a certain sense, but not in that required by the theory. This is therefore the veritable “missing link”; and its absence can be accounted for either on the supposition that it has not pleased God to make such a creature, or in accordance with our monist theory, because this kind of animal has proved specially unsuitable to any condition of life, and so was very temporary and local, or because it has unfortunately perished in the subsidence of the hypothetical continent of Lemuria. Nevertheless, according to the theory, these beings must have existed, and we are told, quite circumstantially, that they must have been speechless, that they arose from anthropoid apes “becoming

habituated to an upright walk," and that they existed "toward the close of the Tertiary period," that is immediately before the glacial age.

There is nothing new under the sun, and we are sorry to say that the brilliant theory we have sketched is really very old. Something similar is implied in the fragmentary Chaldean account of Creation, preserved by the Historian Berosus, and indications of which, according to Smith, exist in some of the Nineveh tablets recently deciphered; but it is given more in detail in the Sacred book of the Quichés of Central America. There it is written that the men first created by the gods had language but no intelligence, and the gods, discontented with their work, caused these imperfect men to be drowned—a reminiscence perhaps of the subsidence of Lemuria. A second attempt was only a little more successful, for it produced men with a certain intelligence but incapable of worshipping the gods. These were in part destroyed and in part continue to exist as apes, and the third attempt produced man as he now is. This is clearly not far removed from the monist conception. But in some respects it is more natural and therefore preferable. Since animals have voice without reason, and the faculty of speech becomes developed in infancy earlier than that of abstract thought, it might be reasonable to imagine that talking men existed before reasoning men, rather than the reverse. Further, that reasoning men may exist without any religious ideas is proved by the present condition of the monists themselves, who approach, very nearly, to the penultimate stage of the Quiché phylogeny; but who, it is to be hoped, may escape the sad fate to which the missing link seems to have been doomed in both systems.

THE DAWN OF LIFE.¹—The remarkable facts recorded in this work are a contribution to science originating with the Geological Survey of Canada, so long and ably directed by Sir William E. Logan, recently deceased, and, at the present time, prosecuted under the direction of Sir Alfred R. C. Selwyn. The author, Dr. Dawson, has not sustained a formal relation to the survey; but he has long been distinguished for his original contributions to geological science, and his hearty coöperation with the Survey in developing the geology of the vast Dominion of Canada. Dr. Dawson is perhaps, the ablest geologist of the Dominion; he certainly is the geologist of greatest versatility, and the one who has pondered, in the most philosophical spirit, the fundamental problems presented by geology, and especially its record of extinct life upon the earth. His present work may be regarded as duplex in its structure—consisting both of popular statements and of scientific discussions. The unlearned reader is addressed in the continuous narrative; but each chapter is followed by an appendix, consisting of a summary or reproduction of papers cited from the scientific journals, and originating, in

¹ *The Dawn of Life; being the History of the Oldest known Fossil Remains and their Relations to Geological Time and to the Development of the Animal Kingdom.* By J. W. Dawson, LL. D., F. R. S., F. G. S., etc. Principal and Vice Chancellor of McGill University, Montreal. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1875.

America and England, during the progress of the researches and discussions which have finally resulted in the establishment of the claims of *Eozoön Canadense* to a place in the kingdom of animal life.

We are indebted to Sir William E. Logan for the discovery of the oldest remains of animal life as yet revealed upon our planet. It is more than a singular coincidence—it is a wonderful instance of scientific prophecy, that the geologists of Canada, and notably Dr. T. Sterry Hunt, then connected with the Survey, no less than the veteran geologist of Great Britain, Sir Charles Lyell, had already announced the conviction that organic existence had begun upon the earth, even in the earlier epochs of that enormous interval of time which intervened between the dawn of the Silurian Age and the beginning of sedimentation; and which, since the report of Foster and Whitney on the Mineral Lands of Lake Superior, had been hopelessly named “Azoic” Time. The prophecy was based on the occurrence of enormous beds of graphite and of iron ores, in the system of rocks belonging to Azoic Time, as well as the presence of limited amounts of petroleum and of vast formations of limestone. Dr. Dawson has given us a resumé of the prophetic utterances of that period, and of the stratigraphical conditions under which were discovered the obscure organic traces which were destined to constitute a memorable fulfillment of the auguries of science. The Director of the Geological Survey was aided by the efficient collaboration of Dr. Dawson, Dr. Hunt and Mr. E. Billings, the sagacious palæontologist of the Survey; while in England, Dr. Carpenter contributed effectively by his own studies, to elucidate the structure and affinities of the organism which announced the Dawn of Life upon our planet. These circumstances are set forth by our author with the authority of an original investigator, and the elegance and clearness of diction which belong to the finished master of style. Nothing could be more entertaining or suggestive than this review of the methods of science in eliminating difficulties which seemed inseparable, and pushing, by a determined and hopeful concert of action, further and further toward a clear solution of the stubborn problem.

In connection with the special history of *Eozoön*—the characters of which are copiously illustrated by engravings of photographs taken directly from the actual specimens—we have an exposition of the kindred of the “Dawn Animal,” and the part which the family has played in the later history of the world. The Dawn Animal is related to the Nummulites, whose discoid forms are piled by millions in the great limestone formation which has yielded material for the pyramids. It is similarly related to *Orbitoides*, a nummuline type occurring abundantly in the white Eocene limestone of Alabama, Mississippi and other Southern States. In its animal nature it was closely related to *Amæba* and *Protamæba*, little more than particles of animated jelly, the former of which is familiar to the modern microscopist. The relics of this venerable predecessor of the populations of the world are found imbedded in masses of crystalline limestone intercalated among the highly folded strata which rise in the Laurentian hills bounding, on the

north, the valley of the St. Lawrence. Since these limestone materials entombed the remains of the primeval inhabitants of our globe, not less than one hundred and twenty-five thousand feet of sediments have been accumulated along the shallower borders of the ocean; and this work, according to the estimates of conservative geologists and physicists, must have consumed seventy or eighty millions of years. It is a biography of creatures thus deeply buried in sediments and centuries, which we have before us in the pages of Dr. Dawson.

It would have been a neglected opportunity, had the author failed, in this work, to question *Eozoön* respecting its lineage. Dr. Dawson is an illustrious opposer of Darwinism viewed as an adequate explanation of the diversity and succession of organic types; and he fails to find in the Dawn Animal and his relatives of later ages, any facts to serve as the basis of a faith in that theory. This primeval animal possessed, as emphatically as the most exalted form of the present age, all the capabilities which so sharply differentiate a living organism from dead matter. The essential functions of life were executed with the same consummate success as in a mollusc or a man. Between it and lifeless matter was an interval admitting of a considerable series of gradations. But *Eozoön* had no predecessor. Neither, so far as the facts of geology reveal, had *Eozoön* any lineal descendant. It stands cut off from all its nearest relatives by intervals of complete discontinuity. It must be admitted, however, that this definite circumscription does not close the argument respecting the "phylogeny" of protozoa. It may even be true that the vital principle of *Eozoön* was transmitted through intermediate links, now lost, to forms as distinct as *Stromatopora* and *Orbitoides*.

But there is one admission which can not be made. The protozoan, stripped of all structure which could distinguish it from inanimate matter, is still the seat of manifestations which are never revealed by inanimate matter. It proclaims the reality of a force which does not belong to the category of physical forces. Nevertheless, after admitting the reality of a vital force, we find ourselves, on reflection, far from a solution of the question, 'What relations does this sustain to original cause?'

On the ultimate problems of philosophical research, *Eozoön*, as our author assures us, sheds no light. "Our Dawn Animal has positively no story to tell as to his own introduction, or his transmutation into other forms of existence. He leaves the mystery of creation where it was." He nevertheless, chimes, in his testimony, with the teachings of all other creatures respecting the reality, in creation, of progress, method, thought. He joins them in testifying that some of the very lowest forms of life have been operative upon a grand and persistent scale, and have made the most effective contributions to the preparation of our planet for the occupancy of man; and he illustrates the grand fact in the economy of life, that every great type of organization, once introduced, has been perpetuated, in some of its modifications, to the human age of the world—expanding, gathering

strength and dominion, and assuming far-reaching and essential functions in the progressive evolution of the earth; then, under changed conditions, shrinking away, yielding the ground and the function to some higher type of being; yet always preserved—carefully, fondly preserved, even as human intelligence cherishes its relics, to testify to conditions of things which must, otherwise, be irretrievably buried in the impenetrable abysses of past time.

CURRENCY AND BANKING.¹—The visit of Professor Price to this country in 1874, and his familiar addresses to the chambers of commerce of New York and other cities, upon the topics embraced in this volume, will give him a wider circle of readers than can usually be commanded by a writer on so hackneyed a subject. The book is written in a style of unusual vivacity, and recalls pleasantly the manners and conversation of its author. We have space only to notice a few of the distinguishing features of the book. Money, according to Professor Price, is only valuable where it is current, that is actually moving, (*currens*) and performing the various operations of exchange and payment; recalling the saying of Boisguilbert, that "gold at the bottom of a miser's chest is as worthless as so many stones." He has, therefore, no respect for the popular veneration for gold merely as gold. Unless England needs it for immediate purposes, he does not rejoice with the crowd, when treasure ships arrive from Australia or California; "the glorious ingots have not made England one pound the richer; they have all been paid for with English property of equal value." Gold is only needed as a redemption fund; or, if we may be allowed the expression, as the universal solvent, by which the currencies of all countries can be converted into each other.

In all this Professor Price does not come quite up to orthodox English standards; but there is, after all, no writer who distinguishes more sharply between metallic and paper money. "Coin, metallic coin alone, is true money. Every kind of paper styled money, carries on its face an order, or promise, to pay money. An order, or a promise to give a thing, is not the thing itself; the thing is absent. This settles the matter absolutely; paper is not money." "Coin is the substance, the reality covenanted to be given for goods bought; consequently coin alone is payment." Herein lies the test of real money, its power of absolute, final payment. All other methods of discharging debts are merely transfers of obligation, putting the debt of A. on to the shoulders of B. If we pay in bank notes or greenbacks, we merely discharge ourselves by turning over to our creditor a debt against the bank or the Government. If by a check, we make a similar transfer, without even discharging ourselves till the bank accepts the check. Circulating notes cause the account to bring money, because, if accepted, they constitute immediate payment between the parties. Professor Price holds, with Lord Overstone, and against the late Mr. Amasa Walker, and many

¹ "Currency and Banking." By Bonamy Price, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Oxford. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1876. pp. 176, 12 mo.

other American economists, that bank deposits are not currency, but only book accounts; and the transfer of them only set-offs; they lack mobility, they are not *current*.

The argument against Government paper money is presented with great force, especially the point that Government notes always represent *wealth consumed*; while bank notes represent wealth still existing. The United States greenbacks stand for the property destroyed in war; while the notes of the National Banks represent property in the transmission of which, from producer to consumer, mercantile paper is created, which paper the bank buys with its notes; what it really buys is not the promise of Mr. A., the maker of the note, but the iron—the cloth—the shoes—the flour or the lumber which constitute the consideration for which the note was given. To redeem the bank note there is always, therefore, a fund constantly growing in value, held in the hands of somebody for the security of every intervening obligation, in the long line of sellers and buyers. The last buyer is the consumer, who when he pays the price of the commodity, sets a fund in motion which travels steadily back to the producer, paying every intervening debt and intervening profit on its journey. But to pay the Government notes, there is no fund, unless it be the taxes which may be loaned on these same commodities, thereby drawing a portion of their value into the public treasury. In the one case, the circulation represents wealth and wealthy commerce; in the other case, it represents debt and ultimate taxation; in the one case, the issuer of the notes redeems them willingly, because he has the equivalent for them in his till; in the other case, there is a strong temptation to repudiate, because there is nothing in the till to redeem with, and self-imposed taxation by which to fill it is a painful process. There is, besides, no tribunal to compel the Government to redeem.

What the Government can not do directly, our author holds that it may, very properly, do through the agency of banks, "the only institutions with which it can negotiate for the performance of this service; for banks alone can deal with the funds received in exchange for the bank notes, and employ them."

The most satisfactory chapter in Professor Price's book is the last, in which he answers the question "What is a Bank?" It is not, as commonly defined, "a creator of money," nor "a dealer in money," but "*an institution for the transfer of debts.*" The definition is very clearly and conclusively worked out, by an analysis of the operations of banking. Every operation of banking is an operation dealing with a debt. Receiving deposits is the assumption of a debt; paying them is a discharge of it; transfers from one depositor to another is the shifting of a debt. Discounting paper is only the transfer of a debt from the original creditor to the bank. If the proceeds of discount are paid in bank notes, this is only an exchange of one promise (debt) against another, namely, the bank's general promise to pay its notes to bearer, against the special promise of the maker of the paper to pay it when due to the legal holder.

The greatest value of the book lies in this chapter, for it strips the business of banking of all its mystery, and shows how simple its operations are, and how indispensable, withal, to the well-being of society. Nothing can be more senseless than the war of the indebted classes against banks. It is for them that banks were specially devised, and for them only that they are necessary. If all men were rich, there would need to be no borrowing; but since some men have only industry and brains, while other men have capital, civilization imperatively demands an organized system by which the two shall supplement each other. That system is banking: it is as old as civilization, and when it ceases to exist, the world will have relapsed into barbarism.

The multiplication of books on Banking, at a time when the business is in a very depressed state, is a good sign. In prosperous times the managers of banks are so busy feeding the machine and keeping it up to a high rate of speed, that they have no leisure to study or reflect upon the nature of their business. Banking is, in all countries, much more a trade than a profession. In a majority of cases bank managers are men who have risen from the mere plodding routine of the desk, or counter, to a position which requires for success, a rare combination of qualities and acquirements, knowledge of business in a large sense, knowledge of men, and ability to deal with them, prudence, courage, and sound judgment.

A bank officer who comes up from the ranks has very little opportunity to acquire these qualifications by actual contact with the world. It is, therefore, all the more necessary for him to supplement his inexperience by study.—Mr. Bullion's book¹ is not to be ranked in importance or value with that of Professor Price. While the latter is replete with learning and scientific analysis, the treatise of Mr. Bullion is merely a collection of practical rules laid down by a banker of experience for the guidance of a younger member of the guild. The principles which underlie the advice given, are the same in all countries, but the illustrations show that there is a considerable difference in detail, between the banking of the north of England and that of the United States.

The notes of the Canadian editor indicate that banking in the Dominion, much more nearly resembles that of "the states" than that of Great Britain. Promissory notes take there the place of bills of exchange, and of "overdrawn accounts," a Scotch method of borrowing quite unknown in this country.

We are glad to find among the tests of a sound loan suggested by the editor, the following: "Will the transaction provide the means of its own repayment?" This, as we have elsewhere stated, we regard as the truest criterion of sound discount banking, namely, Is the loan or discount based upon the value of property exchanged, and the legitimacy of the dealing in

¹ "The internal management of a Country Bank: in a series of Letters on the Functions and Duties of a Bank Manager. By Thomas Bullion, with notes and observations by a Canadian Bank Manager." Toronto: Willing and Williamson, 1876. 12mo. pp. xiv. and 222.

it, which gives rise to the paper, or is it merely, or chiefly, based on the pecuniary responsibility of the parties? In the one case security is in plain sight, and is usually impregnable; in the other case it is uncertain, obscure and often baseless. Loans predicated on the value and exchange of property make banking the necessary outgrowth and servant of commerce; loans on personal security are often little better than gambling transactions.

We are glad to find, in a note on page 115, that the experience of Canada vindicates the safety of loans on the pledge of specific property, or the title deeds to it, such as bills of lading and ware-house receipts. There is a strong prejudice against such loans in New York and other Eastern cities, as there is also in England. It is time that this prejudice was done away with. If bills of exchange, created by the sale of property, are a good security, how much better should be the obligation of the borrowers, with a specific pledge of the property sold. The prejudice, we believe, has arisen solely from a neglect of caution to take proper steps to obtain information as to the property pledged and a good title to it. This is outside of banking experience, and of course requires special training; but if the same pains were taken to ascertain the condition, value and title to the property pledged, as is usually taken through mercantile agencies and private correspondence, to ascertain the character, habits and responsibility of the parties to mercantile treaties, a much more reliable and impregnable security would be obtained. The prejudice against loans on bills of lading does not exist in the great agricultural states of the west, any more than in the lumber-producing sections of Canada. In both those sections a large proportion of bank discounts is predicated on the pledge of property, or of the mercantile papers which give title to it. We are glad, therefore, to conclude this notice with this quotation from the note of the Canadian editor. "A bill of lading representing goods actually shipped to market, is certainly as good a security—if properly assigned—as the name of an average merchant. As a general rule, banks in Canada have found transactions on bills of lading the most satisfactory part of their business."

THE HOPES OF THE HUMAN RACE.¹—Mr. Cobbe seeks to present reasons for believing in the immortality of the soul, which will be satisfactory to those who have lost faith in the arguments generally advanced by christian believers. He speaks of himself as having once "failed to discover any sufficient reason for such trust," and as having deliberately thrust it away, "even under the pressure of a great sorrow." For this reason he thinks it possible that he "may understand better than most believers in the doctrine, why many honest, and not irreligious, minds are at this moment mournfully shutting out that gleam of a brighter world which should cheer and glorify the present:" and he thinks, also, that he "may have learned from experience how some of their difficulties are to be met."

If we may judge from the evidence incidentally presented in the author's

¹ "The Hopes of the Human Race. Hereafter and Here." By Francis Power Cobbe. New York: James Miller. 1876. \$1.75.

writing, he is one of the by no means small number of those disciples, or students, of the philosophical school represented by Mr. Mill, who have followed the teachings of that school to their logical sequence in practical nihilism; and who, after an experience of the bitter barrens where they have found themselves, have with inexpressible relief permitted Faith to guide them again into the fairer fields of hope.

Mr. Cobbe writes as one would be expected to write under the circumstances. He gives an attention to truths which many have never questioned, in a way which will seem to all such as quite unnecessary. But to those whose spiritual natures have suffered the desert torments of a sojourn at the nether outposts of skepticism, his words will be full of significance. If they do not dispel all doubts as to man's immortality, and though they prove the author to be far from orthodox in his views, they will suggest arguments in favor of a belief in a life to come which may be safely trusted to bring forth good fruit in the minds of careful readers. Mr. Cobbe shows, in what he says of the training received by the younger Mill, an insight into the determining influences which shaped the religious views of the latter, which many fail to obtain. He recognizes, fully, the remarkable power of the father's teachings "in extirpating the organ of religion from his child's heart;" and he regards this act "as serving to reveal to us the place it (the religious organ) naturally takes among human faculties."

The truth which Mr. Cobbe's experience has taught him, and which he would make more plain to others, is that our knowledge of God is not first obtained from the external world; and that we can not, therefore, depend upon science, or any of its inductions, as the means of giving us our clearest apprehensions of the Deity; that we must, on the contrary, regard the knowledge of the divine, as among the spiritual things which must be spiritually discerned, if discerned at all.

THE AGE OF PERICLES¹ is a somewhat inaptly named, but really excellent and valuable, book. In England, Grote is so completely the one historian of Greece for all but careful or aspiring scholars, and Curtius so satisfies the wants of those University men who can not be satisfied with Grote, that a period lightly touched by Grote, or a view of Greek life and civilization not dwelt on by Curtius, are apt to remain unknown. Mr. Lloyd brings into light the outer and inner, the political and social, life, the artistic and literary progress, of Athens in her brightest age; the half century which elapsed after she rose from the ruins of the Persian war, and before her pride was crushed, and her people demoralized, by the disasters and the cruel exhaustion of the War with the Peloponnesus. It is readable and well worth reading; and, on the whole, were we compelled to hurry a boy through a course of Greek history, or to add to a young lady's accomplishments some notion of classical history, and of the reasons which render Greece so interesting to all educated men, we should say that the fifth to the eighth volume of Grote, and the work

¹ "The Age of Pericles." London: McMillan & Co. 1876.

before us, attentively read, would convey a truer and more real, idea of the subject than the best and dreariest of handbooks, abridgments, or school histories.

KAYE'S SEPOY WAR, VOL. III.¹—The most interesting and important book lately published in England, is, probably, the third volume of Sir J. Kaye's History of the Sepoy War. The author's own public services, and his excellent biographies of some of the chief ornaments of that great body of statesmen by whom the Oriental empire of Great Britain has been administered for a hundred years, rendered him the fittest person to write the history of the tremendous struggle by which that empire was for a moment shaken to its foundations, to be speedily reëstablished in a more coherent form, and on a firmer basis than before. When it was once known that he had undertaken the task, no one dreamed of competing with him; and long as the interval has been between the publication of his two first volumes and the appearance of the third, no one has interfered with his monopoly of the subject. We have had military sketches of particular operations, and biographical accounts of the part taken by individuals in the suppression of the great mutiny; but nothing more. It is to be regretted that Sir J. Kaye's work proceeds so slowly. Nineteen years have now elapsed since the outbreak of the rebellion, seventeen since its total suppression, and we have still no complete record of its course, and the only work that pretends to give such a record has as yet only reached the turning-point of the story—the success of the little army of British troops, and native levies gathered with the utmost difficulty by the exertions of Lord Canning, General Anson, and the military and civil rulers of the Punjab under the guidance of Sir John Lawrence, in what is called the Siege of Delhi. As yet we have not arrived at the point where the first succors from England arrived in India, and the arrest of the China expedition by Lord Canning's urgent appeal, is, in date, one of the last events noted in this volume. All that has been accomplished, when Sir John Kaye lays down his pen, has been done by the resources actually at hand; by the small European garrison of India and the new levies raised, not in the provinces long subject to British rule—none such could be trusted against their Sepoy brethren—but among the recently conquered Sikhs and the borderers of Nepal. It is a striking testimony to the personal ascendancy of Englishmen over Eastern races, that instead of seizing such an opportunity to throw off the yoke, the Punjabees should have rallied round the British standards, and fought for them with as much courage as they displayed at Sobraon and Chillianwallah. Something may have been due to their respect for the English who had conquered them, and their contempt for the Indians whom they had often worsted; much more to the fact that all the administrators of the Punjab, soldiers and civilians, were men of that heroic type which makes a deep impression on the warlike races of the East, and commands from them a loyalty deeper than they are wont to pay to hereditary right, to the ties of

¹ "A history of the Sepoy war in India." By John William Kaye, F. R. S., author of the History of the War in Afghanistan. Vol. iii. London: W. H. Allen & Co. 1876.

race and religion, or, to what we should call, the claims of country. In his account of General Nicholson's exploits, Sir John Kaye shows how very powerful is the hold of a first rate leader of a superior race over the finest and most self-reliant of Oriental tribes. The world contains few better and braver warriors, few who respect themselves more highly, than those who worshiped Nicholson, sometimes with the devotion of clansmen to a chief, sometimes in the literal sense of worship, with the reverence due to a present deity. This attitude of the Sikhs is one of the notable features of the history. Another is the temper of the Sepoys. That the mutiny was preconcerted is almost certain ; that half the regiments which revolted did so from fear rather than from passion or greed, is proved by the fact that many and many a corps remained faithful through all temptation while the Europeans were at their mercy, and these revolted in their panic just when revolt entailed deadly peril and could lead to no success. The general impression left by a study of the three volumes is that the Mohammedans were generally guilty of premeditated treason ; that the Brahmins, Rajpoots, and Hindoos generally had been tampered with by a widespread conspiracy, and were in a state of mingled alarm and excitement, which rendered them sometimes the willing tools of fanaticism or villany, sometimes the helpless victims of that wildest of all frenzies, the frenzy of panic. Many horrible crimes were committed ; but in many cases the rebels spared and protected their officers and their officers' families. To the many brilliant achievements of English courage and resolution it is not necessary to refer. Everywhere little knots of Englishmen were driven to stand on the defensive in posts apparently indefensible, and to do so in isolation and in sole reliance on themselves ; and the difficulty of Sir John Kaye and of his readers lies in the fact that—the siege of Delhi and the rescue of Lucknow excepted—the early history of the mutiny is the history of a hundred separate and almost unconnected outbreaks, massacres, and struggles, which can neither be woven into one coherent story, nor told in chronological order. The present volume is for this reason especially incoherent and difficult to read with a clear grasp of its general purport ; but we hardly think that any of the critics who have handled it so severely on this account could have managed better than the author has done.

MAN AND BEAST.¹—In his present work Mr. Wood seeks to display the reasoning powers of animals ; the extent to which they are exercised, and the strange way in which they fail, suddenly, at some point which, to human intelligence, seems quite as simple and obvious, or even more so, than those which have been already passed. The stories of animal intelligence—of tact, judgment, artifice shown in situations wholly novel and for which instinct could not possibly have provided—are numerous, interesting, and for the most part entirely new. If there be a weakness in Mr. Wood's general argument, it lies in

¹ "Man and Beast." Here and Hereafter. Illustrated by more than three hundred original anecdotes. By the Rev. J. G. Wood, M. A., F. R. S., author of *Homes without Hands*. Two vols. London: Daldy, Isbister & Co. 1876.

this—that the chief examples of animal intelligence are taken from animals which have been not only domesticated, but long familiar with man, and with his methods of action ; so that much that we naturally ascribe to thought may really be due to imitation. Of all animals the elephant and the monkey are—as might be expected, the one being the largest-brained, the other the nearest akin to man—the cleverest ; but most of Mr. Wood's stories of elephant sagacity relate to elephants employed in man's service and instructed by him, and therefore fall under the same category with those of dogs, cats and horses. One of the points on which Mr. Wood dwells, is the power of communicating ideas possessed by animals, as proved by the coöperation of several—often of very large numbers—in a common object, where sometimes only one has been originally aware of the object in question, and has called others to aid, and sometimes the division of labor makes it obvious that arrangements must have been concerted for that purpose, and probably provision made for a distribution of the spoils which in the first instance fall into the possession only of a portion of the party employed. His stories of “Rooks' Parliaments,” of the extraordinary arrangements of wolves, and the concert and communication among ants and bees, are exceedingly interesting ; and his remarks on the power of communication and direction implied in the posting of sentinels by all social birds and beasts when in positions of peril, actual or possible, are well worthy of consideration. It is noteworthy, however, that Sir J. Lubbock's careful experiments hardly bear out Mr. Wood's views about the *hymenoptera*, and that the latter takes many of his stories at second-hand from people who *may* have misunderstood, misremembered, or exaggerated the evidences of intelligence they had witnessed.

THE WAY WE LIVE NOW.¹—It would be impossible for Mr. Anthony Trollope to write a wholly uninteresting story. He never fails either to get or to give some genuine insight into human character ; that is to say, the motives which prompt to action, and the very self which finds expression in words or deeds. But “The Way we Live Now” while entirely readable, is scarcely worthy of its author. Who, after all, are the “We” ? It is quite certain that this novel is no true description of English life ; nor can its “Mrs. Hurtle” be regarded as a model American. There is scarcely a character in the book which must not be regarded as exceptional, and it has no room whatever, either for the best, or for the numerical majority, of the English people. Where in this novel could we place, for instance, Lord Derby, or Mr. Gladstone ? where such dignitaries as the late Bishop Wilberforce, or the Dean of Westminster ? Is the whole upper middle class to be represented by such a well-meaning spooney as Paul Montague ? or the lower middle class by that honest, mealy animal, John Crumb ? And is it necessary that every handsome, clever, full-hearted American woman should have been divorced from her husband, or have “shot a man in Oregon ?”

¹ “The Way we Live Now.” A novel. By Anthony Trollope. New York : Harper & Brothers. 1875.

Indeed, the title of this novel is altogether misleading. There may be people in England of whom its characters are even flattering likenesses, but the book presents by no means an accurate picture of "the way we live now."

THE ITALIANS.¹—If it may be said of Mr. Trollope's story that it is one-sided and misleading, it is not too much to say of Frances Elliott's, that it is wholly impossible to imagine why such a book should have been written at all.

It may or may not—we hope not—be a correct picture of the Italian life of to-day ; but if it be correct, the picture is not worth painting. The whole life of this story is, with more or less of refinement, simply brutal. Its style, also, is at once tame and forced. The author seems to think that vivid effect can be produced merely by the use of the present tense for the past, and that grown-up people really care for descriptions that might be found surpassed in Murray's Guide-book, or in an auctioneer's catalogue. In art, and in morals, the book is both worthless and bad.

A QUESTION OF HONOR,²—is a far healthier and pleasanter story than either of the above. It is a tale of comparatively still life, with no conspicuous villain, and no character so morally dirty as to be unfit for introduction to decent society. The incidents are natural and probable, without being common-place. The love-making is, perhaps, rather less conventional than novels generally furnish ; indeed, for the most part, it is singularly genuine. True to real life, only one of the heroes wins his "first love," and he—is that also true to life?—would have done better to lose her. We will not reveal the plot. It is interesting enough to carry any reader to the end of the book. Mary Carlisle is drawn with a very tender grace ; and Madeleine Severn with great skill and beauty. If she be a very little too good for such a world as ours, it is better, even in our novel-reading, to meet with angels unawares, than with devils. And at any rate, we may believe, as the writer seems to, that the great majority of the people among whom we live are fairly honorable and trustworthy ; and that there is more of God in the world than of the devil.

ERECTHEUS³ is another imitation of the inimitable old Greek tragedies ; free from the offensive impurities, borrowed from the worst parts of the worst classic poets, which defile so many of the author's minor works. It is perhaps hardly wise, even in Mr. Swinburne, to undertake a task which brings his poetry into comparison with that of Sophocles and Æschylus ; but Mr. Swinburne may plead, if he choose, that his tragedies are certainly better than any other modern imitations (save that exquisite *Paradise of Birds*,

¹ "The Italians" : A novel. By Frances Elliott. New York : D. Appleton & Co. 1875.

² "A Question of Honor." A novel. By Christian Reid. New York : D. Appleton & Co. 1875.

³ "Erectheus." By A. C. Swinburne. London : Chatto & Windus. 1876.

the idea or suggestion of which, but no more, is borrowed from Aristophanes), and are not, in their worst passages, so degraded by false philosophy and prosaic special pleading as are some of the productions of Euripides. It is not safe to recommend anything of Mr. Swinburne's for indiscriminate perusal, unless one has carefully read every line with a special regard to its fitness *virginibus puerisque*; but the *Erechtheus* is at least a work which men, and probably women, may read with less offense to their moral taste than they will find in nearly any number of nearly any newspaper.

CHIPS FROM A GERMAN WORKSHOP.¹—Most popular, if not most important, of Professor Müller's works are the essays entitled "Chips from a German Workshop," and which treat of the "Science of Religion," of "Mythology, Traditions and Customs," of "Literature, Biography and Antiquities," and of the "Science of Language." The four compact volumes constituting this series, have been republished in an American edition from the latest London edition, and the exceedingly valuable and suggestive material which the author has gathered from so many fields and with such long and patient labor, is now easily accessible to American readers.

The importance of the studies to which Mr. Müller has applied himself with such rare devotion, as a means of adding to our knowledge, not only of the languages, but also of the history of the Ancients, has only recently received proper recognition.

The first serious claims advanced for the unity of all known languages, illy supported as they were by the scholars with whom they originated, naturally led to a distrust of subsequent philological theories. As a result, the views of Bopp, Pott and Benfey; of Grimm, Zeuss and Miklosich; of Curtius and Corssen, representing different periods and various fields of philological research, as they have been advanced, from time to time, have been subjected to such searching scrutiny, as thoroughly to test their soundness. In "Chips from a German Workshop," we have glimpses of all that these men have accomplished; we see clearly what Mr. Müller himself has done; and finally we are enabled to form a comprehensive idea of the results thus far attained in all of the departments of investigation treated of. It is true that much has been published relating to the subjects discussed by Mr. Müller since his works were first published; he makes little or no reference to the latest utterances of some scholars of authority, such as Osthoff and Meyer; and his unduly severe criticism of Professor Whitney, who is entitled to consideration as an original thinker in the same departments of thought, is hardly creditable to the author; but the work, as a whole, undoubtedly affords by far the most complete and satisfactory fund of information regarding the various subjects considered, now available.

ESSAYS ON THE EXTERNAL POLICY OF INDIA.—Mr. Wythe's Essays

¹ "Chips From a German Workshop." By F. Max Müller. Four volumes. Crown 8 vo. \$2.50. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1876.

possess a value and interest of their own, which is not a little enhanced, at least for English readers, by the character and position of the man, as shown by the brief memoir prefixed to the collection. The son of an Indian officer of distinction, Mr. Wythe belonged exactly to that class of gentlemen, who, under the old system of nomination, were selected to recruit the Civil Service of the East India Company, and who, under the system of competition, introduced along with the direct sovereignty of the Queen, have to take an equal chance with aspirants who have no hereditary interest in, or knowledge of, India. No one can say that the new class of officials are one whit wiser, abler, or better than their nominated predecessors; while they are wanting in that traditional interest in, and liking for things and persons, histories and ideas wholly foreign to an ordinary English education, which gave to the old race of civilians so excellent a basis for learning to understand and appreciate the country they had to govern. From a child Mr. Wythe had looked to India as the scene of his future career; he was to be a magistrate and ruler when other youths of his age would be *in statu pupillari* at Oxford or Cambridge; and this thought no doubt helped to give him that air of premature manhood which was his peculiar distinction at school. He was not, as the author of the Memoir supposes, a particularly successful scholar. At least half a dozen of his contemporaries, at Cheltenham, would have beaten him in a competitive examination; yet it was universally acknowledged among them that Wythe was the ablest, the most mature, the best writer, the clearest thinker of them all; and he was certainly the one on whom a man of the world would have pitched at once as the one most certain to distinguish himself. Of all his classmates, he is the only one known to the world; yet in that single school, half a dozen would have been preferred to him by competitive examination; and if the Indian Service had attracted, as was hoped, the foremost scholars from all the leading schools of England, it is doubtful whether this man, who was Indian Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs at thirty, would have won a place. As it was, he won a fair though not a high place. A clearer proof of the absurdity of competition as a test of fitness for government office could hardly be given than in a comparison of John Wythe,—at seventeen a cultivated gentleman, clever essayist, and man of the world,—with two or three raw school boys who would have beaten him by ten per cent of the marks awarded. In India Mr. Wythe rose rapidly, and at an early age was admitted into the Secretariate, or body of public servants engaged in directing, under the Viceroy in Council, the general government of India. It was chiefly while thus employed that Mr. Wythe wrote the series of papers collected in the present volume, most of which were intended as expositions and defenses of different points in the foreign policy of Lord Lawrence. A good many of these points have lost all interest, except such as is purely historical. But a general principle furnishes a connecting clew to the whole; and that principle is still as deeply important, for good or evil, as it ever was. The Indian Government has to deal with Persia and Siam, with Tartary and Arabia, and its temporary relations with one semi-barbarous potentate or another, are of little more than passing moment. But the one question that

is always before it, and is involved, more or less closely, with every other, is the bearing of Russian conquest on Indian security. Russia is conquering, piece-meal, the vast unprofitable territories of Central Asia; and one day will find herself at the foot of the Hindoo Koosh, or elsewhere, in close contact with the Indian Empire of England. Some Anglo-Indian statesmen argue that she never would have wasted her resources in conquering the barren steppes of Tartary except as a road to India. Others admitting that she may have no direct intention of attacking us, and that her armies, at so vast a distance from their real base, would not be physically formidable, consider that the mere presence of a rival power on its frontier would make India turbulent and uneasy, and necessitate the doubling of the British garrison; a measure which neither the recruiting power of England nor the finances of India could sustain. A third party considers the advance of Russia as the inevitable consequence of contact with tribes whom no treaty can bind, and no international law control; and believes that England will find it easier to deal with a civilized power, than with wild and lawless Mahometan States in a condition of constant anarchy; and that if she must fight, she will fight to greatest advantage on her own frontier, with a rich country at her back, and many warlike populations among whom to recruit. Of this optimist extreme, Lord Lawrence was the patron, and Mr. Wythe the active exponent; and it is as setting forth this popular view of the fundamental problem of Indian policy that these papers are especially interesting. Mr. Wythe's health obliged him to return to England at an early period of his career, and he attempted, by getting into parliament, to make for himself a new path to political influence and public usefulness. He was disappointed in his hopes, and died at Paris in 1870, in the thirty-fifth year of his age.

ROCKS AHEAD.¹—The "Rocks" here referred to are three in number—"Political," "Economic," and "Religious,"—and the articles in which they are respectively treated, formerly appeared in the *Contemporary Review*. They were soon after republished in book form, and have now passed to a second edition, in which we detect several important emendations and additions. In the American edition, republished from the one just referred to, we find an appendix containing four additional essays, which have also previously appeared in serial form, devoted to discussions upon labor questions and politics in the United States. The positions assumed by Mr. Greg in the articles first named, were forcibly controverted by subsequent articles in the *Contemporary Review*, the *Spectator*, and other English periodicals, by Mr. Arnold, Grant Duff, and others, whose vision failed to perceive any of the dangers pictured in Mr. Grey's so-called "Warnings of Cassandra."

These dangers to England, as apprehended by Mr. Grey were the political supremacy of the lower classes, a general decline in industry, and a divorce of intelligence from religion; and the author's statements in support of his

¹ "Rocks Ahead," or the warnings of Cassandra. By W. R. Greg. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1875.

views, are presented with no little force of argument, and in a manner which will be instructive to readers who desire information concerning possible weaknesses in the Political, Religious, and Economic, systems of England.

RECENT GERMAN BOOKS.

THE SHAKESPEARE LEXICON.¹—The first volume of Dr. Alexander Schmidt's "Dictionary of the words and phrases occurring in Shakespeare," appeared in 1874; the second has lately been issued, from the press of George Reimer of Berlin, making in all a work of 1452 pages, in double columns, closely but legibly printed. The plan of the work is to give, first, a definition of every word in the several meanings or shades of meaning in which it is used by Shakespeare, with quotations and references under each head; next, to explain phrases and proverbs which have become obscure; and lastly to elucidate peculiarities of grammatical construction. Thus the work answers the threefold purpose of a concordance, an etymological hand-book, and an explanatory dictionary. Every page of the work witnesses to the thoroughness, the patience, and the discrimination of the author. If he has any fault it is a tendency to over-refinement in differentiation, sometimes confusing the reader with speculative shades of meaning that were hardly thought of by the poet. Yet one is continually surprised that a foreigner should have so mastered the subtle niceties of the English tongue, and should frame definitions with such fine precision.

The Dictionary will be a help, not only to Shakespeare—who is perhaps more studied in Germany than in England—but to the English tongue in its purest age. It has valuable appendices of grammatical observations, foreign phrases, and words used in composition.

A HISTORY OF MEDICINE AND OF EPIDEMIC DISEASES.²—Though appearing as a new edition of a book which has been for nearly a generation before the public, this is substantially a new work; and is by far the most important attempt ever yet made to relate the history of the healing art, as an integral part of the history of civilization. The present volume begins with the first notions of the most ancient peoples, the Indians, Persians, Chinese, Egyptians, and early Greeks, on diseases and their remedies; traces the progress of thought on the subject, in its relations to religion, science, literature, and practical life; gives an especially full and careful consideration to the Hippocratic school, the first which gave medicine something of a scientific form; recites most intelligently the sources of Galen's doctrine, and explains the

¹ Shakespeare Lexicon. A complete dictionary of all the English words, phrases, and constructions in the works of the poet. By Dr. Alexander Schmidt. Berlin: George Reimer.

² Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Medicin und der epidemischen Krankheiten. Von H. Haeser. Erster Bund: Jena. 1875. New York: E. Steiger.

secrets of his long supremacy ; describes the decline of knowledge in the Byzantine period, the influence of Christianity in promoting regard for life and care for health, the value of Arabic studies in materia medica, the military surgery of the Middle Ages, and the practice of medicine among the knightly and monastic associations. The volume sustains its interest throughout ; and thorough research, and conscientious accuracy, leaves so little to be desired, that the reader will look eagerly for the two volumes which are to complete the work, containing the story of the development of scientific medicine in modern times—a story which, if regarded merely as a branch of the general history of civilization, is so fascinating and so important, that it is impossible to understand the neglect with which it has been treated.

It is impossible, within our limits, to give any detailed account of the contents of this work. We can but call attention to the fact that it is founded on a full examination of the whole field, including the most recent researches ; and that many of its most remarkable passages are the fruit of investigations and discoveries made since the earlier edition was written. Among these, none perhaps is of greater interest than that which describes the "Papyrus Ebers," one of the Hermetic books, as the Alexandrian Greeks called them, on the medical art of the ancient Egyptians. After a burial of more than three thousand years, this book was found in Egypt in 1873, in excellent preservation, by Dr. Ebers, and brought by him to Leipsic ; where it has been, within a few weeks, published in fac-simile. It is a bit of the romance of science, which Dr. Haeser probably thinks it beneath his dignity to relate, that the last work of Ebers, before this successful visit to Egypt, was to write while convalescent after a severe illness, a historical novel, "*Die Aegyptische Königstochter*." In the preface to a new edition of this story, just issued, he says : "It is almost a 'providential' circumstance that the author of the *Königstochter*—that I—should be the one destined to enrich my branch of science with this work. Among the characters brought before the reader, in this romance, is an oculist of Sais, who composed a book upon diseases of the eye. The fate of this precious book, is an incident upon which the course of the entire story turns. This Papyrus manuscript of the oculist of Sais, which but a short time ago existed only in the imagination of the author, and that of the readers of the *Königstochter*, is now before us as actual fact. My lot in making the discovery of this Papyrus has been that of the man who dreamed of a treasure, and afterwards rode out, and found it on the way."

But the history of science is the only real romance, and the healthy imagination is kindled by it to a flame of which the brightest fiction is but a pale reflection. The annals of medicine are full of instances of this ; and in the calm, uncolored narrative of Dr. Haeser, they lose nothing of their impressiveness to a reflecting reader. It will be somewhat humiliating, perhaps, to modern self-gratulatory science, to find that many of the triumphs, of which the profession is so proud in our day, are but the revival of knowledge that was common ages ago. Thus we find that "*Rhinoplastie*," or the art of

reproducing by surgery a respectable nose of living flesh, when that organ has been lost by disease or accident, was practiced more than four hundred years ago; and that the operation is minutely described in a recently discovered work of the fifteenth century, substantially as it is performed to-day. As Americans, we are accustomed to think that while the use of chloroform as an anæsthetic is due to a Scotchman, yet the discovery of anæsthetic inhalation in general, as a means of eliminating pain from surgical problems, is a gift of our own nation to the world; and thus that an American idea is the corner-stone of modern surgery. What shall we say, then, to the fact that Guy de Chauliac, in a work published in 1363, quotes from Theodoric, a medical writer of the preceding century, an account of a method of producing sleep, and insensibility, by the inhalation of certain vapors from a sponge? That, in the middle of the fifteenth century, such inhalation had become a common feature in practice? And even that the production of local anæsthesia, during surgical operations, is proposed and discussed by Pliny himself?

HETTNER'S GOETHE AND SCHILLER.¹—That a separate reprint in two thick octavo volumes, of the German classical period in Dr. Hettner's "History of the Literature of the Eighteenth Century," has passed to a third edition within five years from its first appearance, is a decisive testimony to its substantial and enduring value. This edition is not a reproduction from stereotype plates, but shows marks of conscientious labor on the part of the author. The first volume is devoted to the "*Sturm und Drang*" period—that wild tumultuous upheaval of fresh German thought and feeling against the French rules and traditions that then swayed German literature and criticism, especially in poetry and the drama. At the outset the destructive elements in this "Storm and Drive" movement threatened to throw the literary world of Germany into a chaos such as the Revolution brought upon the political world of France. Driven at first by these forces—Goethe, in *Götz* and *Werther*, Schiller in the *Robbers*—the two national poets whose fame is forever inseparable, emerged as the master spirits of order and light, restoring whatever of the old was true and good, in harmony with the new, and creating for Germany its classic age. Then it was that Shakespeare gained that mastery over the German mind that led the nation to adopt him, with even more of fervor than is manifested for him in England; then it was, also, especially through Schiller, that the ancient classics regained their ascendancy in modern dramatic art.

To the development of this period, the key-note of which was "the Ideal of Humanity," Dr. Hettner devotes his second volume, of 580 pages. Naturally it revolves about the personal and literary history of Goethe and Schiller, though other notables have their appropriate place of honor.

¹ Goethe und Schiller: von Hermann Hettner, Separat-Abdruck aus H. Hettner's Literatur-geschichte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts. Dritte verbesserte Auflage. Braunschweig: Friedrich Vieweg und Sohn, 1876. New York: Schmidt.

The several stages of Goethe's self-unfolding, are distinctly marked by his works and in his correspondence; "in Werther, and in the first part of Faust, Idealism, even to one-sidedness of a self-destroying fantasticism; in Tasso, the triumph of Realism even to a painful severity; in Wilhelm Meister, the recognition and realization of a harmonious equilibrium satisfied in itself." Few would dissent from Hettner's conclusion, that "the innermost kernel and the impelling force of the great struggle for enlightenment of the eighteenth century, found their purpose and fulfillment in Goethe;" but those who remember his political indifference at a time when Germany needed the impulse and guidance from her strongest and wisest men, and those who find no life complete or noble without a positive, high, and pure morality, must demur at his statement that "never was a human life so deep and grand, so pure and complete;" and "first through Goethe's poetry, deep and overflowing with beauty, have we again learned what a life of wisdom and beauty is, what it means to be a pure and noble man." The wisdom and beauty, the depth and sweetness, indeed are there, and there is a grandeur of scope in Goethe's conception of culture and organization in society and the state; yet one misses a certain ethical quality, that in Shakespeare, like a magnet, searches out the moral elements of our nature, and brings these into consciousness as supreme. As to Faust, its total impression varies with our moods. Once we have emancipated ourselves from the tragic spell of Margaret, and have come to regard this as but a single episode in the great inner drama of a human spirit struggling with doubts, temptations, and powers of darkness and evil, we find in Faust a philosophical scope as broad as Humanity. Yet in this view, the personal retaliations of Goethe upon Nicolai, Campe, Hennings and other critics, in the Walpurgis Night, are below the level of a poem destined to immortality, and out of keeping with the best rules of art. These are not to be likened to Shakespeare's satire on contemporary playwrights, in the theatre scene in Hamlet, but belong to the category of Byron's "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers."

In his criticism of "Egmont," Hettner recognizes the fact that Goethe has not created a great historical tragedy, but only an historical portrait in the character of the hero. But the character itself is not true to history; and the substitution of a lover's romance with Clara for the thrilling realities in the experience of Egmont's wife makes quite another sort of hero of Egmont himself. Besides, the scene in which Clara seeks to poison herself, and her secret lover Brackenburg only begs her to desist instead of dashing the cup from her lips, is contrary to every man's nature.

Of Schiller, Hettner is a less enthusiastic worshipper, though his estimate of his life and works is warm and admiring. Around these greatest lights revolve all the leading men of their time, in literature, art, and philosophy. The sketches of Herder, Kant, Heyne, Wolf, Müller, Jean Paul, Thorwaldsen, Schinkel, are severally fine specimens of historical portraiture and criticism. Especially valuable is the chapter on Mozart, Beethoven

and Weber, in which the author had the aid of Dr. Julius Rietz. As a whole, Hettner's work will long remain an authority for the brilliant period of which it treats.

THE ETHICS OF NATURE.¹—We have gone through these two volumes, of 1100 pages, with mingled feelings of satisfaction and of sadness; satisfaction that the pantheistic scheme of the universe which Koerner here unfolds should seek its ground in ethics and its highest end in a noble and pure morality; but sadness that a writer of such honesty of purpose, vigor of thought, and loftiness of aim, should fail of the highest ideal of the ethical and the highest motive to the moral, by ignoring a personal God. With many worthy thoughts and suggestions upon practical points in life, with sound principles, just conceptions, noble aims, scattered through his volumes, the author fails to fasten his system together with the grip of authority. He starts with the postulate that the welfare of Being and its development is the highest aim in Nature, and the one worthy end in human life; the true moral sense or disposition points to the universal good and the perfection of humanity as its ideal; a moral character unites for this end, feeling, thought, will, endeavor, activity, and rules all by its own spirit; a happy life consists in health, a good temperament, self-control, occupation, intellectual movement, and, above all, activity for the common good; and a wise and moral death is the conscious, gradual entrance into the Universal of the physical and the intellectual world. Koerner is no materialist, and no pessimist; he finds man the worthiest object in existence and morality the worthiest thing in man; he is earnestly in quest of the good and the true, but falls short of the highest good through not recognizing God who is love, though this is the final conclusion to which the ethical in nature and the moral in man continually point.

Koerner's work is another evidence of the degree to which, in Europe, Catholic intolerance and Protestant dogmatism have alienated men of thought and culture from the church and religion. He looks upon the church as inimical to human progress. This is hardly just to the Catholic church, which in the middle ages did so much for learning and art, and also for the abolition of slavery; and certainly in the United States, Religion has ever been the handmaid of freedom and knowledge—a fact which Koerner, who dates his preface from New York, ought surely to have learned.

The chapters on international law and on the domestic relations are among the most interesting portions of the work. Koerner's view of woman, however, is from the German usages of society, and would fail to satisfy American reformers. Upon the whole, his work is a useful contribution to the ethics of society and of life.

TRAVELS IN ASIATIC TURKEY.²—We opened this book with expecta-

¹ Natur—Ethik, von Hermann Jos. Al. Koerner. Hamburg: Otto Meissner.

² Reisen in der Asiatischen Türkei: von Julius Seiff, Civil-Ingenieur. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. Pp. 533 oct.

tions that were not realized in the perusal. Seizing upon the author's professional title of civil engineer, we looked for a record of scientific observations, surveys, altitudes, measurements, suggestions as to drainage, railways and other improvements, or at least a good topographical chart. But there is nothing of all this, and had we done the author the justice to read his Preface first, we should have seen that he promises nothing of the sort, but announces only unpretending sketches from his note-book, such as any intelligent traveler might give. These are graphic, instructive, and attractive, and make together a readable and useful book. We venture, however, one suggestion, not only for Mr. Seiff, but for German travelers in general. With the increase of means and of national enterprise, Germans are catching the English and American spirit of locomotion, and are multiplying books of travel. As a rule their observations are accurate and their descriptions clever; but they do not take pains to inform themselves of what has been done by other nationalities in the same fields, and, with the sense of novelty, they burden their pages with personal and trivial incidents quite out of proportion to the substantial contents of the book. For instance, in traveling over much of the ground visited by Mr. Seiff, we have not thought it important to give a public record of our experiences in quarantine, or with dragomen, or of nights passed in the domestic communism and discomfort of mud hovels;—such incidents are well known, at least to the English reading public, to belong to travel in the East, and have no longer the charm of adventure or of individuality. But though Mr. Seiff has given too much of unimportant personal details, and too little of scientific information, he has made a book of travel that is at once trustworthy and entertaining, and has the merit of making real to the reader the scenes visited by the author. Of special interest are the chapters upon Cyprus, the journey from Homs over Hamah to Aleppo, and the journey from Smyrna to Hieropolis and back, by way of Isbarta and Adalia. The author speaks favorably of American missionaries and their work.

PHYSIOLOGICAL PICTURES.¹—If our estimate of Büchner should rise in the ratio of his publications, we should place him among the apostles of the latest school of materialism. In fact, however, he is little more than an echo of Darwin and Tyndall, without the patient inventiveness of the former or the specious brilliancy of the latter; and in Germany he can hardly be said to have a following as an independent authority. Yet he has a clever and pithy way of putting things, and a controversial audacity, especially as against the current faith of Christendom, which make his books lively, while their contents evolved from his own omnivorous reading, are always instructive. This second volume of his physiological studies brings together a mass of curious observations concerning the brain and the nervous system, the knowledge of which is of importance to precautionary measures against the nervous diseases which have become a feature of our civilized life.

¹ *Physiologische Bilder* von Dr. Ludwig Büchner. Leipzig: Theodor Thomas. New York: Schmidt.

Büchner's argument that consciousness is but a phenomenon of the brain and nerves, fails to annul the testimony of consciousness itself to personal identity and moral responsibility. But, bating his weakness for a false and pernicious theory, he is a writer whom we enjoy for his general information and his piquant style.

MODERN GREECE.¹—If we ask a Greek of our times what Greece is, he will assuredly not answer that it is confined within the small boundaries of the present kingdom, governed by king Georgios, but will say, that every one, being of Greek origin, speaking Greek, professing the orthodox religion, belongs to his nation. As it is now, so it was always with Greece and the Greek nation. In ancient times the Persian kings had to fight not only with the Greeks living in Hellas on the Peloponnesus; but all the Greeks scattered in the different parts of Europe, inhabiting Asia Minor, and even Egypt, united in repelling the attacks of the barbarians. It is a highly interesting object for the history of civilization, to explore how the Greeks spread over the other nations and, though unable to form an empire of their own, still carried their civilization with them as a garment over the whole globe.

But the present work has nothing to do with this object. The author has given in former works the history of *Græcia propria* under the dominion of the Roman empire; how it was conquered by the Romans; how governed by Roman proconsuls; what hard times it underwent during the Roman civil wars, and by the rapacity of the emperors; how finally having conquered all evils, it began a new life by art, literature and religion. The present work gives the continuation of the fate of *Græcia propria* during the middle age, from the division of the Roman empire down to the crusaders. It is properly no history, for Greece was a province and not even an important one, of the Byzantine empire; no great deeds in war or peace, no great men, only local misery, local events. The sources themselves, that mention the small land, are scattered through various authors. Therefore, there is nothing exciting, nothing elevating in the whole epoch. The most important question is ethnographical, whether the modern Greeks are descendants of those ancient heroes, who fought at Salamis and Plataea, or of different Sclavonian tribes, who immigrated from the north. That a great part of Greece was occupied by Sclavonians, is undeniable, but there were left also small remains of the ancient, true Greeks, who, being by far superior in civilization, assimilated the barbarians by mental power. On all these points, Herzberg's book is useful as a guide.

¹ Geschichte Griechenlands von G. F. Herzberg. Erster Theil. Perthes, Gotha. 1876. New York: Schmidt.

RECENT FRENCH BOOKS.

LA FLORIDE FRANCAISE.¹—In his "History of French Florida," M. Paul Gaffarel has revived memories of disaster and defeat, which, however unpalatable, can not fail to be salutary to France if she will improve their lessons of warning and wisdom. It is a hopeful sign when a people are willing to be reminded of mistakes and losses, and to have these probed to their sources; when the historian turns from the glittering page of glory to record the story of bigotry, vanity, and folly, and to say there is more profit to the nation from failure than from fame. M. Gaffarel has had the candor to write this episode of French history with plain, literal truth, and the courage to point its moral. Mr. Parkman, in his "Pioneers of France in the New World," while adhering to the facts of history, has thrown around those early adventurers the charm of romance, by his vividness of description and impersonation. M. Gaffarel seldom rises above the style of narrative, but he tells the story with such simplicity and perspicacity that it has a charm of its own, and one feels acquainted with Ribaut, Landonniere, Satouriona, Outina, Menendez, Gourgues, by reading what they said and did, without seeing them dressed as heroes for the stage. One half the volume is made up of original documents that illustrate the story. All the vicissitudes and vacillations of the colony, the distresses of famine, war, massacre, political rivalries, and religious strifes, are narrated with graphic clearness of style, and a fine touch of sentiment; and the sad failure of the brilliant scheme of a French America is traced to the neglect of the wise and patriotic counsels of Coligny, and to the violation of liberty of conscience. To this we might add the attempt to found a military colony, without families, and a something in the French people—so enterprising and hardy in war, so frugal and thrifty in peace—that renders them averse to the fatigues and perils of settlement in strange countries. M. Gaffarel's work can not fail of acceptance in the United States, especially at a time when Americans are reviving all their historical antecedents. It is illustrated with two good maps.

REVUE ARCHEOLOGIQUE.²—This scholarly review has entered upon the seventeenth year of the new series. Since the starting of the "*Mélanges*," it contains less than formerly upon Egypt and Assyria; but it is rich in monumental and philological researches pertaining to Grecian and Roman antiquities and to the Middle Ages. It appears monthly, and each number is illustrated with valuable plates.

THE FRENCH SCIENCE OF RIGHT, PRIVATE AND PUBLIC.³—Practically,

¹ Histoire de la Floride Française, par Paul Gaffarel, ancien élève de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Dijon. Paris, Librairie de Firmin, Didot et Cie. 1875. Pp. 522. 8 fr. New York: Christern.

² Paris: Didier & Co. New York: Christern.

³ Traité de Droit Français privé et public, par A. Moullart, Docteur en Droit, Professeur de Droit et d'Économie politique à Amiens, Paris. Guillaumin et Cie Pp. 692. oct.

Professor Moullart's treatise might be entitled a Compendium of the Laws of France, for the information and guidance of persons of average intelligence in all the relations and concerns of life, as affecting the individual, society, and the state. In this view, also, the book is of special value to the foreigner who would master the political organization of France, and particularly that legal constitution and administration which has retained so much of individuality under all changes of government since the Revolution of 1789. The methodical arrangement and lucid style of the book invite the stranger to this study, which is further facilitated by a good index and analysis. As to the State, the author is quite hopeful of the evolution which the democratic principle has attained after so many checks and reverses. Within the past eighty years, the monarchical principle though personated under different dynastic forms, and by men of rare intelligence and skill, has six times succumbed, (1791, 1814, 1815, 1830, 1848, 1870) leaving nothing permanent; once more democracy is on trial, and though one can fear all, he may hope much, since a people that has come to self-consciousness and self-government does not easily commit suicide. Certainly Moullart is doing his part to avert such a calamity by teaching his countrymen the nature and obligation of law, and the ethics of obedience.

His book is not a mere digest of laws, valuable as it is in this respect, but treats of laws in their foundation in reason and morals—that is, of the science of right. Men are regarded as free and intelligent forces, having an activity that brings them into necessary relations; and the particular object of the science of right is to determine what is due to each, in these several relations. Hence the Right or Law in its ethical nature, may be defined as “the science of the just—the totality of rules that one should follow in order to render to every one that which belongs to him.” On the other hand a right, that is, the right of an individual, “is the faculty of liberty that one has of doing what is necessary to obtain that which is due to him.” Hence says Moullart, “since the laws determine that which is due to each, a right, is the result of law.” This is true of the whole class of artificial rights, social, political, and commercial, and it is true also of certain methods of asserting and defending natural rights; but natural rights inhere in personality, and are not in any sense a creation or a product of law.

Professor Moullart restricts natural right to the laws and duties prescribed by the individual conscience, in distinction from the positive laws enacted by the legislative power in the state. But the right of a man to live in the free exercise of his powers for his own good, so far as this does not trespass upon the good of others, is neither conferred by legislation nor enjoined by conscience. Legislation may protect and regulate this right, conscience demands that life shall not be destroyed nor abused, but the right exists quite independently of law or conscience.

Professor Moullart also uses right and duty as interchangeable terms. Perhaps in a technical legal sense this is allowable; and it is true also in

ethics that every right has its corresponding duty, yet in definition a right is clearly to be distinguished from an obligation.

But these are minor criticisms upon a book of substantial worth, and we recommend Moullart's treatise as a rewarding study both in ethics and in law.

INTEMPERANCE IN FRANCE.¹—It is often said in America that there is little or no intemperance in the wine-growing countries of Europe, and the passing traveler in those countries is apt to carry away that impression. But the statement requires to be taken with considerable qualification. There is in Europe perhaps less intemperance in high circles than in the United States, though, in Germany, for instance, one sometimes sees at weddings and like festivities, well-bred ladies indulge in drinking to an excess that would not be tolerated in the same society here. It is true, also, that in countries where the people confine themselves to the lighter wines of native growth, there is comparatively little intemperance. But statistics show that for some years past gross intemperance has increased in Germany and France to an alarming degree, and drunkenness is becoming almost as frequent a spectacle on the streets in Berlin and Paris as in New York. In France, in the past twenty years, the consumption of cider and light wines has fallen off, while the consumption of strong alcoholic drinks has doubled; and suicide, idiocy, and insanity have increased in the same ratio. The essays of Bertrand and Lefort are devoted to the investigation of the causes of this calamitous state of things, and to the suggestion of remedies. Both essays are written with marked ability, and though differing in the method of discussion, they cover the same ground, and arrive at substantially the same results. We do not wonder that the Academy of moral and political sciences was puzzled in determining upon their respective claims to the "Beaujour" prize, and we advise our readers to make the acquaintance of either, or better still, of both.

These authors are more disposed to trace intemperance to the general social and moral condition of the poor than poverty to intemperance. The remedy they would seek, not in prohibitory legislation nor in total abstinence, but in the improvement of the working classes through education, wages, home comforts, and provisions for innocent recreation; in a word by awakening the feeling of moral dignity and responsibility which makes the man the guardian of himself and holds him above the brute creation. The philanthropist and the social economist will find many profitable suggestions in these excellent volumes.

THE PRUSSIANS IN GERMANY.²—In his "journey in the land of the Mil-

¹ *Essai sur L'Intemperance*, par Edmand Bertrand, Substitut au Tribunal de la Seine. Paris: Guillaumin et Cie. New York: Christern.

Intemperance et Misère, par I. Lefort. Avocat à la Cour. d'Appel. New York: Christern.

² *Les Prussiens en Allemagne; suite du voyage aupays des Milliards*. Par Victor Tissot. Paris: E. Dentu. New York: Christern.

liards," Mons. Tissot exhausted his wit and satire, and left nothing for this sequel but scandal and petty malice. With his theme he might have made a useful book, showing how the overbearing vanity of the Prussians causes them to be hated in Saxony and Bavaria, but also teaching his countrymen how education, discipline, and the Reformed faith have made the Prussians masters of Germany and of the Continent. The Frenchman can not afford to laugh at the Prussian; and in choosing to retail gossip and trivialities Tissot has lost an opportunity for teaching his countrymen a timely and salutary lesson.

But with all its defects, his book does teach the Germans a lesson they greatly need to learn. Accustomed as they are, in print, in conversation, and on the stage, to misrepresent and caricature America, they are now made to wince (as their journals show) under the exaggeration of their foibles, and the imputation to their race and civilization, of vulgarities and offenses that are but excrescences upon the body of any nation. It is to be hoped the bad example of Mons. Tissot will tend to improve the literary, if not the social, manners of the subjects of his satire.

RECENT ITALIAN BOOKS.

THE GIUSTINIAN DISPATCHES.¹—Professor Pasquale Villari is among the ablest of Italian politicians and historians. Born in Naples, nearly fifty years ago, while still a student, he took an active part in the Neapolitan revolution of 1848; in 1849, he went to Tuscany, where he devoted himself to the study of history, and prepared his noble work on *Gerolamo Savonarola and His Times*, in two volumes, which have been translated into English, French and German, and won him much renown. In 1859, he was chosen professor of history at the University of Pisa; in 1865, he accepted the same position at the Institute for Higher Studies, and in 1867 was made president of the faculty of letters. Being much interested in all questions relating to public instruction, he then went to England and Scotland to study the school system of those countries, was, some years after, made a member of the Supreme Council of Public Instruction, in 1869, secretary general of Public Instruction and afterwards deputy to the national parliament. He next completed a most valuable work upon Niccolo Macchiavelli, to which he gave more than ten years; while writing this book, he chanced upon these Giustinian dispatches, which were written and sent from Rome to the Venetian republic, under Pope Alexander IV. and Pope Julius II., and he considered them so important as to deserve immediate publication. He begins with a preface in which he explains the motives for the book, the value of the papers collected, and the quality of the am-

¹ Dispatches by Antonio Giustinian, ambassador from Venice to Rome, 1502—1505, now first published. Edited by Pasquale Villari. Florence; Le Monnier. [3 volumes—12mo.],

bassador who wrote them, giving a rigorous and truthful sketch of his character. He then describes the Venetian code, from which this weighty collection of dispatches is transcribed, giving us the rude old Italian text of nearly one thousand two hundred and twenty-three of them, as sent by Giustinian to the Doge of Venice between the 27th of May, 1502, and the 26th of April, 1505. Each one is headed by a brief summary of its contents and there are also foot notes, somewhat scanty but nevertheless valuable. Villari, himself a famous historian, must have been sorely tempted to add copious notes to historic documents pertaining to an age with which no Italian is more familiar. He wanted to bring forward his author, not his own learning, which is, however, displayed in the notes with which he confirms his author's testimony by that of other contemporary writers. The papers are of singular value to the student of the pontificate of Alexander IV., Julius II., Duke Valentine and his times. Giustinian is a cold but keen observer; indifferent to good and evil, but inquisitive for political reasons, active in research, and prudent in repeating results. His dispatches may well pass as models of their kind; though they may not be of supreme importance to the historian, the curious mixture of Italian and Venetian in which they are written will open a broad field of investigation to the philologist.

EMPERORS AND POPES OF THE FRANKISH RULE.¹—Malfatti is professor of Geography and Ethnology at the Academy of Sciences and Letters at Milan; history, especially mediæval history, is one of his favorite pursuits. He is a learned writer, a stern and independent thinker, a wise and careful critic. The history of the relations between church and empire is traced out with original thought to its most remote Italian origin, that is to the very beginning of the Christian church considered in its connection with the fall of the Roman Empire. The author, in his preface, prepares the way for a second volume, now in press, relating to the times of Charlemagne and Pope Adrian. After explaining the foundation of Charlemagne's power, and seeking in the early ages of the church, not only the origin of the Papacy, but its contest with the Roman Empire, it became an easy task for the author to render an account of the relations between church and crown in Italy under Goths, Greeks and Longobards, these relations showing the natural sequence of those political events of the ninth century, erroneously supposed by some authors to be isolated facts, but which Professor Malfatti now proves to have been a necessary consequence of historical conditions brought about by the lapse of centuries. Malfatti proves himself a calm and unprejudiced historian. If we may term the painful rivalry so prevalent between church and throne a disease, we may say that he, as a wise physician, has given us a clear and careful diagnosis of the wide spreading malady. It is everywhere evident that, uninfluenced by

¹ Emperors and Popes at the time of the Frankish Rule in Italy. By Bartolomeo Malfatti; volume first. Milan: Hoepli. [1 volume octavo. 410 pages.]

opinions of his own, he has gone to original sources: he has weighed opinions well before adopting them, drawing from them important deductions which he has compared and placed in their historic sequence. The first volume is divided into ten chapters, the titles of which are: "The first three centuries—Constantine and Theodosius—St. Augustine and Leo the Great—Odoacer and Theodoric—Justinian—Gregory Magnus—The Monothelitic controversy—Iconoclasm—Popes and Franks—The temporal power of the Papacy." The author is correct in saying that the distance from which we view them is the best judge of some historic events, but he means a luminous distance; we, in our age, are at exactly the right distance; bringing up the old questions, we discuss and elevate them; even Malfatti required light for this criticism made from a height and with perfect historic serenity; still his book is clear and authoritative.

THE ARTS OF DESIGN IN ITALY.¹—Marquis Pietro Salvatico is the most distinguished of Italian art critics. For almost half a century (he was born during the first ten years of this century) he has studied the arts of design with ardent interest, cultivated them himself, promoted them, and by study and advice aided in their reform; architecture being his specialty, as his handbooks on art and various illustrations testify. The history of the arts of design in Italy was fortunately confided to him by Villardi, and he, accepting the honorable task, is now executing it most praiseworthily, as is proved by the first part which now lies before us. It is divided into three books, the first treating of Oriental hierarchy in ancient art, the second of the symbolic meaning of types of beauty in Greece and Sicily, and the third of the Greco-Etruscan element in Roman Art. Perhaps these titles are a trifle too absolute and too dogmatic, as if all Etruscan art were sacerdotal in its character, all the art of Magna Grecia symbolical, all Roman art derived from Greece and Etruria; and in general the noble author seems somewhat to exaggerate the importance and independence of Etruscan art and its effect, not only upon Roman art but also upon Grecian, while the contrary seems true of Grecian art, *i. e.*, the most perfect things in Etruscan art were derived from Greece. The illustrious author, not content with his own authority, has not only added a bibliography to every book for the convenience of the student, but also quotes freely and even diffusely the opinions of various authors examined by him, even when they disagree with him. The whole work is written with didactic simplicity, permitting the student to profit immediately by the copious notes collected and arranged for him with such amiable erudition. The plates annexed are well drawn; the woodcuts on the contrary leave much to be desired.

COPERNICUS AND HIS SYSTEM.²—Professor Domenico Berti, teacher of

¹ The Arts of Design in Italy: An Historical and Critical Treatise, by Pietro Salvatico; part first; Ancient Art; 1 volume octavo; 400 pages with numerous woodcuts interpolated in the text, and 14 full page plates. Milan: Villardi.

² Copernicus and the Vicissitudes of the Copernican System in Italy, in the second half

the history of philosophy at the University of Rome, is a distinguished thinker and politician from Piedmont. He is deputy to Parliament and was minister of public instruction in 1866; a man of broad intellect, a wide student, an easy and fluent orator. He is author of an excellent historical monograph upon the philosopher, Giordano Bruno, and now gives us a lucid account of the life of Copernicus. His bold learning, his wise, impartial and unprejudiced power of criticism, have enabled him to collect materials for a most wise and admirable biography occasionally animated by the noblest flashes of sentiment. In tracing Copernicus' life in Italy and his relations with our scientific men, Berti, aided by new and precious documents, throws much light on Galileo's career as well as upon the history of Italian universities, which had been long awaiting a faithful chronicler, although some few useful monographs already existed. Berti's learned treatise ends with these significant words: "The great thinkers of the world occupy to-day a far higher post than they did a century ago. The humble prebend of Frauenburg and the modest Pisan professor occupy loftier pedestals than Charles V. and the two Ferdinands of Tuscany; Kepler ranks above Rudolf of Prague; Carthesius above Richelieu; Newton before the Orange princes of England, and Leibnitz before the House of Brunswick. And this because the innovations of science are so much more important than those caused by political plotting and scheming. What are the names of all the ministers and generals of the first empire in comparison with the single name of Lagrange? What are all the most illustrious men of the kingdom of Italy in comparison with Volta, Paimi and Alfieri." A hundred pages of valuable matter follow, relating to Domenico Mario, Copernicus' precursor, Copernicus' sojourn in Italy, Galileo, etc.

PIEDMONTESE AFFAIRS.¹—Nicodeme Bianchi is a Modenese historian and keeper of the archives at Turin, who has already won considerable renown by various works on Italian, and especially upon Modern Piedmontese diplomatic history; in this big book he describes and points out to the student the immense historic treasures to be found in the archives of Turin, not only in connection with the history of Piedmont, from the twelfth century down to the present day, but also with the history of all those nations which have been in any way related to the house of Savoy. The mass of papers, the order in which they are kept, and the courtesy of their keeper, now render possible many valuable historical works, whose results will speedily be visible, not only in Italy but in France, whence students have already come, lured by the precious hints contained in Bianchi's book.

of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century, by Domenico Berti. [Rome, from the printing house of Paravia, 1 volume octavo, 256 pages.]

¹ Political Matters Relative to the Foreign Department of the Piedmontese State Archives, pointed out by Nicodeme Bianchi; Bologna: Zanichelli. [1 vol. octavo, 750 pages.]

ART IN EUROPE.

THE English are beginning to feel alive to the evil effects of manufactures in the destruction of everything that is delightful in a neighborhood, and Mr. Ruskin's war against them, unpractical and Quixotic as it certainly is, so far as any result is to be hoped from it, has nevertheless the sincere sympathy of many who would get things into a more wholesome and beautiful condition if they could. He was asked a little time ago to preside at the exhibition of the Sheffield Society of Artists, but refused to do so, not very courteously, as the Sheffield artists very probably thought. Mr. Ruskin, indeed, went so far as to imply that there could not be any artists in Sheffield worthy of the name, for he said that no artist worth sixpence a day would consent to live in such a town, beneath a canopy of smoke, and he also let it be understood that in his opinion there were no lovers of art in Sheffield, for he said that no lover of art would take up his abode there for a million a year. I used to think these occasional explosions of incivility a misfortune for the causes that Mr. Ruskin desired to advocate, but I see that when he says something outrageous all the newspapers copy it because it strikes their attention, whereas if he were temperate and polite it is very likely that they would not quote him so frequently. It would be allowable to ruffle the tempers of the Sheffield people if by vexing them one could make Sheffield beautiful, but nobody who knows the place as I do, can hope for any such result. The spread of manufactures in England has always been attended hitherto with the utter destruction of everything that constituted the natural charm of a locality. I have seen the destruction going forward gradually in some of the loveliest spots of northern England till they became dreadful deserts of ugliness, like the foulest parts of London, with the addition of spoiled nature, which is not to be seen in London, to make them even more miserable and lugubrious. The saddest thing to see is a spoiled rivulet near the works of some calico-printer, poisoned with chemicals and flowing thick and slimy between black banks from which all the ferns, wild-flowers, and alder-trees have long since utterly disappeared. There are now many places in the manufacturing districts from which the work-people can not get a sight of any natural beauty unless they undertake a railway journey, often of considerable length. This is especially deplorable, because, if a workman can not get to a pleasure in a short time and without expense he is practically debarred from it, except on rare occasions. It may be said that few working-men are likely to feel that intense passion for natural beauty and that urgent need for it, which are parts of Mr. Ruskin's idiosyncrasy. True, but they feel the passion and the need very often in minor degrees, enough to make them unhappy in the squalid places they are compelled to inhabit. The great difficulty of doing anything practical is that the atmosphere of an English manufacturing town is unfavorable to trees. If trees would grow

there might be boulevards and promenades like those in French towns, accessible from the homes of the working classes. I was in a little French town the other day (Decize, on the Loire), and found that it had a promenade thirteen hundred yards long composed of a triple avenue of oriental plane-trees, full-grown, and truly magnificent. Such a thing would be impossible in Oldham or Rochdale; the trees would all die in the sooty atmosphere. Great and praiseworthy efforts are now made to have public parks as near to the manufacturing towns as the state of the atmosphere will permit, but it seems deplorable that the natural beauties which formerly surrounded many of those towns in the utmost possible profusion should have been destroyed irremediably. To begin with: Burnley, in Lancashire, is situated on what was once one of the loveliest streams in the north of England, but it has been converted into a foul sewer. As for the Irwell at Manchester, it looks like the river Styx. The hideousness of Manchester has produced there a strong reaction in favor of art among the wealthier classes, and of botany among the poor, for botany is a minute enjoyment of nature which can be had without great spaces of unspoiled natural scenery. The Manchester people seem now to be determined that art shall be made accessible to the poor also, for they intend to establish a public gallery, which is sure to be well-filled in course of time by means of gifts and bequests. It is said already that one of the Manchester millionaires has promised the splendid subscription of £100,000. They have a project, too, in Manchester for the erection of a new cathedral, which will be a grand opportunity for the enrichment of the city by the introduction of noble architecture. The worst of such pieces of architectural magnificence in our modern English towns is that they are isolated, and surrounded by such fearfully ugly houses and streets. In America (with the advantage of your frequent great fires), you seem more decidedly ambitious in the way of street architecture, but not often with any result beyond the mechanical multiplication of hastily-conceived designs, in which the thought and invention of the artist have no place. Even in Paris, where street architecture is on the whole so much better than in any other modern city, many of the streets are almost intolerably monotonous, and the Rue de Rivoli is one of the worst. The municipality of Paris is going to resume, in a quiet and temperate way, the improvements which Baron Haussmann used to carry forward with such tremendous energy. It seems strange that in a city which claims to be the capital of the Fine Arts (though in reality London has now equally fair claims to the title), there should be no such thing as a special building for the annual exhibitions of pictures, which are still held in the *Palais de L'Industrie*. Certainly, as at present arranged, the building is suitable for the purpose in many ways. It is well-lighted from the glass roof with the glare tempered by canvas, and there is plenty of space, but people are beginning to think it scarcely suits the dignity of the fine arts to be received as temporary guests in a building which is devoted in turn to so many other purposes, and there is a growing belief in the artistic world

that the separation of art from the state would be a good thing. It has always seemed to me that the giving of medals and other recompenses to artists by state officials is very hazardous and even presumptuous. Nobody can judge of the fine arts with sufficient certainty to avoid the risk of great error and injustice. In the first place, no one who is not practically an artist can possibly know very much about the subject, and if he is a practical artist the chances are that his taste will be strongly warped by his practice and by his special studies in some one direction, so as to make him very unjust to artists who work in other directions. With reference to the Salon, which will be opened when this letter is on its way to you, I may just mention a young sculptor who is considered by artists to show more than promise, and who exhibits this year a statue of St. Sebastian. I mention him as the most extraordinary instance of "self-help" that I ever met with, personally, among artists. His name is Jean Gautherin, and he was born in one of the dreariest parts of the Morvan hills among endless woods and wild land such as you have plenty of still in America but which is not so common in France. In this out-of-the-way region Gautherin spent his infancy and youth, as a shepherd, and his parents were so poor that they could not even give him the first rudiments of education. At fifteen he had never learned to read, and knew nothing beyond the experiences of a shepherd boy. Somehow, he got to leave his shepherding and learn some humble trade, which gave him an opportunity of going to Paris where he became an *ouvrier*. Feeling the necessity for some education, he worked all day at his trade and half the night in educating himself. Having learned in this way to read and write he began to study drawing and anatomy and then began to model and carve, always at night, in the few hours he could steal from sleep or recreation, but by the time he began the study of art he was already twenty-two years old. He is quite young yet and is now a recognized artist with a marble statue in the Salon. He never received a penny of pecuniary help from any one. Imagine the prodigious difficulty of the transition, from the state of the shepherd boy who could not read to the clever *ouvrier* and hard student in Paris, and then again from the *ouvrier*, studying at night, to the artist working in marble and recognized as a brother by some of the most eminent of living men! I have these details on the authority of M. Gautherin himself.

Here is another extraordinary instance of what natural talents can do. An intimate friend of mine, the head of an important firm in the city of London, wrote to me two or three years ago and said that he intended to begin oil-painting, having at his disposal just one hour a day in the summer mornings and a fortnight's holiday every autumn. Of course I thought nothing would come of it, but that it was a harmless way of passing an hour of leisure. Well, my friend in this short time has taught himself to paint so well that his little pictures are admitted into the exhibitions and one of them was sold last year, much to the artist's astonishment, who only put a price upon it for fun. This year he has a picture in the Royal Academy,

in a very good place. So much for an hour a day well-employed, by a person of great natural talent for the fine arts. A single instance like this is quite enough to disprove the common affirmation of artists that it is quite impossible for any one to do good work unless he gives his whole life to the manual practice of art. I ought however to add that my friend has always been a great lover of art and an intelligent student of it in galleries and exhibitions.

P. G. HAMERTON.

SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS.

UNTIL very recently it has been an accepted conclusion among astronomers that the apparent displacement of certain lines in the spectra of the fixed stars or other celestial objects was an evidence of the motion of these bodies toward or from the earth, and the velocities deduced from the observations were found not to exceed the limits of probability. Some years since Mr. Huggins concluded that the bright star Sirius was receding from the earth at the rate of twenty-six miles in a second, and he subsequently extended his researches to numerous other stars and some of the nebulae and comets, all of which showed evidence of motion, in the spectroscope. Although his observations were affected with some irregular variations, the care and skill with which they were conducted gave to his conclusions from them a great authority. Subsequently Professor Vogel, at Bothkamp, turned his attention to investigations of the same kind, and still more recently a great many determinations of the motion of stars have been made at Greenwich, under the superintendence of Professor Airy. These later observations developed, in the results calculated from them, some remarkable discrepancies which could not readily be explained, and which it was difficult to account for as depending upon ordinary instrumental errors. In some cases the observations of the same star on successive nights gave not only very different velocities of recession or approach, but even indicated motion in opposite directions at the different times. Comparing the determinations of different observers, Secchi was struck with the great discrepancies in them, and in a recent letter to the French Academy he gives a list of many of them with others obtained by himself, in which there appear not only great variations as to the velocities deduced, but also, in numerous instances, a difference in the direction of motion, both of which indicated the existence of some systematic error, or radical defect in the mode of observation, which had hitherto escaped detection.

In special experiments undertaken by him, with a view to detect this error, a vacuum-tube containing hydrogen was placed in front of the object-glass of the telescope and in the prolongation of its axis. The instrument, which was driven by a clock in the usual way, was then turned upon a bright star, and the position of one of the hydrogen lines relatively to the corresponding line produced by the tube was observed. It was found that the

stellar line was upon the side of the other toward the red end of the spectrum, indicating a recession of the star. On disconnecting the clock and moving the telescope by hand, the star being kept near the center of the field by means of the finder, it resulted that the stellar line appeared to the one side or the other of the bright hydrogen line, according as the star was upon the one side or the other of the axis of the instrument. It would thus appear that, notwithstanding the perfection of the apparatus hitherto employed, and the care exercised in the investigations, the results are to be received with caution. It is not improbable that on eliminating, or allowing for, the errors of previous observations, a residual displacement of the lines may be found, from which the motion of the stars may be inferred, but it is evident that further experiments are necessary before the conclusions can be received with confidence. It has been proved beyond a doubt that the motion of a sounding body toward or from the ear does produce a difference of pitch in the sound heard; but though there is every reason for believing that a movement of the luminous source produces a change in the refrangibility of the light emitted, the question is still a matter of controversy, and a decisive experimental proof or disproof of such an effect is one of the desiderata of optical science.

AN INGENUOUS PLAN for measuring the approximate depth of the sea without the use of a sounding line has been devised by Mr. C. W. Siemens, who gave an account of it at a recent meeting of the Royal Society, which is reported in *Nature*. It depends upon the principle that if, in place of the solid substance which forms the exterior crust of the earth, whose density may be taken to be the mean density of the superficial rock, water, a material of less density is substituted, the total attraction must be diminished, and the amount of this diminution is a measure of the depth of the light substance which has been substituted for the heavy material. Were the mean density of the whole earth exactly known, as well as that of the superficial rock and of sea-water, it would be possible to construct a scale by calculation which would indicate the depth of water corresponding to a particular diminution of the effect of gravitation, but Mr. Siemens has preferred to construct a scale by comparing the indications of the instrument with the depths observed in actual soundings. The apparatus, called a bathometer, consists of a heavy weight, which is a column of mercury, supported upon steel springs, being in fact essentially a spring-balance of extreme delicacy, with arrangements for reading very small variations of gravitation, upon a scale where they are expressed as units of depth of the water. The instrument has been found to give very satisfactory results in experimental trials; and though it can not give the actual depth of water below the ship, but only the average depth for a considerable area around, it can show with certainty whether the vessel is approaching shallower water, and so may be of great service in navigation, especially as it can be used in weather when ordinary soundings would be difficult or impossible.

VARIOUS PLANS have been proposed for saving the heat carried off by

the waste steam of an ordinary engine, the greater number of which depend upon employing it to vaporize a liquid volatile at a lower temperature than water, and thus to put in motion a secondary or companion engine. A novel mode of utilizing this heat is proposed by M. Tommasi, which consists in causing by its means the dilatation of some liquid of low specific heat and high rate of expansion, as for instance, oil. This is contained in a strong cylinder provided with a movable piston, the pressure exerted by which can be used in a variety of ways, where a great force acting through but a short distance is required. As an instance of its application may be cited an experiment of the inventor, in which it was brought to bear upon a mass of lead enclosed in a steel case in which was a perforation. Through this the lead was made to issue as it would have done under a pressure which he estimates as high as eight hundred atmospheres.

A CLEAR AND ACCURATE STATEMENT of its conditions is often half the solution of a difficult problem, and a careful summary of knowledge is the best means of defining the boundaries of ignorance, as well as of showing where the attack may be made that shall end in fresh conquests. It is therefore a service that can hardly be over-rated when a master-hand draws the firm outline of the region already acquired to science, and enables the host of active workers to concentrate their efforts upon the points most important to the progress of knowledge, and that give the best promise of useful results. The book which has just been published by Professor P. G. Tait, of the University of Edinburgh, entitled "*Lectures on some Recent Advances in Physical Science*," will be welcomed by all interested in this department of research as a vivid presentation of the actual position and tendencies of physical science, and of the processes by which its rapid advances in the last few years have been made. It contains the reports of thirteen lectures delivered by him in 1874, at the desire of a number of his friends, chiefly professional men, with only such changes as were necessary to adapt them to this mode of publication. The leading topics, though few in number, and expressed by titles some of which would have been scarcely intelligible a few years since, include the chief phenomena of matter and force. Starting with the history of the modern doctrine of energy, he goes on to the principle of the transformation of energy, which finds its application in such manifold ways, to the phenomena of light, heat, and electricity, to the movement of gaseous molecules, and to many other subjects which need not be enumerated here. In the later lectures he considers some of the hypotheses by which physicists are boldly pushing out into the almost unknown regions of the ultimate structure of matter, and the modes of action of the different forms of force. Of these one of the most interesting is Sir W. Thomson's brilliant suggestion of vortex-atoms, a theory which, though surrounded with most formidable mathematical difficulties, has already, in the hands of its author and by the investigations of Professor Helmholtz, yielded results of the highest significance. Analysis has succeeded in showing that these vortex-atoms, which are constituted like the smoke-

rings thrown out from a locomotive chimney, if produced in a frictionless fluid, would move forever without loss of energy or change of form; that two such rings brought into collision are not commingled but fly apart after the shock like perfectly elastic bodies; that furthermore, as has been shown by Helmholtz, they are indivisible, and could not be severed by the keenest edge, thus literally answering to the definition of atoms. Incomplete as it is, the theory offers a probable explanation of many of the properties of matter, and appears capable of furnishing, when more fully developed, the solution of many questions which molecular science has hitherto been unable to answer. The concluding chapter further discusses some of the methods by which things so far beyond the reach of direct observation as the size of the ultimate molecules of matter, their number in a defined space, and the velocities with which they move, may be inferred with a good degree of certainty, leading to some of the most interesting results that have been attained in modern times. As an additional merit, the volume is very readable, and fitted to entertain even the unscientific reader.

WORKS LIKE THE ONE JUST MENTIONED, limited as they are to the leading ideas and principles of scientific investigation, must necessarily omit the record of the almost innumerable details of experiment and discovery. In fact nothing short of a bulky encyclopædia would serve for even brief mention of the various acquisitions made in a period of only a few years. Among many volumes issued every year, with the intent to supply this deficiency, the "Annual Record of Science and Industry," by Professor S. F. Baird, of Washington, is, of its kind, beyond question the most complete and satisfactory record of progress published. Aided by a number of eminent collaborators, Professor Baird aims, in this work, to furnish not only a general summary of progress accomplished within the year, but also, in a separate portion of the book, a more detailed and particular account of the chief results of scientific investigation. Although such a work, if made exhaustive, would be practically unlimited in extent, high praise is due for the good judgment which has governed the selection of material and kept it within reasonable limits, and for the care and accuracy with which the topics have been presented. The value of the work is greatly enhanced by the very full index appended to it, a matter too often neglected in works of this kind.

ARTHUR W. WRIGHT.

THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW.

SEPTEMBER, 1876.

THE PRICE OF LABOR IN ENGLAND.

AT the present time, trade in England is depressed to a degree almost unexampled in the history of British commerce. As a necessary consequence, the tendency of the rate of wages in the principal manufacturing industries is in a downward direction. All our accumulated experience in the development of productive industry in the age in which we live does but confirm the principles laid down by Adam Smith and the early masters of the science of political economy. "When," as Adam Smith has truly said, "in any country the demand for those who live by wages—laborers, journeymen, servants of every kind—is continually increasing, when every year furnishes employment for a greater number than had been employed the year before, the workmen have no occasion to combine to raise their wages. The scarcity of hands occasions competition among the masters, who bid against each other in order to get workmen, and thus voluntarily break through the natural combination of masters, not to raise wages."

The course of events in the British labor market in 1876, is a striking confirmation of the simple truths, enunciated in 1776, by the author of "The Wealth of Nations."

The same axiomatic principles were set forth in the clearest and most concise form by Mr. Ricardo, in 1817. "Labor," he wrote, "is dear when it is scarce, and cheap when it is plentiful." To these expositions of the simple principles which govern the rate of wages, I can only add the lesson derived by my father from his great experience as an employer, that the best paid workmen are generally the best, and the worst paid the worst.

It might have been expected that these principles would have

been accepted universally; and yet how few employers of labor act as if they had any faith in the accuracy of these deductions from the universal experience of mankind! It was my father's fortunate lot to be among the first who directed their attention to the construction of railways. As the pioneer of the present generation of railway contractors, he undertook large works in every country of Europe, and, Africa excepted, in every quarter of the globe. With such rare opportunities of estimating the relative efficiency of the laborer of many races, and under every vicissitude of climate, the conclusion at which he arrived was this—that the cost of labor was practically the same in all countries. The proportionate cost of skilled and unskilled labor may vary; but where there was no exceptional disturbing cause, as from the sparseness of population in a sterile or an unoccupied region, the cost of labor was in all cases calculated at the same amount, and the soundness of the calculation was borne out everywhere by the result. I must not occupy your readers further with the elementary principles already stated.

In the relations between labor and capital in England, it is satisfactory to observe the gradual abatement of hostile feelings. Among the order of men to whom I belong, the most generous sympathies are cherished toward the working class; and I venture to believe that these sentiments are reciprocated by the majority of the leaders of trades-unions, and by the operatives under their guidance. The solicitude of the employers for the welfare of the working class, has been exhibited in a most practical form, in the recent amendments of the laws relating to trade combinations. The improvements effected are summarized in the following passage, from an article in the *Times* newspaper, quoted in the *Annual Register*. By an Act passed in the session of 1875, "all breaches of contract between masters and workmen cease to be, in the eye of the law, criminal offenses. Damages may be recovered from workmen for breach of contract of service, and the courts may, at the request of defendant, order specific performance of his contract in place of damages, with the alternative of a short term of imprisonment, in default of his new undertaking. But criminal and penal proceedings can no longer be taken."

By another act of the same session, trade combinations ceased to be subject to indictment for conspiracy, except in cases where the objects of the compact were themselves legally punishable. It is now admitted by the warmest advocates of the rights of workmen, that the state of the English law, as it affects the industrial classes, no

longer presents any grievances, of which they have reason to complain.

The most substantial grievance of the British workman is of a nature which can not be removed by legislation. In the United Kingdom, after centuries of active enterprise in the pursuit of commerce, capital has been accumulated in a more ample store, in proportion to the population, than in any other country in the world. The result is that the ordinary rate of interest is lower in England than in any other money market in Europe. The average rates for the year 1875, in the open market, were as follows:

Average rate of Interest for 1875.									
London	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3 per cent.
Paris	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3 $\frac{1}{4}$ "
Vienna	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
Berlin	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3 $\frac{3}{4}$ "
Frankfort	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3 $\frac{5}{8}$ "
Amsterdam	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3 $\frac{1}{4}$ "
Brussels	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
Hamburg	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3 $\frac{3}{4}$ "
St. Petersburg	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	5 $\frac{1}{4}$ "

Money being abundant, and the rate of interest low, outlets for investments are eagerly sought for. It is in London, that foreign countries, in a state of impending bankruptcy, have of late conducted their principal borrowing operations, and their appeals to a credulous and ill-informed public have not been made in vain. If, in any trade or business, whether in commerce or agriculture, in mines or in ships, at home, or in the remotest regions of the earth, a return has been anticipated, ever so little beyond the low nominal rate of interest, eager and credulous people have hitherto been only too easily induced to embark their capital. A large proportion of the annual savings of the country, have thus been squandered away in injudicious speculations; and, even when capital has been attracted to a legitimate trade, if the profits have, for ever so short a time, exceeded what may be called the normal rate of interest, over-production has ensued, and the period of short-lived prosperity has been followed by a long depression. A serious fall in the value of manufactured goods has been inevitable; and the workmen, whose wages have been unduly advanced by excessive demand for their labor in prosperous times, have been compelled to submit to a reduction, or to suffer the more cruel alternative of entire loss of employment.

The recent history of the iron-trade presents a striking illustration

of the course of events, which has here been sketched out. The circular of Mr. Müller, of Middlesborough-on-Tees, quoted in the commercial review for 1875, published in the *Economist*, contains the following passage:—"The year 1875 has been a period of hard struggle in the iron-trade. The crisis has been felt more severely than those of 1857 and 1866, because the iron-trade had not at that time attained "the dimensions it now occupies; nor were former crises preceded by such extraordinary prosperity and inflation, as had been developed during 1871-2 and 1873. In the course of these years, a great amount of capital had found its way into the iron and coal trades, helping to bring up the means of production and manufacture to the level of the exceptional demand then existing, but which could scarcely be expected to continue. When, therefore, this demand slackened, and prices declined, the burden was felt first by undertakings which had been established on the basis of extreme ideas. It is this great and sudden prosperity, which has been so baneful in its effects on all classes of society, from the workmen upwards. When in due time, the tide turns, and the reaction sets in, outside capital begins to be nervous and fidgety, and tries to get out as fast as possible. A wholesome reaction is thereby often magnified into a disastrous crisis—a short epidemic in business, which, while removing much that is weak, injures also much that is worth preserving."

As is well known, a very large proportion of the total quantity of coal raised is consumed in the manufacture of iron. After a long period of depression, the price of iron rose, in 1871, in a degree, which can only be described by quoting the expressions used by Mr. Gladstone in speaking of the general progress of trade, which, he said, had advanced, not by steps, but by strides, not by strides, but by leaps and bounds. In September, 1871, forged pig-iron was selling for fifty shillings, while coke was selling for from ten to twelve shillings a ton. In July, 1872, the forged pig-iron rose to one hundred and twenty shillings, more than double the price of nine months before, and coke, following the advance in iron, rose to from thirty-seven shillings and sixpence to forty-two shillings a ton. These high prices implied a high rate of profit; and forthwith everybody engaged in the iron and coal trades, applied his utmost energies to the increase of production, while new capital for the development of these industries was obtained, with accustomed facility, from the inexperienced investors who abound in an old country. The great pressure thus brought to bear on the labor market naturally caused a rapid advance

of wages. In a colliery with which I am connected, in South Wales, the rise in wages in some of the principal departments is shown in the following table:—

	1863	1869	1873
Hewers	—	24s. 5d.	48s. 9d.
Timbermen.	25s.	— —	53s. 4d.
Haulers	—	20s.	31s. 6d.
Landers.	—	21s.	36s. 9d.
Laborers	—	15s.	24s.
Average for all men employed .	—	20s. 11d.	36s. 8d.

It was estimated by Mr. Pease that the cost of getting coal in Durham had increased fifty per cent. between 1870 and 1872; and Mr. Macdonald, the president of the Miners' National Association, estimated that the cost of getting coal in Northumberland had increased, between 1868 and 1872 and 1873, from sixty to sixty-five per cent: though he pointed out that the selling price had increased one hundred and twenty per cent.

Can it be a subject of surprise that such an inflation as this was promptly followed by a corresponding reaction? As prices fell the masters required that the men should accept reduced wages, and a long conflict naturally ensued. The issue was raised in a most conspicuous manner in South Wales, and it may be interesting to record some of the principal incidents of the struggle.

In the years 1871 and 1872 the price of coal had been increased about one hundred per cent. The culminating point was reached in 1873; but, happily for the public, the exceptional rates were not long maintained. The subsequent fall in the value was extremely rapid. Steam-coal fell from twenty-two shillings a ton, in October, 1872, to twelve shillings and sixpence a ton in December, 1874. In May, 1875, the price of coal was only thirty-nine and one-half per cent. higher, while the wages of the men were sixty per cent. higher than in 1870. In 1870, the average wages in the collieries were four shillings and two-pence a day. In 1874, the average earnings were six shillings eight and a half pence a day, assuming that an equal quantity of coal was cut. After a prolonged resistance the workmen in South Wales were compelled to surrender. A deduction of wages was fixed at twelve per cent. for three months, and it was agreed that any further change in

the rate should be regulated by a sliding-scale, depending on the selling price of coal. A joint committee of workmen and masters was appointed to prepare a scheme for the proposed sliding-scale.

Thus, after a disastrous struggle, representing a loss in wages to the workmen estimated by Lord Aberdare at three millions sterling, the truth of the doctrine laid down by Adam Smith was once more confirmed. "The condition of the laboring poor is hard in the stationary, and miserable in the declining, state. The progressive state of trade is in reality the cheerful and the hearty state to all the different orders of society. The stationary is dull, the declining melancholy." It can not be too strongly impressed on the intelligent minds of the operative classes that it is only when trade is in a progressive state that wages can be increased. Strikes, in a rising market, are generally successful. Strikes, against a falling market, inevitably terminate in disaster to the workmen.

Another able writer in the *Economist* gives similar testimony to the truth of the great principles laid down in the quotation, cited above, from Adam Smith. "Decreasing employment," he says, "has compelled the adoption of lower wages, and has enabled the employer to obtain more and better work for the money paid than was possible during the exceptional period of 1871-73. Indeed, it must be remembered that our great iron and coal industries have been rendered unprofitable not merely because wages rose inordinately, but because, as the wages rose, the quantity and quality of the work given for more money became less and less. The workshop became, in no small degree, the paradise of negligence and incapacity; evils to be cured only by the sharp physic of privation."

In the finished iron and engineering trades, the workmen have succeeded, within the space of a few years, in reducing the hours of labor to nine a day, and they have obtained a substantial advance of wages. In our own establishment, the Canada Works, at Birkenhead, the hours have been reduced, in accordance with the rule which has come into force universally in the United Kingdom; and the wages have been advanced, since 1871, in the case of the fitters, from five shillings to five shillings and sixpence per day, smiths, from five shillings and fourpence, to six shillings and twopence, platers, from five shillings and sixpence, to six shillings, and other trades in proportion.

Being anxious that the present condition of the iron and coal trades in England, should be impartially exhibited to the readers of the INTERNATIONAL REVIEW, I have asked Mr. Potter, the editor

of the *Bee Hive*, the leading journal on the affairs of our trades-unions, to state the case from his point of view. The following are two letters of great interest, received from him :

MAY 12th, 1876.

"DEAR SIR :—I find it is not easy to obtain the information, as to the wages in the coal and iron trade, you have asked for.

"*First*.—Nearly every district, in which coal is got, differed in amount of wages in 1871, the period when the advances in the coal and iron trades began.

"*Secondly*.—In each district the advances were at different times, and of different amounts.

"*Thirdly*.—The highest amount of wages obtained by the men differed in the different localities.

"*Fourthly*.—Some started from a low level, and attained to a high standard.

"*Fifthly*.—In arbitrating for reductions—and all the arbitrations in the coal trade were for a reduction—the actual wages, either as a starting point, or at any stage of the advance, were scarcely ever mentioned, the percentage of advance and increase being almost the only thing alluded to. This practice, as you will see, fixed nothing, either as a starting point or resting point, over the whole scale, in rising or descending.

"In the coal trade, the highest wages are earned in Northumberland and Yorkshire. Advances in miners' wages began to take place toward the close of 1871. In West Yorkshire the advances were about fifty-nine per cent. on the prices paid in 1871 ; in South Yorkshire fifty-seven and a half per cent ; in Lancashire sixty per cent ; while in Cheshire and the Oldham districts, the advances were considerable, more perhaps than one hundred per cent ; but the point from which they rose in these districts was very low. In Durham the advances were fifty-seven per cent ; in Northumberland fifty-seven per cent. But in Scotland, where wages were very low, the advances reached one hundred and forty per cent. In North Staffordshire the advances were fifty-five per cent. and in Cumberland fifty-four per cent.

"The general reductions have brought wages down in all the coal districts to very near the old level. But it should be borne in mind that, where the coal is used for manufacturing purposes, the wages have been better maintained, as in Yorkshire, and certain parts of Lincolnshire and Derbyshire ; while in other districts, where the consumption has been in connection with the iron trade, they have gone

down. There are places, where perhaps fifteen per cent. is yet retained, while in other places there is scarcely anything over the wages of 1871; and, if the increased cost of living be taken into account, the gain all over has not been much, and the downward tendency still continues.

"In this matter it might not be amiss to bear in mind that the miners' unions are of recent date, the greater number having been established within the last five years. They have done a great deal in regard to the general improvement of their condition; but their discipline is by no means perfect, and there is much to be done among them in the work of organization.

"It is also worth noticing that in the trades where the unions have been more perfected, wages have not been affected by the state of trade. The Amalgamated Engineers, the Iron Founders, the Steam Engine Makers, the Iron Ship Builders, and the Boiler Makers, have not been reduced at all. These trades have obtained advantages during the years of briskness of trade, particularly in regard to reduction of hours of work, but nothing has been given up by them, owing to the present slackness of trade.

"I may state that coal-heavers' wages, which are the best of the colliers', will not average more than five shillings per day, while some of the day workers go down to three shillings per day. It should also be borne in mind that miners can not well work more than five days a week.

"It will not be far from the mark if we say that the wages of miners in 1871 were four shillings per day, though in some branches they were much more. What they were at the highest will be seen by the percentages stated in this summary. The following paragraph appears in the *Times* of to-day, which will show the condition of miners' wages in Warwickshire:

"*The proposed reduction in Warwickshire miners' wages.*—At a mass meeting of Warwickshire miners, held on Wednesday night, at Bedford, the masters' proposition for a reduction in wages was considered. The meeting unanimously passed a resolution to the effect that their present rate of wages is only threepence per day in advance of the rate of 1871, and that their present working hours are as long as those of competing districts. The men therefore hoped the reduction would not be insisted on, it being now impossible for them to procure the common necessities of life.' "

"The agricultural laborer has, I rejoice to record, shared in the generally improved condition of the laboring classes in England. Until within a recent period, the condition of the rural population in many districts was a dishonor to a country abounding in riches and resources of every kind. The blessings of education and political intelligence had not been extended,—even now they are but partially enjoyed,—among the inhabitants of the secluded villages and hamlets of the agricultural districts. The humble tillers of the soil had no conception of a system of trade-combination. In their complete ignorance of any other condition of life than that which they had inherited from their forefathers, they had no definite aim or plans for the improvement of their lot. They endured their poverty with dogged submission. At length, however, the rural laborer found a powerful and eloquent advocate in the person of Mr. Joseph Arch. By arguments based upon a more or less accurate appreciation of the facts, but, in the main, conclusive, the laborer was urged to ask for an advance of wages. The demands made were not extravagant. In Suffolk, for example, the men asked that their wages should be increased from thirteen to fourteen shillings a week. This modest request was met on the part of the farmers, by the formation of a counter association, and ultimately the laborers throughout an extensive district were locked out.

"The course adopted by the employers was condemned by all impartial and thoughtful men. In one of his characteristic and sensible letters to the *Times*, the Bishop of Manchester stated the case against the farmers in plain and forcible terms. "Could a man," he asked, "at the present prices of the necessaries of life, maintain himself and his family, he would not say in comfort, but even with a sufficiency of food, fuel, and clothing, to enable him to put his whole strength into his work, on a smaller income than fifteen or sixteen shillings a week? If the farmers said they could not afford to pay this rate of wages with their present rentals, and could prove this statement, then rents must come down: an unpleasant thing to contemplate, for those who would spend the rent of a three hundred acre farm on a single ball, or upon a pair of high-stepping carriage-horses. But, nevertheless, one of the things is inevitable."

The farmers succeeded for the time in their resistance to the demands of the laborers. They and their families performed the manual labor on their farm, which had hitherto been carried on by hired workmen. The results, however, of the labor movement in the agricultural class have been considerable. The laborers were defeated

in their pitched battle with the farmers; but they subsequently obtained considerable advances in all those districts of England where the lowest wages had hitherto been given. Space does not permit me to follow up the labor movement in all its ramifications in Dorsetshire and other counties. The actual position of the agricultural labor market is, however, summed up, from a unionist's point of view, in the following letters received from Mr. Joseph Arch, and from Mr. Henry Taylor, the Secretary of the Union of Agricultural Laborers, in reply to an inquiry which I ventured to address to them on behalf of the *International Review*.

"MAY 9, 1876.

"I would say that we have no official statement as to rates of wages in the rural districts, and, in speaking of the rises during the past three years we can only generalize. Having made myself intimately acquainted with the various counties in which our cause exists, I feel justified in saying that at least three shillings per week have been gained on the old wages, prior to this movement. In North Lincolnshire the wages run as high as twenty-one shillings, and, coming southward, they are as low as thirteen and fourteen shillings. In Norfolk, fourteen and fifteen shillings is about the day price for ordinary laborers, some receiving thirteen shillings. Carters obtain more by one shilling, or in some cases two shillings, than ordinary men; but of course their work entails more hours, as well as Sunday duties. Suffolk is about one shilling under Norfolk. Cambridgeshire and Bedfordshire about the same, or tending rather downward. In Wiltshire there are a large number who work for eleven shillings: in fact we have men on strike at present against that wage. Hampshire, about thirteen shillings. Oxfordshire, the same. Warwickshire, from eighteen to thirteen shillings. A few miles' separation often makes a great difference in wages. Of course manufacturing towns, or public works, make the difference frequently. But in other cases there is a difference of one or two shillings, which is simply attributable to the spirit of the men, who, in most cases, are too ignorant to know aught of the labor market, or are altogether too spiritless to move, and otherwise involved in poverty. In most cases where the union is in force, wages are better—other conditions similar—than where there is no union. This can of course be understood. The men are of more courage, become excited to move, have assistance to move, and are directed in their movements. But, migration apart, the men would get better terms if they demanded them; but in many cases they are too timid. This is removing, however. I said

that there had been a rise of three shillings all round. I wish to keep within the mark ; but I believe four shillings is nearer truth. And this is not all. The piece-work prices are much improved. They determine the bargain before performing the work, unlike the old custom. And then I am assured that the independence of the men, and the liability of their moving, have caused the employers to be much more cautious and respectful in their attitude to them."

Mr. Taylor inclosed a letter as a sample of the correspondence in which he is hourly engaged, which, omitting names, I give as a typical case.

"MAY 8, 1876.

"DEAR SIR:—We saw in the *English Laborer* that Mr. Miller goes to Canada the twenty-fourth of this month, and that he wishes to take members of the union with him. We gave our names in to our secretary, and thought to go in March. I am working for ten shillings a week, and I hope I shall have the good luck to go, for I am tired of England, for we are half-starved. If the men would all be union men it would be better for all ; but they hang back so here, and they that has joined more than half has left the ranks. They say Mr. Arch ought to come among us and cheer them up. I think myself if the speakers was to come often, our branch would soon grow stronger. Dear Sir, I hope you will send by return, and tell me whether it's free emigration, and whether we can be sent free. There are five of us, one boy fourteen and a girl nine, and an older daughter, who is very weakly. She earns her living by sewing. If we are to go, please send the tickets at once, as I have many things to do before we go."

The following is from Mr. Joseph Arch :

"BARFORD, WARWICK, MAY 13, 1876.

"The wages of the farm laborers have been advanced in every county, where our association has gone, from two to three shillings per week, viz :—from nine to twelve shillings, and in some parishes more, say thirteen and fourteen shillings, as in Dorset. In other counties they have risen from ten to thirteen and fourteen shillings, as in Norfolk. In my own county, Warwickshire, the increase has been from eleven to fifteen and sixteen shillings ; in Wiltshire, from nine to twelve and thirteen shillings ; and in Lincolnshire, from twelve to sixteen shillings and sixpence, and eighteen shillings. In other counties, where the power of unionism has been felt, the above-named

wages have been obtained, and, as a rule, retained, employers being only able to effect a reduction where the laborers have been disorganized. It has been computed that four millions sterling more have been paid to the laborers during the last four years, than were paid in the four preceding years. I can not vouch for the statement as correct, because I have not gone into details on that point; but I have every reason to believe that it is true. The increased pay obtained, has brought more comforts to the houses of the laborers than they ever enjoyed before. Better wages have reduced pauperism in the rural districts, the number of paupers being about three hundred and twenty-three thousand less, and the poor rates having fallen from eightpence to threepence half-penny in the pound. At Guildford, Blandford, Warwick, and in every district, where the better pay has been given, the like results have followed—of course in proportion to the intelligence of the county, as the men are better educated in some counties than in others. Take Sussex, where the education of the laborer has just been what the squire and parson have allowed it to be, where any radical publication was denounced as sedition. That despotism has had its day; and I hope, sir, that in the paper you are about to submit to the intelligent Americans, you will not forget to mention that, with increased wages and home comforts, the English laborer has increased in intelligence."

It is necessary, in order to complete this statement, to refer to the situation in which the farmers are placed. While wages have advanced, they have had to contend with the most disastrous seasons within the memory of man. On the 14th of January, 1876, Mr. Clare Sewell Read, M. P. for West Norfolk, made an important speech, which was quoted in the *Economist*. "He and his friends had only a poor crop of corn; their roots were the worst he ever remembered to have seen grown in Norfolk. The hay crop had been exceedingly light, and had been secured in very bad order; and even the straw, which they thought of great value, was so indifferent, that, when it was threshed, it broke all to pieces. When he came to speak of prices, he considered they were ruinously low, having regard to the yield per acre. Prices did not apparently depend upon the amount of corn which was grown in the country, but upon the quantity of the grain which foreigners were pleased to send us, and which would increase, year by year. If the farmers had another year like that of 1875, he fancied they would see even longer and more dolorous faces than those now before them. Farmers might stand one such brunt,

but they could hardly face another. If he were to sell every bushel of corn which he grew in 1875, the proceeds would not much more than pay his labor bill and half his rent; and as he should have to expend a further amount for artificial manures, he would leave the meeting to guess upon which side his banking account would be likely to stand, after he had paid his rent, as he had done that day."

Philanthropic men have sought to reconcile the apparently hopeless conflict between capital and labor, by the introduction of the so-called coöperative system. The nature of the experiment will be too familiar to your readers to make it necessary that a detailed explanation should be given. It will be sufficient to point out where the principle has been adopted with success, and where it has been marked by failure. It has been a success, where the business to be done was easy to manage. At the coöperative retail stores, great reductions of price and improvements of quality have been secured to the consumers. Coöperation has been a failure in its application to productive industry. In a large factory, or mine, or foundry, where the labors of hundreds or thousands of men must be combined, in order to carry out extensive and complicated operations, discipline must be maintained, and the reasonableness of the orders given must be accepted without debate by those engaged in subordinate capacities. The government of a factory, like the command of a regiment, must be an autocracy. Hence it is that the principle of associated effort has been found inapplicable to productive industry.

There is another reason why coöperative manufacture has been a failure. Capital is required for such undertakings. Competition has reduced the profits of manufacturers so considerably, that an establishment, unprovided with the newest and most costly machinery, must show an adverse balance. Unfortunately, the savings of the working classes are not sufficient to enable them to provide the capital necessary for business on a large scale. It would be unfair to the intelligent and industrious working people of England, to ignore the many laudable efforts they have made to raise their material and their social condition. The benefit societies, the post office savings bank, in which the savings of the poor are accumulated at the rate of a million and a half a year, the building societies, and the coöperative associations, attest the prudence and the thrift of multitudes, who can not save money without self-denial. On the other hand, the consumption of spirits and beer in the United Kingdom shows that the surplus earnings of prosperous times are largely consumed in pernicious indulgence. The consumption of British spirits increased

from 24,000,000 gallons, in 1871, to 30,100,000 gallons, in 1874, while the number of bushels of malt consumed was increased in the same period from 54,000,000 to 62,000,000. It has been computed that £100,000,000 a year are annually expended in the United Kingdom in drink. If any appreciable proportion of this vast and deplorable outlay were devoted to industrial investment, the working classes might become more independent than they are of the aid of the capitalist.

There is, however, another, and a more practicable, form of coöperation, namely, that of payment by results. During the past winter, this subject has excited much interest, in consequence of the protracted strike of the workmen belonging to the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, who were in the employ of Messrs. Eaton & Anderson, at Erith. It had been specially urged by the officers of the society, first, that the practice of piece-work placed the men under the tyranny of what was called the "butty," or piece-master, system, and that the workman, under this system, did not get his share of the results, as it was monopolized by the piece-master. Secondly, that it frequently happened that workmen actually found, at the end of a job, on which they had been engaged, that they were in debt to their employers, inasmuch as they had not earned the full amount of their weekly rated wages, and were forced to pay the deficiency. Thirdly, that the results, even when equally distributed, were small in amount, and that actual earnings were reduced by the system, as wages were brought down by this process to the lowest possible point. These allegations have been carefully examined by Mr. Stark, Fellow of the Statistical Society of London, and the result of an inquiry shows that, of ninety-seven employers, from whom information was obtained, only fifteen pay through a piece-master; that a deficiency hardly ever happens; and that the additional earnings vary from fifteen per cent. to seventy-five per cent. on the weekly ratings. The lower earnings are exceptional, and are confined to small concerns. The weekly ratings are higher in districts where piece-work most obtains, than where it is never practiced; and the percentage additions on piece-work balances are highest in those shops, where the weekly ratings of the men are also on the highest scale. It would therefore appear that the best workmen are found, where piece-work is the established practice.

While piece-work is strongly resisted by the Association of the Amalgamated Engineers in its corporate capacity, and, by a certain proportion of the workmen, is much disliked, in many important

districts, the men, who have learned its value to the able and industrious mechanic, would strenuously oppose any proposal to limit its operations.

Piece-work has been strongly advocated by the most generous friends of the working classes. Among their number, I would specially refer to Mr. Mundella. In a speech made in London, on the 20th March, he delivered the following opinion on the subject: "He was an advocate of piece-work. Of the £240,000,000 a year of English exports, he believed he was right in saying that fully ninety per cent. were made by the piece. Of textile manufactures they exported, in 1874, £120,000,000 worth, and these had all been paid by the piece. So it was with iron and steel, to the extent of £31,000,000; and also with coal, cutlery, haberdashery, and other small articles, all of which, so far as practicable, were produced under the piece-work system. There was more piece-work, he maintained, done in England than in any other country in the world; and the more it was extended the better for the workmen, whether they liked it or not. Scamping was as often done under the day-work as under the piece-work system; for the master could push the men under both, and urge them to "slip" it. The question on that point was, what amount of money was the master prepared to pay, and what superintendence did he give as to quality? Piece-work tended to regularity of work, and the weak were better off by it; for, in slack times, these were, under a day-work system, the first to be dismissed. In conclusion, he made his earnest protest against any attempt to resist piece-work where it was honestly practicable."

Another eminent authority on the labor question, Mr. Frederic Hill, brother of Sir Rowland Hill, who holds a high permanent position in the post office, and is an entirely disinterested observer, remarks, in a recent address:—"The stimulus to ingenuity and exertion, given by piece-work, is, I have no doubt, one cause of the general superiority of English workmen over those of the Continent. It is well known that the rate of wages here is considerably higher than on the Continent; and yet English manufacturers are seldom induced to transfer their establishments to the Continent in the hope of getting their work done more cheaply; because, owing to the greater energy and activity of Englishmen, their higher wages are fully compensated for by greater production. In nothing, perhaps, has this English superiority been more manifest than in the railway work of navvies; in which, under the gang or butty system, the rule of payment according to the quantity of work done, instead of by time, is,

I believe, almost universal; and we have the satisfaction of knowing that the example thus set to continental workmen has produced the happy effect of raising their wages and permanently benefiting their condition.

Here I can not do better than give an extract from Mr. Brassey's essay on "Work and Wages," recording the experience of the author's father, whose testimony is emphatically in favor of piece-work.

"'My father,' says Mr. Brassey, 'always preferred putting a price upon the work, rather than paying by the day. This system was modified to suit the usual habits of the people with whom he had to deal. Piece-work could not in all cases be adopted without some complications and difficulties; but my father always looked upon day-work as a losing game, and all his work was carried out, as far as possible, by sub-contract, which is piece-work on a somewhat larger scale. Even the scaffolding for the erection of an iron bridge, such as that over the Severn, near Colebrook Dale, of two hundred feet span, was carried out upon the principle of sub-contract; and the same system was adopted for the excavation of shafts and adjacent lengths of tunnel. Payment by piece is beneficial alike to the master and the man. The man earns higher wages, while the master has the satisfaction of obtaining an equivalent for the wages he has paid, and completing the contract which he has undertaken with far greater rapidity. On public works, the difference in the earnings of the men paid by piece-work and men working by the day was always remarkable. In the canal-making days, men working in *butty-gangs* would earn four shillings; while others, working on the day system, would not earn more than from two to three shillings a day.'

"To me it seems that piece-work is one of the many instances in which a friend has been mistaken for an enemy; and that great calamity would befall those who have denounced it, if their denunciation were carried into practical effect."

The comparative efficiency of the English and the foreign workman has been much discussed, in the present hard times, as it always is when trade is depressed. The truth is that there is little difference between the amount of work performed for a given sum of money in any of the manufacturing countries of Europe. The English workmen became idle when their wages were raised, and their hours of labor curtailed; but I have faith in their skill and physical power, and in their common sense. They are not likely to allow themselves to be

beaten in a fair and open competition. The best evidence of the excellence of the British workmen, is afforded by the high tariffs, which, in many countries, where the wages are lower, and the hours of labor longer than with us, it is thought necessary to impose, in order to give effectual protection to native industry. If there were no protective duties, our iron-work would be found in use in France, in Russia, and in the United States, whence now it is only excluded by prohibitive imports.

The present depression of the iron-trade is not confined to England. The *Economist* gives a gloomy picture of the state of this trade on the Continent. In Germany there has been over-production. Wages have risen as rapidly as in England. Good workmen have become careless; and the general standard of diligence and workmanship has declined. In Belgium, more than half the blast furnaces are standing idle. Such a description as this is even more discouraging than that given of the trade in England. "Our faith," then, "is large in time." The growing mechanical genius of some countries may make them independent of England; but other markets will open out elsewhere. We know not what may be the future demand for our productions in Japan, in China, and in Africa.

It is idle to find fault with trades-unions. When men came to be employed together in numbers so vast, it was natural that they should combine to promote their mutual interests. It is better to recognize these organizations, and to make use of the facilities they afford for negotiation and agreement between employers and their work-people.

Even in the most prosperous times, there are multitudes who have to fight a hard battle in the daily struggle for life. Side by side with the colossal fortunes accumulated in successful enterprise, it is sad to see so many human beings without sufficient food or raiment. The affluent may strive to satisfy the conscientious scruples of their position by lavish doles to the poor. But this is not enough. Indiscriminate alms create more misery than they relieve, and their distribution requires an amount of careful inquiry that is not commonly bestowed. To the rich, it is easier to be lavish of their money than to devote their time to the practical work of charity. The poor, however, have a claim to both; and a full and generous recognition of that claim can alone dispel the bitterness and the envy, which an ostentatious display of wealth can not fail to excite.

In discussing the condition of the labor question in England, it has been impossible to suppress all allusions to the industrial compe-

tition between our country and the United States. We are now rivals only in the arts, the sciences, and commerce, which confer so many blessings on mankind. The people of England and the United States are bound together by many ties; by their common ancestry, by their language and literature, and by the laws and the liberties they enjoy. The natural attachment, which ought to unite them, was never more sincere; nor are there any clouds visible on the farthest horizon to overshadow the pleasant prospect of amity and peace, which the friendly relations of the great Anglo-Saxon nations so happily afford.



THE SEA-SHELL AND THE SONNETEER.

Fair Ocean-shell! The poet's art is weak
To utter all thy rich variety;
How thou dost shame him, when he tries to speak,
And tell his ear the rapture of his eye!
I can not paint, as very truth requires,
The gold-green gleam, that o'er thy surface rolls,
Nor follow up with words thy flying fires,
Where'er the startled rose-light wakes and moves;
O! why perplex with all thy countless hues,
The single-hearted sonnet? Fare thee well!
I give thee up to some gay lyric muse,
As fitful as thyself, thy tale to tell;
The simple sonnet can not do thee right,
Nor fuse in one bright thought thy many modes of light.

THE NEW YORK CLEARING HOUSE.

CONSIDERING the important part the New York Clearing House plays in the economy of the banks belonging to it, singularly little is known of it and its methods, even by the business community most intimately concerned with it, while to the masses it is almost as great a riddle as the Sphinx. The purpose of this article is to shed a gleam of light on the subject, preliminary to which, however, we may remark, in view of the fact that New York is the real and acknowledged financial center of the United States, it is somewhat surprising there is not more consolidated financial power here than we actually find to exist.

The New York banks are only nominally united through the Clearing House, for the purpose of making their daily exchanges and settlements, and enforcing sufficient discipline, in matters affecting credit and solvency, to protect themselves in their dealings with each other. Apart from this, there is practically no unity among them, except on special occasions when they combine for self-protection and mutual assistance, as they did at the time of the crisis of 1873 or to expel a member of their Association for cause, as in the case of the Bank of the State of New York, in March, 1876, or in appointing a committee to advocate or remonstrate against some particular measure pending in Congress or the State legislature, affecting banking interests, but the latter, of course, very rarely. It seems, nevertheless, perfectly feasible for them to agree upon and observe such a unity of action as would virtually make the Clearing House a power equal to the combined strength of the banks belonging to it, and give it a sway somewhat similar to that exerted by the Bank of England over the money market.

The members of the Clearing House should, to accomplish this end, meet weekly, like the governors of "the Old Lady of Threadneedle street," and fix a minimum rate of discount for commercial paper, as well as one for call loans, to be strictly adhered to by all belonging to the Association, till raised or lowered by a majority vote at a subsequent meeting. This action would largely influence

the domestic exchanges, and crystallize the monetary power of New York, giving it a more decided control of the monetary affairs of the country than it now possesses, owing to its banking system being without, what the Fenians might have called, a head center. Every bank is an isolated fragment of what joined together would become "one stupendous whole" in the absence of a United States Bank, which, as experience has proved, it is not desirable to create. But doubts as to the feasibility of such a consolidation of the power of the New York banking interest may reasonably be entertained, arising from prejudice and distrust, and the stumbling block of the usury law, which prohibits a higher rate of interest than seven per cent. per annum. The former should be swept away, however, as cobwebs of old fogysm, and the latter repealed, as all usury laws ought to have been long ago, for their continued existence is inconsistent with our national progress and enlightenment in other respects.

Some may object to the presence of a financial power here approaching in character to that of the Bank of England in regulating the market value of money, or, in other words, the rate of interest, but these, perhaps, fail to perceive that the strength which would spring from unity would be for the public weal, and not merely the aggrandizement of the banks. Their combined action in defense and promotion of their own interests would equally serve to protect the banking and commercial community at large, by giving warning of approaching monetary stringency, and inspiring greater confidence in the banks individually and collectively in times of panic. We saw the powerful moral effect of the before-mentioned course of the banks in 1873, and a more forcible financial illustration of the strength which unity gives was never afforded than in that particular instance. As soon as the public knew that all the Clearing House banks had resolved to act as one, the fears for their safety, which had previously prevailed, subsided. They helped themselves by assisting their neighbors.

It would be erroneous to suppose that a higher average rate of interest or discount would prevail in consequence of the suggested action of the banks through the Clearing House than under the present system, for the banks would, at all times, have to compete with private lenders—that is, the Wall street or open money market—just as the Bank of England has to compete with Lombard street, and there is a great deal of private capital available for loans, in New York as well as in London. The Clearing House would have to

lower its rates whenever outside rates were materially below it, and continued so for a sufficient length of time, or borrowers would obtain loans and discounts in the open market: this alone would be a sufficient check upon excessive bank rates. The Clearing House would both regulate the price of money and be regulated by it, and the extortion hitherto practiced by private lenders in making call loans in periods of stringency would be much less likely to occur in the face of an established Clearing House rate than under a system which permits each bank to ask whatever rate it chooses and to take the most it can get. The country needs a central monetary power to serve as a barometer of the times, and sooner or later it will probably be an accomplished fact.

There are at present seventy-eight banks in the city of New York—forty-eight of which are National, with a capital of \$68,500,000—but only fifty-nine of these are members of the Clearing House, their aggregate capital being about eighty millions. The remainder clear, or rather make their exchanges, through some of the others, by special arrangement. Without this facility for so doing they would find it practically impossible to do business, as their only alternative would be to present all the checks they received on other banks at their individual counters by the hands of messengers. A bank requiring this service performed for it opens an account like an individual depositor, with one willing to do the business, and undertakes to leave constantly on deposit with it, as security for the risk assumed, whatever amount may be agreed upon between them. The use of this credit balance is the only compensation the latter receives and it is usually little enough, for in so acting it takes upon itself the responsibility of paying all checks drawn upon the outside bank, the liability of a bank doing business for another being the same as for its own transactions, and it must give one day's notice to the Clearing House before it can discontinue exchanging for it. Nevertheless solvent banks not belonging to the Association have no difficulty in getting some of those who are members of it to act for them.

All the large banks are included in the organization, and only small institutions are excluded from it, but before a bank is admitted to membership it has to undergo an examination as to its capital and condition, while its general standing and the reputation of its managers are not lost sight of. There are, however, no fixed limits imposed as to capital or condition on entering the Association. For a large bank to be thrown out of the Clearing House—as in the case of the Bank of the State of New York, referred to—is equivalent

to forcing its suspension, as the discredit attending it would, if the institution concerned failed thereupon to close its doors, inevitably cause such a run upon it as would soon drain it of its deposits; but as a matter of fact, expulsion is never resorted to unless there are conclusive reasons why a bank should be discredited.

The banks of the city, with the exception of a few small institutions, which clear through larger ones, are thus seen to be united for a common purpose as members of an organization whose full title is "The New York Clearing House Association," the objects of which are defined to be the effecting at one place, *i. e.*, the Clearing House,—formerly in the Bank of New York building in Wall street, and now at the corner of Nassau and Pine streets—of the daily exchanges between the associated banks, and the payment of the resulting balances. It will conduce to the better understanding of the subsequent descriptions if the reader is made acquainted with the rules and regulations governing this body, and therefore we shall proceed to briefly summarize and explain the most important of them.

In the first place the Association is in no way responsible for the exchanges, or the balances, except so far as the latter are actually paid into the hands of the manager. Its responsibility is strictly limited to the faithful distribution among the creditor banks of the sums actually received by him, and in the event of any loss occurring while the balances are in his custody, the constitution provides that it be borne and paid by the banks in the same proportion as the other expenses of the Clearing House.

At every annual meeting a standing Clearing House Committee of five is chosen to supervise and direct the affairs of the Association generally, including its finances, but the manager, under control of this committee, has immediate charge of all business at the Clearing House so far as relates to the manner of its transaction.

The hour for making exchanges at the Clearing House is precisely ten o'clock in the morning. Between half past twelve and half past one, the debtor banks pay to the manager the balances against them in actual coin, United States legal tender notes, or United States Treasury certificates of deposit. At half past one, or as soon afterward as the amounts can be made up and proved, the creditor banks receive from the manager the balances due to each of them, provided all the balances due from the debtor banks have been paid. Should any one of the associated banks fail at the proper hour to pay the balance against it, the amount would have to be immediately furnished to the Clearing House, by the several banks exchanging with

the defaulting bank, in proportion to their respective balances against it, resulting from the exchanges of the day, and the manager in such a case is required to make requisitions accordingly, to avoid delay in the general settlement. The amounts so furnished the Clearing House on account of the defaulting bank would, of course, constitute claims on the part of the responding banks against it, and it would cease to be a member of the Association. Errors in the exchanges, and claims arising from the return of checks, or deficiencies in specie or legal tenders received at the Clearing House, or from any other cause, are adjusted directly between the banks that are parties to them, and not through the Clearing House, which is in no way responsible for irregularities or mistakes of this kind.

All checks, drafts, notes, or other items in the exchanges returned as "not good," or "mis-sent," have to be returned the same day directly to the bank from which they were received, and the latter must immediately refund to the bank returning the same the amount which it had received through the Clearing House for such items.

Every bank belonging to the Association is required to furnish a weekly statement of its condition to the manager for publication, showing the average amount of its loans and discounts, specie, legal-tender notes, circulation, and deposits, and the aggregate of these returns form the bank statement published every Saturday. The banks from time to time may appoint one of their own number, or the Assistant Treasurer of the United States at New York, to be a depository to receive, in special trust, such coin, or legal-tender notes as any of the associated banks may choose to send to it for safe-keeping; and the depository issues certificates in exchange for convenient amounts. The certificates payable on demand in legal-tenders—bearing no interest—are negotiable only among the banks, under a penalty of a hundred dollars fine; and are received by them in payment of balances at the Clearing House. Their use is entirely voluntary, and due to the greater safety and convenience of handling large amounts of them than their equivalent in money.

Originally the Bank of America was the chosen depository, but since the early part of the greenback epoch the banks have chosen the United States Sub-Treasury as such for both gold and currency; and there were—according to the official statement of the national debt—on the 1st of January, 1876, more than thirty-five millions of currency "certificates of deposit" outstanding. The Treasury gold certificates used for the payment of gold balances by the banks are,

however, precisely the same as those issued to the public generally, payable to the bearer on demand.

New members have to pay an admission fee according to their respective capitals, ranging from \$1,000 for banks whose capital does not exceed half a million, to \$7,500 for banks whose capital exceeds five millions, and any bank increasing its capital has to pay a proportionate sum. A standing committee of five is chosen at every annual meeting, which, acting in concurrence with the Clearing House Committee, has power in cases of extreme emergency, where a majority of both committees is present, by a unanimous vote, to suspend any bank from the privileges of the Clearing House until the pleasure of the Association is ascertained, upon which a general meeting must be called forthwith to consider the action.

Any member of the Association may withdraw at will after paying its due proportion of all expenses incurred, and signifying its intention so to do to the Clearing House Committee. The expenses of the Clearing House—not including the expense of printing for the several banks, which last is apportioned equally—are borne and paid *pro rata* (after the payment of two hundred dollars by each) by the banks belonging to it, according to their respective capitals, ranging from \$100 for those whose capital is under half a million, to \$750 for those whose capital exceeds five millions, and in the same proportion if more funds become necessary.

Whenever legal tender notes are known to have been withdrawn from use through the agency of any bank belonging to the Association, the Clearing House Committee is required to make an immediate examination of such bank, and, should there appear to be complicity on the part of it or its officials in any locking-up movement, to suspend it from the Clearing House until action by the Association is taken thereon. This rule was adopted in consequence of the part certain banks were at one time supposed to have taken in the outrageous proceeding of locking up money, in collusion with unscrupulous speculators aiming to depress prices on the stock exchange.

Gold checks are cleared in a separate department of the Clearing House, and the exchanges there are made at ten o'clock A. M. also. The debtor banks pay to the manager, before half past twelve, the balances against them, either in coin or treasury gold certificates, and at that hour, or as soon afterwards as the amounts can be made up, the creditor banks receive from him the balances due them in the same manner and on the same conditions as in the

regular clearings of the banks, the expenses being likewise divided *pro rata*.

There have been only two managers of the Clearing House since its establishment in 1853, namely, Mr. G. D. Lyman, and the present incumbent, Mr. W. A. Camp, and the advantages of the new system of making the exchanges over the old practice of the banks—which was to draw settlement-checks on each other for even thousands near the balance due, the account between them thus always showing a small balance still unsettled—have been thus stated:—"the condensation for each bank of its very many balances into one, and the settlement of that balance without a movement of actual coin or legal-tender notes, unless for sums below any of the denominations of gold certificates, or certificates of deposit, to make change; the saving of clerical labor by the avoidance of numerous accounts, entries, and postings; the great saving of time to the settling clerks and porters of the banks, and the vast diminution of risk in making exchanges and settlements from bank to bank; relief from the labor and annoyance to which the cashiers, tellers, and book-keepers of the banks were subjected under the old system; the liberation of the banks from all injurious and complicating dependence on each other, as well as the facilities afforded by the Clearing House books for knowing, at all times, the management and standing of every institution belonging to the Association."

Some opposition was nevertheless originally manifested to the establishment of the Clearing House, notwithstanding the defects of the system it superseded, on the assumption that it was not needed and might favor a dangerous concentration of power in the hands of a few managers who might use it for inquisitorial purposes, and the exercise of an arbitrary supervision. Hence for nearly a year after its practical adoption it remained without a constitution, and its members are still averse to using it for any other purposes than those it was organized to serve.

Under the old system of making the exchanges, one half of the banks simultaneously sent porters to the other half to pay or receive balances, each carrying a book of entry. The paying teller of each receiving bank entered the exchange on the credit side of the book, after which he entered on the debit side the return exchange, and immediately the porter hurried away to pay and receive in like manner at the other banks. Thus the porters crossing each other's course often met in groups at a single bank, and were delayed by having to wait their turn, so that it took an hour or two to make the

circuit, and the exchanges were not completed generally until afternoon. The banks made no attempt at a daily settlement of accounts between themselves owing to the time it would have consumed, but they informally agreed upon a weekly adjustment of balances after the exchange of Friday morning. The cashier of each bank then drew checks for all the balances due it by other banks and sent out porters to collect them, and these porters, after the collections were made, met to adjust differences, which were usually many, and bring order out of chaos.

An old bank officer—Mr. I. S. Gibbons—in describing the inconveniences and defects of the system, says that the light infantry banks—those of small capital and speculative tendencies—used to make a practice of profiting by this weekly settlement, by borrowing money on Thursday, which while restoring their accounts for Friday, made them debtors again after its return on Saturday. Thus their debts to other institutions—the result of their own ingenuity—enabled them to loan or discount to a larger amount than their legitimate resources would have permitted, for it followed that if each succeeded in obtaining an average credit of three thousand dollars, with say thirty banks, it would have ninety thousand dollars added to its supply of loanable funds. Virtually, therefore, the weekly settlements were only such in name, and that there was no attempt at economy of time or labor in making them, was evident from the fact of each cashier—when the paying teller or his assistant had completed his exchange balance list—drawing checks for every balance due him by the other banks, whereas, a draft on one in favor of another, would have settled two accounts at once. The porters of all the banks were simultaneously let loose, like a pack of hounds in pursuit of the same game, and they succeeded in nothing more than in getting in each other's way, while depositing specie at some banks, and drawing it at others, and falling into unavoidable blunders and disputes, tending to much confusion, as they went their rounds.

The wrangling at the so-called porter's exchange, in front of one of the Wall street banks, after the draft drawing was finished, furnished an amusing commentary on the whole system, for in their efforts to account to each other for what had been done during the day, matters often became almost inextricably "mixed." Perhaps Jones said that he had left a bag of specie at Smith's bank, that was due from Robinson's bank to Brown's, but Brown's bank had to deliver a far larger amount to Smith's. Where had that gone? No one at the moment could answer the question, but it transpired that

Williams was owing a balance to Brown, and Robinson was similarly indebted to Williams, while White had paid Brown by a draft from Black, which Black had received from Muggins, on account of Williams, but this only satisfied a portion of the debit balance, and the difficulty in the way of adjustments was not overcome by the reminder that a third of the remainder was off-set by a bag of gold which Edwards had given to Wilson, and that he, in turn, had delivered to Green. It would have puzzled a Philadelphia lawyer, or any other, to unravel such a tangled skein as this, but—*mirabile dictu*—these porters solved the riddles one by one as they presented themselves, and eventually made a settlement and dispersed to their respective banks.

One of the vexatious features of the system was that a draft, however small, by one bank on another, led to a general drawing, and although, if time permitted, the debtor banks would have to pay the balances against them, it frequently happened that three o'clock came and the banks closed before the payments were all made, and consequently the banks where the demands rested had to respond to them, and it was not uncommon for a debtor bank to largely increase its specie before the close, with its debt to the other banks, perhaps, doubled, nor for a creditor bank to find itself a heavy loser of coin, institutions with, say, half a million credited to them in the general account being sometimes depleted in this way of nearly a quarter of a million of specie. It is not surprising that the weak and speculative banks, which made a practice of profiting by the defects of the system to enforce credit balances, were opposed to any improvement in it, fearing the restraining results of change, while the stronger ones had prejudices to lay aside and grievances to forget. But the success of the new system was not long in overcoming all objections. Even the banks that had benefited most by their own cunning in engineering credit balances began to think that honesty was the best policy, if no higher motive inspired it, and to consider fair play a jewel, and that the new order of things was better for all than the old one. Innovations upon established customs are, however, always regarded with suspicion and distrust, and, therefore, adopted slowly and with hesitation; but, their success once assured, men look back with something like wonder upon their own previous failure to comprehend what was so obvious, and to put faith in what most merited it.

In no one respect is the new manner of clearing more an improvement upon the old than in the issue of the Clearing House and gold certificates. Under the latter, if the amount required in the settle-

ment of the exchanges was a million and a half of dollars, it would have required the movement of three tons of gold coin, involving, of course, considerable expense as well as risk, whereas now this, or the necessity for handling greenbacks, is entirely obviated by the use of these vouchers, each of the former of which certifies that some one of the Clearing House banks has deposited in the sub-treasury a certain sum in legal tender notes—not less than \$5,000—subject to return on demand.

If the weak banks had, at first, occasion to dread the establishment of the Clearing House, the sound ones had reason to welcome it because of the protection and information it furnished of the condition of all alike. The totals of the general proof being daily transferred to the ledger, reference to this is alone necessary to ascertain the dealings of each individual bank, day by day and year by year, since it became a member of the Association, and while the extent of its business is thus exhibited, a fair inference as to its character may also be drawn. This affords a constant check upon irregularities and brings all the banks equally under the scrutinizing eye of the Clearing House. It is a source of terror to evil doers, but a panoply of strength to those that have nothing to fear, and all are too keenly sensible of the fatal character of expulsion from the body to jeopardize their own credit and safety where it can possibly be avoided. This feature has done much to prevent the undue extension of loans which prevailed prior to the organization of the House when weak banks borrowed from day to day, or bought specie, so as to make their average reserve of coin appear greater than it really was.

These forced averages became impossible under the new *régime*, for the average of each bank had to be determined from resources within the bank, and not a dollar could be borrowed or bought without exposure. The importance of this as an element of good banking will be recognized when it is remembered that the loans rest on the legal-tender (or, under specie payments, the coin) average reserve, this in turn resting on the deposits, and the latter being dependent on the resources of trade. Since the organization of National banks the checks imposed by the Clearing House have been less needed, so far as they are concerned, the provisions of the National Currency Act of themselves imposing restrictions of a sufficiently stringent character to insure safety in several essential particulars.

Prior to the establishment of the Clearing House the quarterly statements of the banks were never trustworthy, for as the dates for making these were fixed by law, it was easy to prepare for and “cook”

them to an extent which rendered them only a delusion and a snare, where it was to the interest of those concerned to falsify, but of course strong and honestly managed institutions had no inducement to resort to such chicanery. The custom was for banks with their loans unduly extended, to borrow deposits for a single day in any way they could, and to reduce loans to directors for a few hours, or bridge over by transit checks through other institutions. Nor did a subsequent modification of the law requiring the Bank Superintendent to name antecedent dates for these statements, prevent them from availing themselves of discreditable expedients to make themselves appear stronger than they were. By the positive liquidation the Clearing House enforced, it set a good example to the rest of the business community, and imposed a salutary restraining influence upon speculative trade and commerce.

Before and during the war the banks used the Clearing House as a vehicle for redeeming their own circulating notes, as well as those of country banks redeemable by them. Thus each bank included the notes of every other bank, and those of the institutions for which each one of them redeemed, in its exchanges with it, the same as checks. Following the issue of National Bank notes, and after the withdrawal of the State Bank circulation under the prohibitory taxation imposed upon it, the Clearing House was used in the same way, only to a less extent, for the redemption of the notes of country National banks having redeeming agents among its members, but the trouble of assorting them gave general dissatisfaction. The Park Bank then undertook for a consideration of about five thousand dollars a year, to assort the country bank notes of all the other banks in the city, and this arrangement was prolonged for nearly two years, the plan of working meanwhile gradually improving in efficiency, when it was interrupted, and superseded by the establishment of the Redemption Bureau in the office of the United States Treasurer at Washington, for the purpose of redeeming the notes of all National banks.

The tendency of country bank notes is always, in dull seasons, to accumulate at the financial centers, and especially New York, and although all National bank notes are both guaranteed by the Government and fully protected by United States bonds, which makes them equally good wherever and by whomsoever issued, the fact of their not being legal-tenders, but redeemable in such, makes the city banks at such times, desirous to exchange them for the latter at frequent intervals—as they can not be counted in their reserves. An easy

means of so doing was furnished by the Bureau referred to, and therefore the Clearing House ceased to be used for the redemption of circulation, and the exchanges became limited to checks and drafts. There is nothing, however, to prevent any bank belonging to the Association from including notes issued by any other bank belonging to it in its exchanges with it; but this would be very exceptional and only resorted to in the case of notes of the largest denomination. In active seasons, it may be remarked, the natural outflow of money from New York enables the banks there to send country National Bank notes away nearly as fast as they are received, so that there is no such tendency to congestion then, as when the money market is easy and sluggish.

The present sumptuous quarters of the Clearing House are a great improvement upon the old, and all the arrangements of the establishment are admirable, and carried out, under Mr. Camp's excellent management, with the precision and regularity of clock work. Instead of all the accommodations being on the top floor, and the line of desks being in circular form, as in the Bank of New York building, the offices and bank officers' rooms are on the second floor, while the large square room where the exchanges are made is on the third floor, and the desks are arranged in three parallel rows, each desk being numbered, and having the name of the particular bank for which it is designed lettered on a silver plate in front. The desks, which present an elegant appearance, are of dark polished wood, and provided with seats, drawers, and other conveniences for the clerks occupying them. At the western end of the room is the manager's gallery, reached by a short flight of stairs, and there, while the exchanges are being made—exclusive of the manager—sit the assistant manager and a couple of clerks, besides a telegraph operator at his instrument.

Accepting an invitation from Mr. Camp to see the *modus operandi* in making the exchanges, we met him one morning last March in the Manager's Room. At five minutes to ten o'clock, a striking bell touched by his assistant in the upper room, rang over his head, the usual signal to insure his attendance in the Clearing House gallery at the proper time. A minute later he led the way up a private staircase to the large room, and through it to the gallery above.

Looking down from this elevation, his eye took in the entire apartment. It was full of bank clerks and messengers, sitting, standing, and lounging at their respective desks, while the hum of conversation among them was busy. The settling clerks had their

statements before them ready to be filled up, and the messengers on the other side of the desks were in waiting to distribute their packages. A number of the larger banks were represented by two clerks each, to expedite business during the making of the exchanges. Meanwhile, the assistant manager and one of the clerks were busy entering in the proper printed form, or Clearing House proof, the amounts the different banks had brought to exchange in currency checks, including bank drafts, and the second clerk was similarly engaged with regard to the gold checks, the two being kept distinct, and a separate proof of each made. The tickets, or Clearing House blanks, furnishing these figures, were being handed to a Clearing House clerk on the floor by the bank settling clerks, and by him sent up by a mechanical contrivance to the gallery. Each of these—signed by the settling clerk concerned—read “credit Bank of Commerce (or whatever the bank’s name might be) \$341,626.12” (or whatever the amount of the checks it had to exchange with all the other banks might be), and from the whole of these bank tickets the Clearing House was enabled to ascertain the amount of the credit exchange—figured in the proofs under the head of “Banks Cr.”

A minute or two before ten o’clock the manager clanged his bell from the position where he stood in the center of the gallery, this being the signal to get ready. Immediately all fell into position, like soldiers who had been standing at ease, at the word of command. Every man was at his desk, and ready for his work awaiting the next clang of the bell, which was heard at ten precisely by the clock on the opposite wall. Then every bank messenger, with his open box or satchel, in which his packages were arranged in order, began his slow march by moving to the next desk, where he deposited his package of checks intended for the particular bank represented there, receiving therefor a receipt in the shape of the settling clerk’s initials to the entry of the amount in the receipt list he carried with him. From this he passed to the next desk, and so on to the end of the lines, doing the same thing at each, by which time his satchel or box, was empty and he was back at his own desk with his sheet showing a receipt for every package he had delivered.

This left the settling clerks with the packets of checks on their desks which constituted their debit exchanges, and these they entered in their respective statements under the title of “Banks Credit,” which were checked by the messengers calling back the amounts from the packets. The totals of these statements formed the debits of the banks in the Clearing House proof. Where the

checks exchanged were few they were generally contained in envelopes, and where they were many they were made up in bundles.

The exchanges are usually made in eight minutes, that being the interval which, on an average, elapses between each messenger's starting from his desk and getting back to it again, but in this instance the time was slightly exceeded, when the manager gave the bell signal that all the exchanges had been made. Immediately each messenger took his return exchanges, left there as described, from his desk, and after receiving from the settling clerk a ticket showing the amount of the debit and credit exchanges, and the consequent balance for or against his bank, he took his departure. A very short time afterwards, depending upon its nearness to the Clearing House, the bank was thus made aware of the balance it would have to receive from or pay to all the other banks collectively through the Clearing House that day. There might be slight errors in the figuring, owing to haste, but the ticket would be substantially correct.

While the same time is occupied by each, some of the clerks, in making the exchanges, owing to their expertness in figures, are enabled to return them to their respective banks before others. They left singly, or by twos and threes, until only the settling clerks remained, the assistant settling clerks having left about the same time. These clerks now busied themselves in making up their statements, showing the position of their own banks towards every other, and the rapidity with which some of them worked was shown by their sending their tickets up to the gallery in less than ten minutes afterwards. These tickets showed the amount of the debit and credit exchanges and the consequent debit or credit balances of the respective banks for the information of the Clearing House, and the figures were transferred to the proper proofs as fast as they were received by the assistant manager and clerks.

Of the fifty-nine banks belonging to the Clearing House, thirty-six exchange gold as well as currency checks, separate tickets being furnished for gold and currency, and fifteen of their number have the figures of their own settling clerk's tickets telegraphed to them on account of their buildings being distant from the Clearing House, and the consequent delay in the return of their messengers. This number is liable to vary, thirty having formerly received the information by telegraph. Of the whole number of associated banks forty-five are National and fourteen are State institutions, and these, as already intimated, not only make their own exchanges, but those of the other nineteen banks in the city.

At twenty-five minutes past ten, the manager, addressing the settling clerks, said "The gold proof is made!" previous to which, of course, the thirty-six clerks representing the banks exchanging gold, had sent up their tickets to the Clearing House clerk in charge of the gold proof, who, having transcribed them, found the totals agreed, and that they were therefore correct. A proof was made at the first trial, but only in one instance in the history of the Clearing House, has a currency proof been made on the first trial. Some one or more of the clerks makes an error in figuring, which prevents the aggregate debit and credit balances agreeing, but they are allowed until five minutes to eleven to correct errors in their tickets, after which time, however, fines are imposed for each correction, and at half past eleven the fines are doubled, and at twelve quadrupled. Eleven o'clock is the average time at which a currency proof is made, although on one occasion it was as late as five minutes to one before the result was attained. This occurred after the removal to the new building, and the difference which caused the unusual delay was only two dollars, owing to a blind figure nine being mistaken for seven. At half past ten, all the currency tickets having been previously received from the settling clerks, and their figures duly transferred to the proof sheet, and the additions made—the manager reading from his assistant's memorandum, said "The difference is \$4,826 $\frac{17}{100}$!" The settling clerks immediately applied themselves to the correction of their statements, and corrected tickets were sent by two or three of them to the gallery. A few minutes later he said "\$212 is now the difference!" Another corrected ticket came up, but this merely reduced the difference to a smaller sum, so at five minutes to eleven—without informing them what difference still remained—he ordered the clerks of two banks, at desks far apart, to pass with their statements up and down the lines, and visit every other bank, one to the right and the other to the left. This was done, and all the other clerks followed suit in their turn, and called off the balances to the debit or credit of each, while the clerks of the visited banks called back the amounts charged. This comparison was one of several ways which are adopted for making such discoveries, and it is usually the final method of revision, the test being certain to make the proof, provided the additions are correct.

We may here mention that each settling clerk had previously sent to each of his fellows a ticket showing the amount he had brought to exchange with his particular bank, the amount he had received from him, and the resulting debit or credit balance, the

same corresponding with his statement of the position of his own bank toward every other. If any error existed in this, the clerk to whom it was sent discovered it by comparison with the original statement in his hands.

The clerks having passed slowly round, pausing to call off the figures at each desk, the error was discovered. A few moments later—the accuracy of the general proof having been determined by the agreement of the debit and credit columns with each other, and also by the agreement of the balance columns—the manager called out “The proof is made!” and the settling clerks were at liberty to leave, which they had not been before since ten o’clock, without the manager’s permission. The making of the comparison described occupied ten minutes, so that the proof—showing at a glance the total amount of the exchange, the amount received from each bank, the amount of the return exchange, or checks taken away by each bank, the balance owing to or by each, and the total balance of the exchanges—was not announced till a little more than five minutes past eleven. After this the manager called off from the balance sheet handed him by his assistant, the amount in thousands of dollars, to the debit or credit of each bank arising from the exchanges of the day, which the settling clerks transferred to the corresponding blanks before them, and took away for the information of their respective institutions, such, however, not being at all essential to the transaction of their business at the Clearing House. It ought to be stated that although the manager remained in the gallery on this occasion until after the proof was made, he usually goes down to his office as soon as the exchanges have been completed, leaving his assistant to preside during the rest of the time.

By ten minutes past eleven all the settling clerks had taken their departure, not to return until the next morning at the usual hour, exchanges at the Clearing House being made only once a day, and the room in question being meanwhile unused. The remaining business of the day was transacted on the floor below, the debit banks sending their messengers with the amounts due to the Clearing House between half past twelve and half past one and receiving receipts therefor, and the credit banks sending for the balances due to them at half past one or later and giving receipts therefor in a large book in the outer office provided for the purpose, but in the case of gold balances, the debtor banks were required to pay their balances to the manager before half past twelve, while the creditor banks were entitled to receive those in their favor at that time, or as soon after it as practicable, in accordance with the provisions of the

constitution. In this way from seventy-five to a hundred and twenty millions a day are cleared by the payment of balances amounting to between three and four millions only, the average proportion of the balances to the exchanges being about four per cent.

The Clearing House, it will be seen, only retains custody of the funds which it thus holds as trustee for an hour or two, and every bank belonging to the Clearing House keeps a current account with the latter, debiting it with all money sent and crediting it with all returned.

A chapter might be written on the settling clerks and their humors, but suffice it to say that they are for the most part very young men, with the same tendency as stock-brokers to become unruly and hilarious on slight provocation when not controlled by the presence of the manager, whose personal influence over them is far greater than that of any of his subordinates. The discipline he maintains among them is perfect, for he knows when to be firm and when to be kind; but in his absence they have been known to be guilty of most unseemly and noisy mirth over trivial incidents. Most of them are quick at figures, and some of them deserve to be called lightning calculators; but others are slow, and a few are dull boys hardly equal to the work. Many bank officers are, however, inclined to think any junior clerk good enough to send to the Clearing House, provided he escapes with few fines, and they act accordingly, although there are not a few of an opposite way of thinking who, apart from their objection to fines, employ the quickest and most intelligent of their youngest *employés* in the service. Of course among so many, changes are of frequent occurrence, yet these clerks, where they show aptitude for the business, usually remain for two or three years attending to this and other bank duties, before being promoted to higher positions in their respective banks.

To Albert Gallatin is due the credit of having made the first proposition for the establishment of a New York Clearing House. This he did in a pamphlet published in 1841, and entitled "Suggestions on the Banks and Currency of the several United States," in which he said: "Few regulations would be more useful in preventing dangerous expansions of discounts and issues on the part of the city banks, than a regular exchange of notes and checks, and an actual daily or semi-weekly payment of the balances. It must be recollected that it is by this process alone that a Bank of the United States has ever acted or been supposed to act as a regulator of the currency. Its action would not in that respect be wanted in any city the banks of

which would by adopting the process regulate themselves. It is one of the principal ingredients of the system of the banks of Scotland. The bankers of London by the daily exchange of drafts at the Clearing House reduce the ultimate balance to a very small sum; and that balance is immediately paid in notes of the Bank of England. The want of a similar arrangement among the banks of this city produces relaxation, favors improper expansions, and is attended with serious inconveniences. The principal difficulty in the way of an arrangement for that purpose is the want of a common medium other than specie for effecting the payment of balances. These are daily fluctuating, and a perpetual drawing and re-drawing of specie, from and into the banks, is unpopular and inconvenient."

It was Mr. Francis W. Edmonds, formerly cashier of the Mechanics' Bank, who originally planned the issue of what are now known as Clearing House certificates, he having in 1852 induced four of the largest banks to join his own in depositing a million dollars in coin with the latter, for which it issued its certificates, and those were received instead of coin by the other banks in payment of balances. Thus the way was paved to the establishment of the Clearing House about a year later, whose constitution was prepared by Mr. George Curtis, and adopted on the 5th of June, 1854.

The annual reports of the Clearing House since its organization furnish some interesting and suggestive figures, which reflect not only the natural growth of the banking business of the country, but the effect of the irredeemable currency issues in stimulating commercial and monetary activity. While the total exchanges of the New York city banks amounted to only \$5,915,742,758 in 1860-61, they aggregated \$26,032,384,342 in 1864-65, an increase of more than twenty thousand millions of dollars. The increase was progressive in about an equal ratio with the increase of the national debt, the exchanges having been \$6,871,443,591 in 1862; \$14,867,597,848 in 1863, and \$24,097,196,655 in 1864. But the feverish activity and speculative excitement born of inflation went on increasing after the volume of the currency had reached its maximum, and continued after it had begun to dwindle largely under the withdrawal from circulation of interest bearing legal tender notes. Thus in 1866 the exchanges rose to \$28,711,146,914, and went on swelling until they reached \$37,407,028,987, their culminating point in 1869. In the following year, however, they suddenly fell off to twenty-seven thousand millions, but recovered to thirty-three thousand millions in 1873. The depression succeeding the panic of that year became strikingly appa-

rent in the exchanges for 1874, their aggregate declining to less than twenty-one thousand millions, and only recovering to twenty-three thousand millions in 1875. But even this sum appears very large in comparison with the five to eight thousand millions within which were embraced the exchanges of each year from 1854 to 1862 inclusive. It is noticeable that the same signs of depression were visible in the Clearing House returns after the panic of 1857, the exchanges having declined from \$8,333,226,718 in 1857—the heaviest up to that time—to \$4,756,664,386 in 1858, the lightest ever recorded.

The average daily exchanges ranged from a little over fifteen millions in the year last named to about a hundred and twenty-one and a half millions in 1869, and the average daily balances paid in money from less than a million—namely \$940,565—in 1855 to nearly four millions—namely \$3,939,266—in 1872, showing a percentage of cash balances to exchanges varying from 6.6 in 1858 to 3. in 1869, and an average of 4.1 for the first twenty-two years of the business of the Clearing House. The average daily exchanges and balances during the same period were respectively \$61,102,416 and \$2,491,440, while the exchanges for the twenty-two years aggregated the enormous sum of \$413,464,866,992, which involved the payment of balances in settlement amounting to \$16,858,398,139.

The smallness of the balances paid in money by the banks to each other in proportion to their exchanges show not only the advantages of the system of clearing pursued, but how largely checks and bank drafts perform the functions of currency. The banks belonging to the Association have varied in number from forty-six after the panic of 1857 (against fifty before it) to sixty-two in 1871, and their capital increased almost steadily from forty-seven millions in 1854 to nearly eighty-four and a half millions in 1871, but in 1875 it had dwindled to \$80,435,200, and it has since undergone further diminution by the reduction of the capital of the Bank of the State of New York—since readmitted to the Association—from \$2,000,000 to \$800,000.

The statistics we have quoted give a very good idea of the banking movement at the monetary center, and to a certain extent, hold up the mirror to that of the entire country. In them, too, in their detailed form, we see reflected the ebb and flow of the currency. The loans attain their highest point in August, when money is cheapest and most abundant, following which they gradually decline till they reach their lowest point in November, or early in December; then a rising average becomes perceptible, and continues until the end of March, when an outward flow of money again sets in to provide

for the settlements which take place in Pennsylvania and several other states on the first of April, as regularly as leases are renewed in New York on the first of May, but after the middle of April the return flow begins and continues until the vacuum caused by its withdrawal has been filled, both movements being as regular as the tides.

With respect to the affairs of the Clearing House itself, it need only be said that they are on a solid and satisfactory basis. The present building cost the Association \$215,000, in addition to which it expended \$135,000 for alterations. Before its purchase it had accumulated funds amounting to a hundred thousand dollars, and in order to provide the difference it authorized and then subscribed for \$250,000 of Clearing House building stock, the amount to be equally distributed among the banks, and the stock certificates to bear interest at the rate of seven per cent. per annum, payable semi-annually. The portion of the building not used for Clearing House purposes is leased and the income therefrom nearly equals the amount of interest payable on these certificates, while the deficiency is charged among the ordinary expenses of the Clearing House. The latter, including the manager's salary of \$10,000, amount to about \$30,000 a year, exclusive of any deficiency from the source referred to, but the Association was assessed \$40,000 for 1876. Exclusive of the manager, the staff of persons employed by it consists of the assistant manager, four clerks and a private policeman. And now all has been told that the average reader will probably care to know about the New York Clearing House, which is superior to any establishment of the kind in any other city of the United States, and which might be copied with profit to themselves by the banks of London and other European capitals, its plan being much more simple, perfect and better calculated for the purpose than theirs. Indeed, in view of the fact that the exchanges have been made and the settlements effected since its organization, without the slightest error or loss, and with such economy of time and labor as we have described, it seems hardly possible for any improvement in its methods to be made, although its scope might be enlarged in the manner suggested, with advantage to both the banking interest and the public.

THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES OF BAVARIA.

THE productive forces and industrial and social progress and condition of Bavaria are subjects of peculiar interest to the student of history and sociology, for they relate to a country whose population, though Teutonic in race, law and custom, possess characteristics commonly believed to belong peculiarly to the so-called Latin nations. These forces, and this progress and condition, will now be briefly but comprehensively summarized, and the lessons they educe recounted after the testimony is completed.

NATURAL RESOURCES.

Bavaria lies in the center of Continental Europe, south of Prussia and north of Austria. Its southern parts are more elevated above the level of the sea than its northern, and hence, for a well understood reason, its climate is uniform. The mean temperature is 47° Fahrenheit, equal to about 7° Reaumur or 9° Celsius. This low temperature is due to the general elevation of its surface. The country is divided into two sections by the river Danube, which flows through the middle of it from west to east, and is navigable almost from the Wirtemberg frontier. The southern frontier is formed by the Allgau Alps, which reach an elevation of more than 9,000 feet. From these, proceeding northward, extends a plateau which slopes gradually to the plain of the Danube. This plain is from 900 to 1,000 feet above the level of the sea. North of the Danube the country is hilly. Near the north-eastern frontier the river Main enters the country and flows westwardly, being navigable throughout the greater part of its course within the country for long, flat vessels, carrying 200 to 300 tons. Beside these two sections of Bavaria, there is the Palatinate or Pfalz, a province on the left bank of the Rhine, midway between France and Bavaria, and belonging to the latter country, though separated from it by intervening Prussian territory. This province is chiefly mountainous, with extensive plains on the river, low and very fertile. The lakes, of which the Ammer, Würm, Chiern, Staffen, Walchen, Kochel, and Bartholomaens, are the principal ones,

are numerous and abound with fish. Large forests and extensive marshes exist in the low lands of the Danube, and here the soil, as well as that of the valleys throughout the country generally, is rich; while it is poor on the hills and mountains. During its course of 270 miles through Bavaria, the Danube receives no less than twenty-eight tributaries. The country produces iron, salt, coal, quicksilver, and other minerals; but, except of iron and salt, in quite inconsiderable quantities.

The most noteworthy fact in connection with the natural resources of Bavaria is the scarcity of fuel. There is only one acre of forest to each head of population; the annual product of coal is but 115 pounds per capita; in some instances the water of salt springs is conveyed in iron pipes a distance of sixty miles to reach a supply of fuel for boiling it down¹; the railway engines throughout the country are run mainly with peat.

Although the laws² of the country require as much wood to be grown as is consumed each year, the price of wood is very high. The following were the retail prices of burning wood in Nuremberg in 1873:

Hard wood.—One klafter—say one cord—\$9.60, cartage 24 cts., measuring 4 cts., cutting \$1.40, stacking 40 cts. Total, \$11.68.

Soft wood.—One klafter \$6.80, cartage 24 cts., measuring 4 cts., cutting \$1.08, stacking 40 cts. Total, \$8.56.

TOTAL AREA OF COUNTRY.

The superficial area of the entire kingdom comprises 21,843,900 Bavarian acres or tagwerk, equal to 18,392,564 English acres, whereof 1,451,406 English acres are in the Palatinate.

CULTIVATED AREA.

About the year 1835 or 1840, according to M'Culloch, who, however, casts some doubt upon the correctness of the figures, the area of the country was divided as follows: tillage and pasture lands, 53 per cent., forests 29 per cent., waste, sites, etc., 18 per cent. As he reckoned the total area at 18,967,680 acres, the following numbers would result: tillage and pasture lands, 10,052,870; forests, 5,500,627, and waste, etc., 3,414,183 acres.

About the year 1843, von Liebig estimated the arable lands at about 9,000,000 tagwerk, or 7,578,000 acres.³

Writing in 1854, United States Consul Obermayer divided the land as follows:

¹ The Earth Modified by Human Action.—Marsh, p. 323.

² Com. Rel., 1873, p. 394.

³ Nat. Laws of Husb., p. 305.

	Tagwerk.	Acres.
Arable.....	9,227,105	7,769,222
Vineyards, orchards, and gardens	350,883	295,444
Meadows	3,075,958	2,589,957
Forests	5,340,546	4,496,740
Rivers and lakes	354,772	298,718
Heaths and moors.....	2,029,941	1,709,210
Buildings, streets, roads, and ways.....	226,105	190,380
Barren mountains.....	1,594,642	1,342,689
Total.....	22,199,952	18,692,360

In 1863 the divisions were computed as follows :

	Tagwerk.	Acres.
Arable (including fallow and lands cultivated for clover, lucerne, beet root, and other fodder for cattle)	9,216,379	7,760,191
Hay meadows.....	3,549,826	2,988,954
Pasture (chiefly mountainous).....	766,310	645,233
Forests and woods.....	7,017,256	5,908,530
Rocks and barrens.....	525,631	442,581
Lakes, ponds, rivers, etc.....	301,368	253,752
Roads and highways	356,139	299,869
Sites	110,991	93,454
Total	21,843,900	18,392,564

From these various data we have the following comparison :

YEAR.	Arable Land. Acres.	Meadows. Acres.	Total Cultivated. Acres.
1840	.....	.....	10,052,870
1843	7,578,000	.....	.....
1854	7,769,222	2,589,957	10,359,179
1863	7,760,191	2,988,954	10,749,145

The 295,444 acres of vineyards, orchards, etc., shown separately in the classification of 1854, are omitted in this comparative table, because in the other classifications this division of land is probably (though erroneously) included under the head of "forests and woods."

Were Bavaria viewed through the medium of the foregoing facts alone, the judgment would recoil from the sad verdict it would have to pronounce ; for in these facts are to be found all the elements of arrested development and its invariable concomitant, structural or

social demoralization. Agriculture has reached its limits, for there has been no extension of the cultivated area; manufactures on a large scale are impossible, for there has been found no fuel; commerce cannot exist, for there is no sea coast. Happily the case of Bavaria is not quite so bad as these facts, taken by themselves, would make it seem.

ACREAGE UNDER VARIOUS CROPS.

The following table shows the acreage under various crops for the year 1863:

Crop.	Acres.	Crop.	Acres.
Wheat	719,734	Vines.....	54,786
Rye	1,464,267	Hops.....	43,635
Spelt	326,283	Flax and hemp	111,935
Barley	840,777	Tobacco	13,466
Oats	1,123,372	Clover, lucerne, and	
Peas, beans, etc.....	123,516	other fodder for cattle	722,515
Maize.....	1,898	Ditto as after-growth.	[5,503]
Buckwheat	4,468	Beet roots & turnips.	162,854
Millet	7,916	Ditto as after-growth.	[138,299]
Potatoes	651,282	Hay (meadows).....	2,988,953
Rape and poppy	29,155	Gardens	174,684
Miscellaneous	8,722	Bare fallow.....	1,174,927
Total.....			10,749,145

One-half of the cultivated area is devoted to cattle-fodder, one moiety of which is destined for export and the other moiety for domestic cattle, whose flesh and other products constitute a main support of Bavarian foreign commerce. A smaller area is cultivated in wheat than in barley, from which is manufactured the beer, which forms another principal article of the inconsiderable foreign commerce of the country. Nearly as much land is sown in potatoes as in wheat, while rye covers as much area as both together, and constitutes the principal article of diet. Over one-tenth of the cultivated land is in bare-fallow and little more than one per cent. in green vegetable or garden crops.

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From these unprogressive features of agriculture we turn with more satisfaction to the following table, which shows the progress made in the total yield of the crops from about the year 1835 or 1840 to the year 1863.

CROPS.	Unit of Quantity.	Yield about 1835 or 1840; after Berghaus.	Yield year 1863; after Fenton.
Wheat	Bushel.	7,973,991	12,141,570
Rye	"	18,762,500	24,689,949
Spelt	"	8,732,400	13,244,159
Barley	"	12,206,632	17,500,007
Oats	"	17,421,847	25,994,527
Peas, beans, etc.	"	1 824,613	1,953,688
Maize. ....	"	.....	48,875
Buckwheat .....	"	.....	55,610
Millet .....	"	.....	135,690
Potatoes.	"	71,453,610	68,728,846
Rape and poppy.	"	2 429,489	504,500
Madder.	Pound.	5,849,578	.....
Wine	Gallon.	13,578,767	³ 16,218,391
Hops.	Pound.	4,310,397	⁴ 15,091,206
Flax and hemp	"	41,718,424	58,590,500
Tobacco	"	10,193,320	18,381,617
Clover, lucerne, etc.	"	} 4,175,674,679	{ 1,922,462,750
Ditto as after-growth	"		{ 7,870,655
Beet roots and turnips	"		{ 1,640,882,750
Ditto as after-growth.	"		{ 624,013,400
Hay	"		{ 6,369,883,000
Timber	Klafter.	2,460,046	3,076,321

¹ To wit: (in 1840) pease 55,210 and lentils 74,992 scheffel.

² To wit: (in 1840) 59,329 scheffel of rapeseed and 8,485 of poppy.

³ The U. S. Com. Rel., 1869, p. 152, says eight million gallons of wine—probably a mistake.

⁴ In a good hop season the yield is upwards of 40,000,000 pounds.—U. S. Com. Rel., 1873, p. 394.

This table attests a certain degree of progress. The produce of rye and wheat, the chief elements of human diet, increased about 50 per cent; cattle fodder, as commercial crops, over 100 per cent; (the tables adduced further on will show that the increase in live stock has been very small) other commercial crops about 50 per cent. and wood for fuel 25 per cent. Had no great change taken place in the social condition of the Bavarian peasant since 1835-40, these facts should prepare us to hear that the population had increased from 1835-40 to 1863 about one-half. The following table shows, however, that it only increased about one-tenth to one-eighth.

POPULATION.

Table showing the population of Bavaria at various periods:

Year.	Population.	Authorities and Remarks.
1801	3,200,000	Estimate based on Dr. Morse's. ¹
1813	3,560,000	Morse. The year not specified.
1818	3,707,966	U. S. Census, 1850, p. xxxiv.
1834	4,246,779	First (triennial) census, December 3d.
1837	4,315,469	Dr. Lieber.
1840	4,360,887	Br. Rep. Sec. Leg. 1866, No. 12, p. 300, and L. T.
1843	4,370,581	U. S. Census, 1850.
1846	4,504,874	
1849	4,520,000	U. S. Com. Rel., 1854, p. 223.
1852	4,559,452	U. S. Census, 1850.
1855	4,541,556	
1858	4,615,748	Almanac de Gotha.
1861	4,689,837	
1864	4,807,440	
1867	4,824,421	U. S. Com. Relations, 1868, p. 503. ²
1871	4,863,450	Statistische Tafel. Dr. Hübner, Berlin, 1875.

¹ Morse estimated the population in 1801 at 2,302,000 and the territory at 22,000 square miles. It is estimated that about 960,000 inhabitants and about 2,500 square miles of territory were subsequently acquired, chiefly from Austria.

² In 1866 about 291 square miles of territory north of the river Main, with 32,925 inhabitants, were ceded to Prussia.

The very slow progress of population above shown is the key to the entire industrial history of Bavaria. Taken in connection with the more rapid progress of subsistence previously shown, it would appear that the people now enjoy a greater share of food than they did in 1835-40. But this conclusion must not be accepted too hastily. Berghaus' statistics of production, though dated 1835-40, may relate to 1830, when the population was hardly 4,000,000, and it is more than suspected that this is the case. If it be, then the production of food and commercial crops has but little more than kept pace with the increase of population, and the excess has probably been exchanged in commerce for textile fabrics and other necessary articles of subsistence.

RURAL AND CIVIC POPULATION.

The population "inhabiting villages and rural districts" in 1840 and 1867, respectively, is shown in the following table :

	1840.	1867.	Increase per cent.
Rural population	3,445,517	3,603,826	4.59
Civic "	915,370	1,220,595	33.34

The increase of rural population during the twenty-seven years under review was about $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., while that of the civic was about $33\frac{1}{8}$ per cent. These several rates of increase must not be taken as exponents of the natural augmentation of the classes of population named ; but are due, rather, to the advance of manufacturing and commercial industries over agricultural, and the consequent removal of inhabitants from farms to the towns. In 1840, the proportion of rural to total population was about 80 per cent., whereas in 1867 it was scarcely 75.

OCCUPATIONS OF THE POPULATION.

This gain of civic over rural population must have occurred since 1852 (perhaps in consequence of the abolition of trade guilds which took place in 1867), because from 1840 to 1852, it would appear that the agricultural population increased. The following table shows the occupations of the population at the dates named :

Occupations.	Year 1840.	Percent.	Year 1852.	Percent.
Agriculture.....	2,865,103	65.7	3,095,867	67.9
Industry and Commerce.....	1,120,748	25.7	1,034,995	22.7
Civil service, fund-holders, etc.....	235,488	5.4	250,771	5.5
Military service.....	61,052	1.4	86,630	1.9
Paupers on public charity.....	78,496	1.8	91,189	2.0
	4,360,887	100.0	4,559,452	100.0

In 1852, the following partial returns of the agricultural population were made :

	Families.	Individuals of all ages and both sexes.
1. Day laborers, possessing house or land...	108,021	426,511
2. Day laborers, without house or land	82,958	245,387
3. Farm servants living with their employers	—	459,382
Total	—	1,129,280

In order to ascertain the number of actual workers belonging to the agricultural classes, it would be necessary to deduct from the above number (1,129,280) the children and old persons incapable of working, and that portion of the women who are emancipated from field labor; and to add the peasant proprietors, because the latter universally take part in the labor of the field in common with their farm servants and hired laborers. The number of all proprietors of the soil in 1852 was probably about 450,000 (*i. e.*, one-half of the whole number of ownerships, which at that date was about 900,000), chiefly peasant proprietors; but the exact number of the latter is unknown. From these imperfect data, the present number of actual field workers in Bavaria is estimated at about 960,000.

The total number of persons employed as managers, overseers, workmen or workwomen, in the manufactories of Bavaria was, in 1861, as follows :

FEMALE LABORERS.

Said M'Culloch, writing in 1843: "Throughout Bavaria all sorts of field labor are performed indiscriminately by men and women."

Thirty years later we hear similar accounts. "The major part of the labor of the field in this country is performed by the weaker sex."¹

LAND TENURES.

The electorate of Bavaria, prior to the dissolution of the German Empire in 1806, consisted of little more than the territory now comprised within the three provinces of Upper and Lower Bavaria and Upper Pfalz, now known as the "old provinces." Up to the year 1848, the state of affairs with reference to the tenure of land in Bavaria, generally, and especially in the "old provinces," had remained, with some not very important modifications, much what it had been two or three centuries previously.

Under this state of things, a large proportion of the peasant occupiers had only a limited right of ownership in their lands. They held them in some cases under the Crown, but more frequently under the lords of the manor ("grund-herren"), subject to charges of various descriptions, but consisting chiefly of payments in money at fixed periods, tithes of the most varied character, fines on a change of occupancy by death, and personal servitude in the form of a certain number of days' work, with or without the peasant's cattle, the providing of beaters for the chase, etc.

In addition to these manorial and seigniorial rights, there existed in many cases in favor of the "grund-herren," that of civil jurisdiction and police over the whole extent of the manor, the exclusive right to take game on the peasant's lands, and a variety of personal privileges and exemptions.

The law of 1848, known as the Land Charges Redemption Act ("Grund Renten Ablosungs Gesetz"), effected a radical change in this state of affairs. Civil jurisdiction and police were transferred to the government authorities; personal servitudes of every description were absolutely abolished, and without any indemnity to the "grund-herren," and every peasant was permitted to buy off or commute by means of a money payment once for all, or a yearly sum to be paid during a certain number of years, all charges, tithes, or burdens whatsoever, and having done so, he was permitted to become the freehold proprietor of the land.

In case of a single payment, the amount was fixed at eighteen

¹ U. S. Com. Rel., 1873, p. 398.

times the average annual value of the dues and services on the land during the period 1828 to 1845. In case of payment by annual installment, the peasant was allowed thirty-four years' time, and assisted by government land-debentures based on the mortgage of the lands.

LAND REGISTRY.

The present regulations are that all papers affecting the title to real estate must be drawn by official notaries, whose fees are moderate and prescribed by law. The papers are then entered upon the records of the Civil Tribunal of the district. The notarial fee, government tax and stamps, on a deed of land valued at \$4,000, amount to about \$50. On a mortgage, they amount to less in proportion.

NUMBER AND SIZE OF FARMS.

M'Culloch, writing about 1835-40, said that, omitting Lower Franconia and the Rhenish Palatinate, which, even were they included, provided they both were, would not materially alter the general proportion, the number of proprietors was 606,989, and of estates 2,254,603, or nearly 1 to 4.

Since that time, the number of proprietors appears to have increased more rapidly than population. Martin, referring apparently to 1861, gives 947,010 proprietors, of whom 228,976 were in the Palatinate, and 109,195 in Upper Bavaria—the two extremes.

In 1863, the registered number of land owners was 1,040,873. In this number are included many repetitions of the same persons owning two or more parcels of land. The total number of parcels was 14,354,781; so that the proportion of holdings to owners was nearly 14 to 1; a degree of subdivision which is only credible when it is remembered that these figures include city and town lots.

The cultivated and grass lands, and forest lands of Bavaria, were owned in 1863 as follows:

Owned by	Cultivated and grass lands. Acres.	Forest lands. Acres.
Private proprietors.....	10,855,384	3,029,651
Communes, corporations, and endowed establishments.....	480,289	988,342
The State, or the provincial governments.	58,705	1,890,537
Total	11,394,378	5,908,530

From which it appears that while one-half of the forest lands are public property, nearly all of the cultivated and grass lands belong to individuals.

In 1866, von Hermann, the government statistician, estimated the average size of farms at thirty acres, of which eleven were woodland.¹ But this estimate ignores the exceedingly numerous half and quarter-acre lots, and also the fact that nearly one-half of all the woodland belongs to government.

A rough estimate, based on the authority of Mr. Adam Müller, Secretary-general of the Agricultural Society of Bavaria, assumes for the year 1870 that the total number of landowners in Bavaria was about 500,000, of whom not more than 100 owned estates exceeding 1,000 tagwerks, or 842 acres each. Omitting the Palatinate, where the holdings were much smaller, the minimum size of peasant farms is from 30 to 40 English acres, and the maximum about 160, with a very few from 240 to 320. These estimates only apply to the purely agricultural classes, and omit all small plots cultivated at odd times by their owners, who are day laborers on the farms of others, or eke out a living as village tradesmen.

As a general thing, the properties are divided up into several separate pieces of land lying apart from each other: relics of recent feudal tenures. Although a law was passed in 1861, enabling consolidations to be made, very little has been done in this direction. This disjointedness of land has an important bearing on the economy of agriculture and the employment of machinery, to both of which it forms a serious obstacle.

Supposing the total number of agricultural and forest land-owners to be, at the present time, 1,000,000, and the total area of cultivated and grass and forest lands, owned by private individuals, to be 14,000,000 acres, we would have an average of fourteen acres to each, of which little more than one-half is arable land. This, however, does not show the average holding, which, by means of leases and sub-leases, may be, and probably is, considerably smaller.

SYSTEM OF CULTIVATION.

"Most of the farmers here are small tenants; too small for the advantageous use of steam or horse power."²

Agriculture very backward; for lack of drainage and other improvements much good soil lying idle; peasantry so ignorant that sick or diseased cattle are driven to the shrines of saints for cure! Some improvement has occurred since the confiscation of the church lands.³

¹ U. S. Agric. Rep., July, 1867, p. 258.

² U. S. Consul Wilson in Com. Rel., 1873.

³ M'Culloch, about 1835.

The three field system almost universal ; horned cattle not pastured in fields by peasant proprietors, their system being, as a rule, to keep them in stables or sheds, and feed them on hay or other fodder grown especially for the purpose ; the out-door system more frequent in high lands of Upper and Lower Bavaria and Swabia, which are more especially the cattle-breeding provinces of the kingdom ; cattle fattened for market chiefly by large proprietors, who feed them in-doors, chiefly on grains from brewery, of which one is usually attached to an estate, and plays an important part in agricultural economy.¹

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS.

"Implements antique, uncouth; and unwieldy ; hay-forks made from natural crotched sticks ; hoes, shovels, etc., unsightly and cumbersome."²

Only one steam plow ever brought into Bavaria : experiment not successful owing to nature (subdivision ?) of soil ; on estates of nobles, drill and other modern implements in general use ; not so among peasantry ; during past six or eight years steam threshers, owned by local associations or wealthy proprietors, and hired out, have been introduced ; they now thresh out about one-half of all the grain produced ; agricultural implement manufactories started in Bavaria and neighboring states of Wirttemberg and Baden.³

"In 1873 a German-American imported into Bavaria a dozen mowers, and some eighty dozen forks of various patterns. So soon as they were made acquainted with their use, the peasants showed the most intense desire to possess them."⁴

ELEMENTS OF MECHANICAL FORCE.

The force of running water employed upon stationary or floating mills was, until lately, almost the sole mechanical power available in Bavaria, and even this appears to have been employed at a later date there than in the surrounding countries. Water mills were used in Asia Minor in B. C. 70, on the Tiber in A. D. 50, and in some parts of Germany and France so early as A. D. 324 ; yet we hear nothing of them in Bavaria until several centuries later ; while as to windmills, the first one in Spire was built so late as A. D. 1395.⁵ This was perhaps due to the inconstancy of the Bavarian winds ; while the slow development of water mills in Bavaria is attributable to the fact that "most of the village streams are small, and in summer they are reduced from 200 down to 30 cubic feet per minute."⁶

Up to 1873, the only water-wheels in use were of the ancient over-shot pattern. In that year an American turbine wheel was introduced, and by the end thereof upwards of thirty of them were in successful operation.⁷

¹ H. P. Fenton, Sec. H. B. M. Legation, Munich, January 20, 1870, L. T. 232.

² U. S. Consul James M. Wilson, Nuremberg, Nov. 22, 1873.

³ Mr. Fenton, 1870.

⁴ U. S. Consul Wilson, 1873.

⁵ Schem. Ency., 7, 582.

⁶ Com. Rel., 1873, p. 398.

⁷ Ibid.

FUEL.

The total produce of wood, as returned for the year 1863, was classified as follows:

	Klafters or Cords.
Timber.....	2,799,906
Branches, roots, etc., used chiefly for firewood; and fagots	52,634,700
	276,415

The nicety of counting the fagots would provoke a smile were it not indicative of the poverty which prompted it. How much of the above produce of fuel, if any, was used as a motive power for engines is not stated.¹

The produce of peat and coal is lumped together in the Bavarian statistical returns as follows:

Year.	Peat and Coal: tons.
1863	5,831,403
1864	9,068,619
1867	7,160,175

Of coal alone the produce of 1863 is stated to have been only about 250,000 tons.² As going to show the small proportion which this bears to the product of the world, it may be stated that the present annual production of coal is as follows:

Countries.	Tons of Coal.	Countries.	Tons of Coal.
Great Britain ....1872	123,000,000	Austria .....1872	7,000,000
United States....1873	45,000,000	Nova Scotia ....1873	1,000,000
North Germany..1874	42,000,000	Spain .....1873	750,000
Russia .....1870	24,000,000	Sweden .....1873	750,000
France.....1872	15,000,000		
Belgium.....1872	14,000,000		272,500,000

It should be remembered that "the coal of Germany, generally (including, it is presumed, that of Bavaria), is usually of a description far inferior to that of England. It is mostly to be classed among the lignites, the so-called *steinkohlen* of Germany being only of a better and the *braunkohlen* of an inferior quality of that denomination."³

It will thus be seen that Bavaria is almost destitute of the elements of mechanical force; the inconstancy of the winds deprive her of wind power; the drying up of the village streams of water power;

¹ L. T. 231.

² Rep. H. B. M. Sec. Leg., 1866, No. 12, p. 312.

³ From Hübner's *Tafel*, which, however, is not always correct. The other figures, except that for Russia, are from reliable sources. The product of North Germany for 1863 was 22 million tons, of which 18½ million in Prussia, 2½ million in Saxony, and the rest scattering.

⁴ Rep. H. B. M. Sec. Leg., 1866, No. 12, p. 312.

the limited area of her forests deny to her the advantage of wood for fuel, and the poverty of her geological foundations that of coal.

DOMESTIC ANIMALS.

Year.	Horses.	Horned Cattle.	Sheep.	Swine.	Goats.	Hives of Bees
1821	?	2,060,146	1,379,907	?	?	?
1828	324,991	1,895,687	1,138,100	?	?	?
1829	?	2,511,918	?	?	?	?
1833	333,228	2,420,630	1,398,590	777,111	90,130	135,241
1837	330,620	2,350,386	1,484,080	870,000	?	?
1840	349,689	2,635,294	1,906,589	842,521	107,236	213,045
1852	350,000	2,635,000	1,228,000	491,000	112,000	201,000
1854	347,930	2,635,568	1,234,156	495,816	104,822	202,923
1861	380,000	3,194,000	2,055,000	916,000	156,000	223,000
1863	380,108	3,185,882	2,058,658	926,522	150,855	233,139

The horned cattle in 1863 were classified as follows: draught oxen, 432,044; fattened oxen, 19,231; bulls, 39,384; cows, 1,530,526; young cattle, 806,937; calves, 357,760; total, 3,185,882. Of the horses those used for draught purposes were returned at 296,683.

The remarkable decrease exhibited in domestic animals from 1840 to 1852-4, is attributed "without doubt to the scarcity and high prices of grain and other articles for use for cattle feeding, which prevailed about that period, consequent on unfavorable harvests." But this explanation will hardly apply to bees, which also appear to have decreased. See remarks on the premature slaughter of swine under next heading.

CHIEF ARTICLES OF NATIONAL DIET.

Said M'Culloch in 1835-40:

"The laboring population are well clothed and well fed; there is no appearance of abject poverty among them, and beggars are never seen."

McGreggor, 1846, repeats this statement, and adds:

"Bread, potatoes, cheese, beer, and animal food constitute their usual sustenance."

Mr. Fenton² uses the same language as McCulloch, but it is

¹ Rep. H. B. M. Sec. Leg., 1866, No. 12, p. 300.

² p. 235.

evident from the details which follow that these sweeping generalizations of well-being are without foundation, and are probably all due to the same source, the partiality of native writers. Says Mr. Fenton :

"In the southern provinces the favorite and almost universal food of the rural population consists of meal prepared in various ways and forms with butter, fat, or milk. Vegetables are not much in favor" (he might have said in existence), "and almost the only description eaten are cabbages, chiefly in the form of sauer-kraut, turnips, and potatoes. Fruit is only known in a few localities. *Meat is seldom eaten*, except on holidays or other special occasions, and then, as a general rule, veal or young pork. *Beef is scarcely ever eaten*, although the provinces in question constitute more especially the cattle-breeding district of the kingdom."

In other words cattle are raised for export, but the peasantry are too poor to purchase meat for food.

Potatoes are the common daily fare north of the Danube, and in Franconia, meat two or three times a week. Coffee, usually adulterated, is also in use. In the southern provinces it is little known.

"The Franconian peasant keeps pigs for his own consumption and fattens them in the sty; the peasant of Southern Bavaria allows his pigs to roam in the fields, and kills them while still small and thin, and generally weighing less than fifty pounds."

Beer is principally consumed in the towns; only an inferior small beer being given to farm servants and day laborers.¹

Much of the "butter" given to the peasant laborers is made of lard and "other ingredients which serve to stiffen it and give it a rich yellow butter-color." In this state it is called "schmalz," and it is stated that in Nuremberg alone \$1,200,000 worth of American lard is consumed annually.²

Mr. Fenton adduces the following account of yearly allowance of food to each farm servant on the Crown estates in the Southern provinces. A similar allowance is adopted on many of the larger private properties in the same districts. It is regarded as "considerably more copious than the customary standard for the farm servants of the peasant proprietors."

Wheat, $6\frac{1}{2}$ bushels; rye, $12\frac{2}{3}$ bushels; meat three times per week, about 1 pound, and on eight great holidays each 1 pound; total, 156 pounds; "schmalz," or butter, 15 pounds; milk, $2\frac{1}{2}$ pounds daily; total, 900 pounds; potatoes, $6\frac{1}{2}$ bushels; peas, cabbage, etc., to the yearly value of about \$4; beer on nine holidays, about 1 quart

¹ Fenton, 1870.

² Com. Rel., 1873, p. 397.

each, total, 9 quarts; salt, 37 pounds; vinegar, 12 quarts; miscellaneous articles to the yearly value of about 40 cents.

EFFECTIVENESS OF LABOR.

With such poverty of diet it can not be supposed that the effectiveness of peasant labor in Bavaria stands very high. In truth, as the following comparative table shows, it is scarcely above that of the more recently liberated Russian serf, and is below that of French, Prussian, and even Spanish peasant labor.

Table showing the average number of acres of arable land cultivated by each inhabitant occupied in agriculture in the various countries named:

Countries.	Acres.	Countries.	Acres.
Egypt, 1873	2.4	Spain, 1874	12.4
European Russia, excluding Poland, the Baltic Provinces, and Finland, 1863.	9.4	France, 1872	13.3
Bavaria, 1863	11.1	England and Wales, 1871	15.9
		United States, 1870	32.1

Where tillage predominates over grass land in Bavaria one person is required to every eight English acres, and proportionately less where the order of cultivation is the reverse. Tobacco, grape-vines, and other special growths require more hands. Labor complement to a farm of eighty acres—average for whole year, with usual proportion of tillage and grass lands in Southern Bavaria: the proprietor, and to some extent, also, his wife, and from six to seven male farm hands; grown up sons, if any, being counted among the number.¹

SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE POPULATION.

Dr. Lieber reported in 1837 that the distribution of trades and the prices of bread and meat were regulated by law. M'Culloch reported in 1846 that trade guilds were abolished, and Mr. Bonar, H. B. M. Sec. of Leg. at Munich, in 1866, reported to his government that trade guilds and marriage restrictions had been abolished, or at least modified, since 1858. That these latter statements were premature appears from the fact that so late as November, 1867, the "legislature" of Bavaria abolished, *after a certain date not even then announced*, all existing trade and business monopolies, or "real rights."

¹ Fenton, 1870.

Druggists, brewers, distillers, retailers of liquors, bankers, and steam-boat and railroad companies were exempted from the operation of this repeal.¹

With regard to the legal restriction upon marriages it appears to be still in force. The law provides that "*no marriages between people without capital shall be allowed without the previous permission of the poor institutions.*" To insure the vigilance of the latter it also provides that the members of institutions neglecting to enforce this law "*are to answer for the maintenance of the said families (of such marriages) should they not be able to maintain themselves.*"²

This law does not apply to the Palatinate, which inherited the Code Napoleon from the period of the restoration of the Palatinate to Bavaria in 1815. Perfect freedom of trades, professions, and marriages therein exists; its population is much more intelligent, progressive, and productive than that of the Kingdom proper; it is also more numerous, possessing 5,806 souls to the German square mile against 3,455 for the remaining provinces.³

In consequence of so unnatural a law, which, however, appears to have been founded on the cruel necessities created by feudalism and the general poverty of the country's resources, licentiousness and infanticide are common. One-third of all the recorded births in the kingdom outside of the Palatinate (one-half in Munich) are illegitimate; in the Palatinate only one-tenth. These statistics cover the thirty years 1834-64.⁴

Although the unfortunate children are not exposed at a *columna lactaria*, as in ancient Rome, and there left to die, they are disposed of with equal cruelty and efficiency by consignment to foundling hospitals (that of Nuremberg was established as early as A.D. 1331) and like institutions, in which the mortality is said to be frightful.

These circumstances—the restriction upon marriages and the prevalence of illegitimacy and infanticide—may serve to explain the apparent absence of pauperism reported by M'Culloch and other writers; but the explanation can not fail to strike the inquirer with horror.

Comparisons between the statistics of crime in one country and another are often misleading, because the condition of the people and the laws defining crimes differ very essentially; but this can hardly be the case with respect to the Palatinate and the other parts

¹ Com. Rel., 1867, p. 491.

² M'Culloch, p. 300.

³ Com. Rel., 1868, p. 508.

⁴ Rep. H. B. M. Sec. Leg., 1866, No. 12, p. 313.

of Bavaria. During the four years, 1857 to 1861, the number of judicial convictions for "crime" in the Palatinate was one to every 15,044 inhabitants, while in the other provinces of Bavaria it was one to every 715 inhabitants, or *twenty-one times* as great!¹

WAGES.

About the year 1835 the wages of farm hands (men) were sixteen cents per day and found during harvest. Mechanics' wages sixteen and thirty-two cents.²

U. S. Consul Ph. Geisse, writing in 1854, said that the rate of wages varied from twelve to forty cents per day, according to occupation.³

In 1863, according to Mr. Fenton, the prices of labor were as follows:

Provinces of Bavaria.	Daily wages of farm laborers, and found with customary rations.		Yearly wages of farm servants, and found with bed and board.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Upper Bavaria.....	\$0 37	\$0 41	\$83 20	\$61 20
Lower "	28	38	66 80	56 80
Palatinate.....	23	26	69 20	50 40
Upper Pfalz.....	19	31	61 20	49 20
Upper Franconia	20	29	63 60	51 20
Central "	21	37	70 00	57 40
Lower "	23	32	64 00	52 40
Swabia	26	40	75 20	56 00
Average	\$0 29	\$0 23	\$69 20	\$54 40

Mr. Fenton states that these rates are twenty-five to thirty per cent higher than those of 1853.

In 1872 the rates quoted were not so high. Day laborers on farms twenty to twenty-four cents per day and found, or thirty to forty cents and not found. By the year \$28 to \$40 and not found. Children for picking hops seven to eight cents per day and found.⁴

¹ Rep. H. B. M. Sec. Leg., 1866, No. 12, pp. 320-22.

³ Com. Rel., 1854, iii. 226.

² M'Culloch.

⁴ Com. Rel., 1873, p. 394.

According to these various data the progress of wages for the Bavarian farm hand has been as follows :

Year.	Daily Wage.	With or without Board.
1840.....	\$0 16	Rations during harvest.
1853.....	23	"Customary" rations.
1863.....	26	" "
1872.....	22	And found.
1872.....	35	Not found.

Assuming "rations during harvest," "customary rations," and "not found," all to mean the same thing, viz., food and drink during midsummer, and no allowances at other times, the rate of wages in Bavaria has more than doubled from 1840 to 1872.

POPULAR EDUCATION.

The number of schools of all kinds in Bavaria was as follows in the years named :

Kind of Schools.	1837.	1863.	1867.
Elementary schools	5,000	7,113	8,277
Teachers.....	....	8,937	9,525
Pupils .....	....	946,275	840,920
Universities	3	3	3
Students matriculated .....	....	2,352	....
Lyceums.....	6	....	10
Gymnasiums	25	....	28
Latin.....	78	....	96
Inferior Gymnasiums.....	....	....	6
Industrial.....	....	....	30
Applied Art.....	....	10	7
Normal.....	7	....	10
Professional .....	....	....	35
Total number of schools	5,119	....	8,502

These statistics are after the Reports of the United States Commissioner of Education and the *Almanac de Paris*, 1869. The number of pupils of elementary schools is probably greatly exaggerated, not only in 1863, but also in 1867, which gives a lower number. Maurice Block, *Statistique de la France comparée avec les divers pays de l'Europe*, 1875, p. 255, gives the number of Bavarian primary schools in 1866 at 8,197, with 9,000 teachers and 604,914 pupils.

The curriculum of the *volks-schulen* is reading, writing, arithmetic and religion. Instruction is compulsory (since about the year 1830) from the ages of six to fourteen (thus Bonar, *The Com. Rel.*, 1873, p. 401, say thirteen) in the day schools and to sixteen in the Sunday schools, and to be paid for unless the parents are too poor, in which case it is given free. Time of attendance twenty hours per week; also eight hours extra for girls, to learn needle work, and two to three hours for both sexes to sing. Both Church and State participate in the inspection and control of these schools. The total annual expenditure for education by the general government was, in 1872-3, \$3,181,058. Beside this certain small sums are annually appropriated by the provincial governments; the total amount being less than \$4,000,000, or under \$4 per annum per scholar and less than \$1 per head of population.

In 1870, in the State of New York, which contained about the same population as Bavaria, the number of educational institutions was 13,020, of teachers 28,918, and of pupils 862,022. The sum expended by the State was \$10,671,566, and that paid for tuition in paid schools \$3,715,656; total, \$14,387,222.

EMIGRATION.

During the thirty-three years ending with 1867, the officially reported emigration was 345,418, an annual average of 10,467.¹ To these numbers should be added one-third for surreptitious and unreported emigration, making the actual annual average about 14,000, or nearly one-third of one per cent. of the total population.

Mr. Toomey says that the greatest emigration occurs after a very good harvest, while Mr. Bonar avers that it follows a very bad one. Particular harvests have probably little to do with the matter. The country does not produce enough, nor distribute what she does produce equally enough, to permit her population to increase. With privation, unnatural repression, illicit social relations, and excessive mortality, on the one hand, and emigration, which affords relief from

¹ U. S. Consul Toomey, *Com. Rel.*, 1868, p. 503.

all these evils, on the other, it is not unnatural that the peasants should embrace the latter whether the current harvest be good or bad.

TAXATION.

During the years 1837-43 the royal revenues of Bavaria amounted to about thirty million florins per annum, or about seven florins, or \$2.80, per capita of population. They amount, at present, to about four times these sums. This increase is probably only apparent, and due to the change of taxing power from the landed proprietors to the Crown.

In one way or another these revenues constitute a tax upon the inhabitants. Besides these, other revenues are obtained by the local governments.

CANALS AND SLACK WATER NAVIGATION.

The following are among the canals of Bavaria: Ludwig (connects the Danube and Main, opened 1840), 112 m.; Rosenheim, $1\frac{1}{2}$; Worth and Knitlingen, 2; Isar, 2; total, 117 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

RAILWAYS.

The following table shows the progress of railways:

Year.	Total miles in operation.	Year.	Total miles in operation.
1835, Ludwig R. R. (first in Germany).	4	1865	1,458
1854	359	1867	1,659
1860	440	1871	1,809
		1872	1,830
		1874	¹ 3,855

Two-thirds of the length of roads in operation belong to the government, and of the remainder, a portion reverts to it in ninety-nine years. All the engines on the government roads consume turf.

TELEGRAPHS.

Miles in operation in 1866, 5,382; in 1871, 6,173; in 1874, 11,510.²

It would be difficult to match the degree of backwardness, shown by these statistics, of inter-communication, in any other country of

¹ Com. Rel., 1868, p. 503.

² Com. Rel., 1874, p. 463. This figure seems to be excessive.

Western Europe, hardly even in Spain, which possesses 4,100 miles of railways, over 300 of canals, and over 8,000 of telegraph lines, in operation.

COMMERCE.

For many years Bavaria has formed part of the German Zollverein, and her laws, with respect to foreign commerce, have been uniform with those of the other German States. As one of the members of the Zollverein, she has no custom houses on her northern and western frontiers; therefore her custom returns only relate to her southern and eastern borders, and to the Palatinate. These returns do not distinguish between import entries, in transitu or home consumption entries, nor between domestic and foreign exports. Moreover, under "grains and articles of consumption," food, wine, spirits, beer, and other beverages, are classed together; so that nothing definite can be made of her custom-house returns.¹ Generally speaking, however, the foreign commerce of Bavaria is quite considerable; beer, animal products, and a few hand fabrics, constituting its chief elements.

MINING AND SMELTING.

There were in Bavaria 698 mining works in 1863, and 684 in 1864. The value of the produce at the place of production was \$644,134 in 1863, and \$732,868 in 1864, or, roughly, about \$1,000 per work, a pittance that strikingly illustrates their insignificance. The number of work-people employed was 4,268 in 1863, and 4,657 in 1864. The principal products were about 70,000 tons of iron, and 250,000 tons of coal. There were eight salt works, employing about 2,433 work-people in 1863, and 1,231 in 1864, and producing about 50,000 tons per annum. There were also about 150 smelting works, employing 4,300 work-people.²

MANUFACTURES.

Statistics of the breweries and stills of Bavaria, exclusive of the Palatinate, 1868:

Breweries.....	5,091
Malt used, bushels.....	10,549,140
Beer brewed, gallons.....	170,000,000
Value of same, dollars.....	28,000,000
Brandy stills	4,395
Malt used, bushels.....	63,000

¹ Mr. Fenton's Report, pp. 209-11.

² Br. Stat. For. Countries, part xi, p. 81.

Brandy made, gallons	1,200,000
Value of same, dollars.....	640,000
Distilleries for other spirits.....	81
Other spirits made, gallons.....	480,000
Value of same, dollars.....	¹ 514,252

BREADSTUFFS PRODUCT.

On this most important of all subjects relating to the productive forces of a country, the most absurd errors have found their way into prominent works of reference in relation to Bavaria. Appleton's Encyclopædia, old edition, misstates the production of Bavaria, evidently through misconception of the equivalent of the scheffel. The U. S. Agricultural Report for July, 1867, commits a worse error, for it gives the breadstuffs product at six different periods of time, and every item is wrong, the true figures amounting, in some cases, to nearly *ten times* the quantities shown. The following accounts are believed to be reliable :

BREADSTUFFS PRODUCT OF THE KINGDOM OF BAVARIA.

Year.	Wheat. Bushels.	Rye. Bushels.	Spelt. Bushels.	Barley. Bushels.	Oats. Bushels.	Potatoes. Bushels.
1840 ²	7,973,991	18,762,500	8,372,400	12,206,632	17,421,847	71,453,610
1863 ³	11,732,590	23,858,258	12,798,040	16,910,539	25,118,928	66,000,000
1863 ⁴	12,141,570	24,689,949	13,244,159	17,500,007	25,994,527	68,728,846
1866 ⁵	15,684,000	29,388,000	?	16,678,000	24,624,000	66,213,775
1873 ⁶	11,732,590	?	?	?	23,858,258	61,712,000

MONEYS, WEIGHTS, AND MEASURES.

The following table of equivalents has been used in converting Bavarian moneys, weights, and measures into American.

1 Florin (of 60 Kreuzers) equal to.....	\$0.40 American gold.
1 Tagwerk (0.84199), say.....	0.842 acre.
1 Scheffel	6.333 bushels.
1 Centner, or cwt.....	110.25 lbs. avoird.
1 Zoll centner	123.5 "
1 Klafter (126 cubic feet), say 1 cord, or	128.0 cubic feet.

¹ U. S. Com. Rel., 1869, p. 152.² Br. Agric. Returns.³ U. S. A. R.: 1867, Monthly, p. 259.⁴ Berghans.⁵ L. T. and U. S. Com. Rel., 1869, p. 150.⁶ Private information.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FOREGOING DATA.

Having thus, at some length, and risk of proving tedious, shown the development of the productive forces of Bavaria during the present century, by means of quantitative information gathered from the most reliable authorities who have written upon her progress and condition, it remains to point out the significance of this data, and exhibit its relation to the history of recent progress in other portions of Europe, and particularly North Germany.

There can be no doubt of the fact that of late years, and particularly since the Franco-German war, there has existed a disposition on the part of writers on historical and political topics, to overrate the importance of race in its influence upon social development, and particularly to ascribe to the Northern, and still more particularly to the Teutonic races, merits which careful and candid investigation can not award them. To such lengths has this disposition proceeded that even authoritative writers have not hesitated to predict a time when the so-called Latin nations of Europe will be extinguished under the resistless tread of advancing Teutonic legions.

Yet in Bavaria we find a Northern nation, Teutonic by origin and continued residence, a nation speaking the German language, inspired by German literature, and surrounded on all sides by German-speaking peoples, which, notwithstanding, in every element of its social and industrial progress, exhibits those features of backwardness, stagnation, and decay commonly ascribed exclusively to Italy and Spain, and sought, through the general implication of "Latin countries," to be fixed upon France.

The simple existence of the state of affairs shown with reference to Bavaria demolishes the Teutonic superiority theory at a single stroke; for if a nation undoubtedly Teutonic as is Bavaria, is shown to be quite as unprogressive, to say the least, as the so-called Latin nations, it must be something else than race which has occasioned the marked difference that exists between the development of their social and productive forces and those of more progressive nations, such as Prussia.

Next to the importance of demolishing a prevalent and false theory comes that of ascertaining the true one. Italy and Spain are Catholic countries; so is Bavaria. Is it the religion of these countries, as some think, that has occasioned their comparatively slow development? Evidently not; for if so, how comes it that England and Prussia, which were formerly Catholic countries, developed

rapidly while they were Catholic countries and in spite of such Catholicity? How comes it that Russia, which is a Greek Catholic country, and therefore is more intensely Catholic, that is to say, possesses all the objectionable features of middle age ecclesiasticism to even a greater degree than either Italy or Spain¹—how comes it that Russia develops rapidly while Bavaria remains dwarfed and unmoved?

While conceding to such causes every importance in their bearing upon the higher phases of national development, a thoughtful and recent writer² has shown that race and religion have little to do with the development of the productive forces of a nation, which must, in the first place, depend rather upon the natural resources of the country in which such nation may dwell.

Viewed by this light, the common backwardness of Italy, Spain, and Bavaria becomes intelligible. Italy and Spain were expoliated centuries ago through the destruction of their forests and the denudation of their arable lands by torrents.³ With their forests, disappeared also their sole source of artificial heat and mechanical power. None of the arts which required the employment of fire, as the manufacture of metals, ceramic wares, etc., could longer flourish in those countries, while vast areas of forests remained unused in Germany; nor at a later day, after the German forests also were measurably swept away, could Italy or Spain compete in any of the arts supported by mechanical power—and which of them now is not?—against the coal-enriched countries on the shores of the North and Baltic Seas. Bavaria had similar difficulties to contend against. Her forests, indeed, were never destroyed to the same extent as those of Italy and Spain; in this respect either a wise policy, gained by experience from the South, or a Druidical superstition, or the selfishness of her rulers, who preserved the forests for hunting grounds—it makes no difference which—prevailed over the pressing needs of her inhabitants, and a proper proportion of woodland was preserved. But while this policy saved her agriculture from destruction, it necessarily limited her manufactures, which never became important. When the later day of steam came, to lift up the nations from degrading toil and deep oppression, it found Bavaria as little prepared to profit by it as the long stagnant nations of the Mediterranean. She had cut the last klafter of wood-fuel she could spare; while of coal, she had none worth mentioning. So steam and steam-engines,

¹ See, on Greek Catholicism, Notes of Travel in Russia, by the writer, in *Appleton's Journal*, January 24, 1874, and other numbers in which the series appeared.

² M. Baring-Gould. *Hist. Religious Development*.

³ The Earth as Modified by Human Action.—Marsh.

and manufactories, and the industry and business of the world, swept by her as they had swept by Italy and Spain, to find their homes in more favored lands.

This simple and rational theory explains the whole of that extraordinary backwardness exhibited in the statistics of Bavarian progress. It explains the slow and almost imperceptible increase of her arable area, the very little improvement in her agricultural productiveness, the almost stationary numbers of her population, their continued, almost exclusive, dependence upon the soil, the lateness of her emancipation from feudal tenures and serfdom, the degradation of her women, the exposure and sacrifice of her children, the emaciation and inefficiency of her men, their constant desire and tendency to emigrate, and the almost entire absence of industrial development. Perhaps it also explains the tardiness of her religious growth. If such be the fact, the irremediable poverty which such lack of natural resources involves, and which Italy and Spain share with Bavaria, should teach the deriders of those once foremost countries a larger charity than they have thus far exhibited.

HOW NEW ITALY BECAME A NATION.

ITALY is undoubtedly the most fortunate among the European nations of modern times ; she is as fortunate now as she was torn and miserable during a long course of years. But a few years ago, the stranger was her master, and ruled over her either directly or by the subjection imposed on timid or vassal courts ; the old Austrian minister, Prince Metternich, was wont to call her a mere *geographical expression*.

In a few years, Italy has succeeded, not only in constituting herself into a nation, but also in founding her unity on the ruins of five kingdoms, and in consolidating representative government, which, till but lately, seemed to be the exclusive privilege of England.

She has succeeded in accomplishing these three great enterprises in a much shorter period of time than other nations, far more favorably circumstanced, have taken for the accomplishment of one of them. Avoiding those excesses which have stained all other revolutions, and proved to some of them a first cause of defeat, her revolution has the glory of having been the least bloody of any recorded in history.

It is interesting, and may also prove useful, to those desirous of more deeply studying the present state of that nation and her probable destiny in the future, to seek in the elements of her revolution the reasons of such wonderful success. It is necessary to inquire with an impartial mind into the history of events, in order to ascertain whether this success is really a gift of fortune, or the result of those virtues which, sooner or later, call down a just reward on nations as well as on individuals. Without this retrospective glance, it were, perhaps, impossible to delineate well the character of a nation which, by its revolution, has wished to break its history into two parts, and has succeeded in transforming itself so greatly as to make us forget that its new life began but yesterday.

In truth, what are thirty years in the history of a people ? We must recollect, besides, that, although the early days of the Italian revolution date from 1846, it was subject to long periods of interrup-

tion. The star of Italy, so brilliant in 1846-47, and in the first half of 1848, was subsequently dulled, and the liberty which had already, spontaneously and without any struggle, offered itself, was followed by ten years of harder servitude. Only in 1859 did the legendary star arise again never more to fade. Since that year it has shone with so splendid a light as to surpass, if not the wishes, certainly the hopes, of all who take an interest in Italy, indeed, of the very Italians themselves. Everything in this period has turned to their advantage; their very misfortunes, their very errors; and 1870 closed the era of their enterprises as well as of their aspirations. The possession of Rome, which, with the co-existence of the Pope, was regarded by the ablest statesmen in Europe as an utter impossibility, has not only met with no opposition from other governments, but has even won the approbation and applause of the whole civilized world; nor is there a politician who entertains a doubt but that Rome will henceforth be the capital of the kingdom of Italy.

This seems all the more marvellous when we consider that, but a few years ago, not only the courts and cabinets of Europe, but even the very people themselves, seemed to conspire against Italian redemption; that at the beginning of the century it was not permitted, even to the Italians, to pronounce the name of Italy. In truth, she existed but in the heart and mind of some great thinker, of some philosopher or political writer; and very different from the reality of the present day. But a few *Carbonari*, in the deep secrecy of their conventicles, dared form a less narrow conception, and not even in them was there any positive idea as to the practical means of attaining their end. It is well known how easily the insurrection of 1821 was repressed, owing to its want of unity of opinion and action. But even this insurrection was not without its utility to the Italian cause; the exiles and deaths with which it so soon came to an end were far from valueless in keeping alight the flame of independence, and in preparing for its attainment. National independence was, in fact, the *porro unum necessarium* of the liberal party in the peninsula, and it was almost exclusively that feeling which led to the Italian revolution.

This is a primary and especial feature of this great event of our age; those who do not bear in mind that at the beginning of the struggle, modern liberty—and, still less, unity—did not enter into the national programme, or rather, into the programme of the political men who headed the movement, would ill-succeed in understanding its successive phases.

Even the few whose desires embraced a wider range saw the necessity of moderating them, and of coming to some compromise as to the means to be employed. Mazzini himself, the apostle of republicanism and of Italian unity, was found writing in favor of a reconciliation with monarchy, should a king be found willing to fight the stranger and deliver Italy. Again in March 1849, shortly before the defeat of Novara, Mazzini, for the last time, insisted on that idea, and, recommending concord, wrote: "Henceforth there are but two kinds of Italians; those who want war, and those who dread it. Republican Rome will fight by the side of Piedmont."

Another peculiar and remarkable feature of that revolution was the admirable blending together of the monarchical and the democratical elements in the pursuit of their great end, the deliverance of the country.

The King of Piedmont had the courage to put himself at the head of the revolutionary movement, and be the leader of the new Italian democracy; this greatly contributed to the happy attainment of the end in view, for it preserved the revolution from those excesses which almost inevitably lead to a reaction; excesses, unfortunately, but too natural when the popular passions are called to struggle against the conservative elements surrounding the dynasty.

It is well to notice that the monarchical feeling in Italy was strong and deep-rooted; the dynasties which fell owed their fate to their having entered into agreements with the enemy of the country.

In Piedmont a new dynasty had ascended the throne, the dynasty of Carignano. This too was a good fortune for Italy, that the ancient line of Savoy, once so splendid, so adorned with all civil and soldier-like qualities, became extinct when alone the domestic virtues remained to it; and that it was succeeded by a dynasty full of youthful valor, vigorous, strengthened by misfortune, equal to the new wants of Italy, and fitted to lead her destinies.

Thus it was that the democratical and more thoroughly revolutionary elements, disarmed and inoffensive, came to take part in the *régime*, and contributed, no less than did the moderate party, to those successive annexations to Piedmont of the different states of Italy, which led to national unity under the monarchy of Victor Emmanuel.

Several of those very men who now sit in the national Parliament, where, although on the benches of the opposition, they represent a constitutional and orderly party—men from whose ranks have issued some who have already been in power—belonged at the beginning of the revolution to the most subversive and radical party.

We have thus seen that the Italian revolution can not be judged by the criterion applicable to preceding European revolutions, or to those which came afterwards. It was not the result of the momentary triumph of revolutionary and excessive passions, but, in fact, the synthesis of a long historical process and the product of the whole national forces allied together. We shall, accordingly, study in their order the various phases of that revolution by going back thirty years ; for, unless we take into account the movement in 1821, which, as we have already observed, was of so short a duration and met with so poor a success, it was but thirty years ago that the national aspirations began to take shape in action.

The idea and hope of national resurrection seemed henceforth to be kept alive only by the meetings of scientific men, who, now in one, now in another of the cities of Italy were wont to assemble, and under pretext of the progress of science, make a political propaganda. On the 1st of June, 1846, Pope Gregory XVI., breathed his last. A few days later, on the 16th of June, he was succeeded on the Papal Chair by Cardinal Mastai-Ferretti, under the henceforth celebrated name of Pius IX.

A word of reconciliation and progress uttered by the new Pontiff proved the electrical spark, which, deeply moving both peoples and kings, roused in the Italians the most enthusiastic hopes of nationality ; and the news was received by the whole world as an omen of a peaceful and happy future.

In the brief course of but a few months Italy seemed to thrill with new life. In Rome both nobles and plebeians united in one sole idea, pledged in banquets their common brotherhood ; their enthusiasm awoke an echo in a hundred Italian towns, and all eyes and all hearts were turned expectantly on the eternal city.

Pius IX. approved of the reforms demanded by the populations of the peninsula ; he was the first of all the princes of Italy to create *Juntas* for the preparation and carrying out of the reforms in his own states. He immediately instituted the Civic Guard, and named a Council of Ministers ; two novelties equally extraordinary in papal Rome. Austria, aroused to suspicion, threatened, and notwithstanding treaties, doubled her military forces in Italy, and especially at Ferrara ; but the Pope with noble courage protested against such violence.

Neighboring Tuscany followed the example of reform ; the Grand

Duke himself, moved by the popular demonstration, conceded in July of the same year some liberties to the press, and instituted a State Council.

In the midst of so much agitation, Piedmont for more than a year maintained so reserved a conduct that it was already beginning to attract the most anxious observation, and awaken the strangest suspicions; but on the 29th of October, 1847, King Charles Albert, overcoming all hesitation, in his turn announced reforms to his people. In a short time, in fact, he accomplished the most important among them. He took away all class distinctions, abolished the secular privileges of the Fisc, instituted a State Council, accorded the liberty of the press, renewed the commercial laws, re-ordered the provinces, laying as basis the principle of election.

King Ferdinand of Naples, pressed by the surrounding events, also yielded; but it was a period of so brief a duration that we are led to think that his liberalism was not, even for a moment, sincere. On the 29th of January, 1848, he in truth conceded a Constitution sufficiently liberal, but on the 15th of May, he withdrew it, and forswore himself, with the approval of Austria, Russia and Prussia, who, referring to particular treaties, had remonstrated with him for having conceded liberties.

Far different were the intentions and firmness of Charles Albert, when, on the 4th of March, 1848, he promulgated the *Statuto* in his states; that statute to which was reserved the fortune of being the pact destined to unite, one after another, the various peoples of the whole peninsula. The statute promulgated by Charles Albert strengthened the hopes of the Italians as a promise of what was to happen.

Austria, hearing the thunder of the storm which was gathering over her, sought to prevent its outbursts in the Lombardo-Venetian provinces by proclaiming martial law, by arrests, by confiscations, by exiles. Fortunately, a circumstance occurred to revive the courage of the oppressed provinces. Revolution broke out in Vienna, and Prince Metternich, unable any longer to withstand the violence of the times, left the government and retired into private life. So favorable an event could not fail to be taken advantage of by the Milanese. On the 18th of March, 1848, Milan, the historical city of the struggle against the Germans, was, with one consent, turned into a field of battle. With but few and insufficient arms the population attacks the strong Austrian garrison, which, surprised, frightened, and in the greatest disorder, after five days of fruitless struggle, flies

at the sight of so much heroism, and retires into the fortresses, leaving not only Milan, but even the other principal towns of Lombardy, free. The success of that first episode of the great struggle against the stranger, known in history by the name of the *Cinque Giornate* (the Five Days) raised the courage and hopes of the Venetians, who under the leadership of Daniel Manin, had already with admirable energy, made known their protests to the Austrian government, as well as the reforms which they claimed, and without which they refused to come to any terms. In a *memorandum* presented as early as January, 1858, Manin thus concluded his demands: "That order may no more be disturbed, it is necessary to concede much, speedily and generously." For this he was shortly after put under arrest, with another great patriot, Niccolo Tommaseo. But the events at Vienna and at Milan soon occurred to deliver them, and Vienna enthusiastically celebrated their triumph. The severest orders and repressions were all in vain. In a few days the revolution made such progress that, on the 22d of March, Venice was abandoned by the Austrian troops in virtue of a convention agreed upon between the Austrian authorities and the representatives of the people.

The first article of the convention stipulated that from that moment the civil and military government, both on land and on sea, should cease to exist; that it should be given over into the hands of the Provisional Government, which was on the point of being formed, and the reins of which were immediately assumed by the citizens.

Things being in this state retreat was quite impossible. Milan and Venice were free; still, notwithstanding those unlooked-for and splendid triumphs, it was impossible to harbor any delusion as to the difficulties and dangers of maintaining such a position. Soon all eyes were turned toward Piedmont, and it became the center of the greatest agitation. From all sides came crowding to it volunteers thirsting for battle; from all sides Charles Albert received prayers and encouragements to lose no time in succoring the sister cities. The king soon took the noble resolve; without further delay he declared war with Austria, and, on the 26th of March, with his whole forces in as good order as was possible under the circumstances, he left Turin. Before entering the field, he addressed his people in a proclamation which began with these prophetic words: "The duties of a king, the ties which bind me to the sacred interests of Italy, oblige me to go with my children to the plains of Lombardy, where the destinies of the Italian fatherland are to be decided."

Fortune smiled on him at the beginning ; but only for a moment. The King of Naples, who with many fine words had promised a large military contingent, did nothing. The whole weight of the war fell on the Piedmontese army with the volunteers from every province, and a small subsidy of troops sent by the Grand-Duke of Tuscany, who had proclaimed the formation of the Italian League. Notwithstanding many a disappointment and desertion, Charles Albert did not lose heart ; in several battles his small body of troops beat the strong Austrian army, and the names of Goito, Mozambruno, Valeggio and Peschiera will always redound to the glory of the small Piedmontese army. But the battle of Peschiera marked the end of those brief triumphs. Austria, victorious at Vicenza, could easily have brought the war to an end by exterminating the thinned and disordered Italian troops ; it is, however, but fair to say that she gave proofs of moderation. Feeling perhaps the necessity of yielding to the evidence of facts which proved to her the impossibility of continuing to be mistress in Italy, she was the first to make proposals of peace that might then have been considered generous. Lombardy was to be declared independent on condition that it would take upon itself one-half of the public debt of the Austrian Empire, and that a treaty of commerce would be agreed to, favorable to Austrian trade ; Venice was to remain under the sovereignty of the empire and form an integral part of Austria, but with a national administration altogether independent of that of the empire, and with a Prince of the Imperial family at its head. But both the government of Milan to which these proposals were more especially made, and that of Carlo Alberto refused all negotiations ; consequently, toward the end of July, hostilities began again. The Italian army was once more in order and increased in numbers, but not to the extent of enabling it to conquer the enemy under the command of Marshal Radetzky, whose troops numbered 132,000, and had their rear protected by formidable fortresses.

The honor of the Italian soldiers was saved, they did wonders of valor ; nevertheless, a few days later they were defeated at Custoza.

Charles Albert was obliged to submit to the hard necessity of asking for a suspension of hostilities as a preliminary to negotiations for peace ; but when he heard the tenor of the enemy's demands and the intimation not to delay his reply beyond a stated hour, the blood of the House of Savoy boiled in his veins and he indignantly exclaimed, " Since they lay down conditions so disgraceful, neither now nor ever shall they be accepted by us ! "

A few hours later he addressed the populations of Upper Italy in a proclamation in which he declared it better to "prefer the greatest sacrifices to humiliation and the loss of independence," and for the third time he tried the fortune of war, and for the third time unhappily. On the morning of the 6th of August, Radetzky made his entrance into Milan, which Charles Albert had, to the very last, sought to defend. Once again did force break the ties which but a few days earlier had been formed with such unanimity of feeling and intensity of purpose.

On the 9th of August the two armies concluded an armistice known by the name of General Salasco who signed it; its duration was to be of forty-five days, but it was afterwards indefinitely prolonged on condition of giving eight days' notice previous to the re-opening of hostilities.

This defeat of the Piedmontese army made the most painful impression on the whole of Italy; all the provinces suffered by the counter-blow. Venice of necessity abandoned to the forces of Austria; Modena re-occupied by the Austrian troops under whose protection the Duke re-entered his states; the King of Naples strengthened in power; Messina taken by the Bourbon troops; the Tuscan Parliament dissolved; at Rome the murder of Bellegrino Rossi, a constitutional and liberal minister, and tumults of every kind frightened the Pope and decided him to fly for refuge to Gaeta; then came the proclamation of the Republic in Rome, and, shortly after, at Florence, also, which had been abandoned by the Grand Duke.

In the Piedmontese States agitation reigned in every breast. The proposals of peace were repelled; the people thirsted to avenge the honor of their arms; nor in the midst of all this agitation and exacerbation were there wanting accusations and suspicions against the King who had given so many proofs of devotion to the Italian cause. The renewal of the war was thus a point of honor especially for him. Before the Parliament which opened for the second time, he again solemnly repeated his promise of devoting his life and that of his sons to the welfare and independence of his country.

All thoughts were turned to war. In a short time little Piedmont had worked miracles, putting together an army of 120,000 men; once again enthusiasm conquered prudence, and war broke out with Austria. In March, 1849, King Charles Albert, entrusting the supreme command of his troops to the Polish general Czarnowsky, crossed the river Ticino for the fourth time. Notwithstanding the valor shown also on this occasion by the Italians, affairs took an un-

fortunate turn and soon the terrible catastrophe of the battle of Novara proved a death-blow to every hope.

Charles Albert, perceiving that the sole means of salvation lay in his abdication of the throne, summoned his generals around him and uttered these solemn words:

"It is now eighteen years that I have done the utmost in my power for the good of my people. It is most painful to me to see my hopes crushed, not so much for myself as for my country. I have not, as I would have wished, found death on the field of battle; perhaps my person is the sole obstacle to our obtaining fair terms from our enemy. As no further means remain to us of continuing hostilities, I, at this very moment, renounce my crown in favor of my son Victor Emmanuel, in the hope that he may be able to come to better agreements and procure the country an advantageous peace. Here is your King," and with his hand he pointed to the Duke of Savoy.

A few hours later Charles Albert, attended but by two of his faithful servants, bade adieu to Italian soil and trod the path of exile. Worn out and broken-hearted he reached Oporto on the 21st of April.

There it was that, shortly after, he received the deputation of the elective Chamber and later that of the Senate, which went to carry him a word of comfort in the depth of his affliction; an affliction so great that it was the cause of his death three months later. In answer to the address of the Chamber, Charles Albert said "that he was comforted by the hope that the feeling of nationality and independence being more widely diffused, what he had attempted would one day be carried out; that such was the prayer which in his exile he made for his unhappy country." A few days later he concluded as follows the few words with which he thanked the representatives of the Senate: "Providence has not for the present allowed us to complete Italian regeneration. I trust it is but deferred and that so many noble examples, so many proofs of generosity and of valor given by the nation will not have been in vain; that a passing adversity will only admonish the Italians of the necessity of being at another time more united so as to be invincible."

In these words of Charles Albert, words which as being the last addressed by him to his countrymen and pronounced so shortly before his death, may be considered as his last political will and testament, there is something of prophetic inspiration.

On the 28th of July Charles Albert breathed his last. The news

of his death reawakened in the hearts of the Italians the memory, not only of those wishes and predictions, but also of those noble words which had already comforted them in their first disasters; "The cause of Italian independence is not lost." In the midst of trials and vicissitudes his name remained the symbol of union, of constancy, of undying hopes.

The disaster befallen Piedmont by the defeat at Novara was such as to throw the Italians into the greatest dismay as to the consequences which it might entrain. Great indeed were the difficulties. Part of the territory with its principal fortress, Alexandria, was in the hands of the Austrians; the army in disorder; the conditions on which the enemy offered peace, hard; the agitation increased by the suspicion that the new king, Victor Emmanuel, following the example set by the other sovereigns, might revoke the Statute. All this, too, at the time of Radetzky's second solemn entrance into Milan, and when, in the rest of Italy, with the exception of Rome and of Venice, the old princes were seen to return and their governments seek to unite with Austria in effacing all traces of the liberties which they had conceded. But the wisdom and firmness of the king seconded by the ability of his counselors, to whom, happily for Italy, Cavour soon joined himself, succeeded in warding off the danger. On the 20th of March Victor Emmanuel had taken the oath before the two Chambers united; notwithstanding this the agitation continued ever more threatening. The Chamber of Deputies refusing to ratify the Treaty of Peace with Austria, the King was obliged to dissolve it so as not to allow events to be precipitated. On convoking a fourth Chamber he issued a proclamation known under the name of the small town whence he dated it; we mean the famous proclamation of Moncalieri. It contained his assurance that the new liberties ran no danger, being guarded by the sacred memory of Charles Albert, entrusted to the honor of the house of Savoy, and protected by his oath; he accordingly asked them to elect to Parliament men capable of understanding the difficulties and wants of the times.

The king's words were favorably received; order and confidence began to return, and Piedmont, free from the stranger, was able to await and prepare those events which now seem miraculous, so far were they from being in the natural order of things.

Venice and Rome, which under a republican form of government had, during yet a few months, protracted the new political life, were

in their turn obliged to succumb to superior force. Daniel Massin, after having, at the head of his fellow-citizens, made the proudest and most valorous resistance, seeing that all was in vain, and surrender inevitable, thought of saving his country further evils, but without submitting to terms offensive to its dignity. On the 24th of August he resigned his power into the hands of the municipality, so that it should, in the best possible way, treat of the submission of the heroic city with the enemy.

At Rome, where with more than 9,000 votes Mazzini had been proclaimed President of the Republic, affairs were in a bad condition. The finances were in the very worst state, and it was difficult to assemble and equip an army strong enough to face all events. The Roman Republic reckoned on the support of her sister of France; but disappointment soon followed. The French Constituante, by 325 votes against 283, resolved on an expedition to Rome under the orders of General Oudinot. On the failure of the diplomatic negotiations attempted by Mazzini, who had hoped, by means of the French minister, M. Lesseps, to succeed in persuading France to alter her intentions, Oudinot, without further delay, on the 3d of June began the operations of the siege, and after twenty-six days of useless resistance, became master of the town. In the meantime Austria, in answer to the demand of intervention made her by Cardinal Antonelli, had in a few days succeeded in possessing herself of Bologna and of Ancona.

Italy, crushed by so many and repeated blows, had but little hope of any immediate resurrection, when in Piedmont appeared Camillo di Cavour, the man who took so prominent a part in the execution of the national programme, and to whom, above all others, Italy owes her deliverance from the state of abasement into which she had been thrown by Novara, and her wonderfully rapid attainment of her brightest hopes.

Count Cavour was born in the year 1810. In early youth he entered the corps of military engineers, but soon he left the army and went to France and England, where he instructed himself in the living school of the most renowned politicians, and devoted himself to the study of economical science. The liberal reforms of 1847 recalled him to his country; there, guided by the sound judgment acquired in England of constitutional liberties, and bearing them the greatest love, he propounded by means of the press the gravest questions, and was one of the first to encourage Charles Albert to give the Constitution.

In 1848 he was elected deputy; in 1850 he entered the Cabinet of Massimo d'Azeglio as Minister of Agriculture and Commerce; in 1851 he took the more difficult post of Minister of Finance, and at last, in November, 1852, being named Prime Minister, he remained so with scarcely any interruption till his death, which, in 1861, deprived the country of his faithful services.

The Crimean War, in 1854, presented itself to Cavour as a happy political circumstance, of which it was necessary for Italy to take advantage. Russia, as it is known, threatened the independence of the Ottoman Empire, with the existence of which are bound up so many important interests of European commerce. Austria and Prussia dared not come to a decision, and left Russia abandoned to herself. France and England, setting a wonderful example of the most complete oblivion of ancient quarrels, soon arrayed themselves in battle in favor of Turkey, and called upon the Western Powers to join them.

Cavour, with his clear foresight, understanding the bearing and consequences of that opportunity, saw the advantages which would derive to Piedmont in allying itself with the two great powers.

The course of ancient traditions thus came to be interrupted. The new alliances were suggested by the new interests that had found rapid development in the political field; it was consequently natural, however bold, that even little Piedmont, which had taken upon itself to represent the Italian nation in the face of Europe, should seek in new European complications an occasion of procuring Italy some useful friendships. The secular traditions of Piedmont were, besides, opposed to neutrality. Ancient Piedmont had, on the contrary, been held in a certain consideration in Europe, owing to its resolute policy and opportune alliances. As the princes of the House of Savoy, in times of tranquillity, had the rare wisdom of gradually adapting the civil and political laws to the wants of the times, so did they, in the day of peril, always know how to face the common destiny.

Nevertheless, Cavour had a hard struggle to obtain from Parliament the approval of the bill authorizing government to carry out fully the military convention stipulated with Queen Victoria and the Emperor of the French, on the 26th of January, 1855. The Chamber too was very divided. The discussion, which lasted from the 3d to the 10th of February, gave rise, both on the right and on the left, to the most lively opposition; but Cavour knew how to conquer the difficulty, and succeeded in obtaining the passing of the bill by one

hundred votes against sixty. The king's adherence to the treaty of the 10th of April, 1854, was thus carried into effect, and in April, 1855, fifteen thousand Piedmontese soldiers embarked for the Crimea.

Naturally this act called down Russia's anger upon the King of Piedmont ; she accused Victor Emmanuel of ingratitude and of violation of international rights ; but these remonstrances had already, on the 17th of February, 1855, been met by Cavour in a circular to the different courts, a circular which alone would suffice to demonstrate with what sagacity and security that great statesman sounded the depths of the future.

In that important document Cavour said that "On the solution of the Eastern Question depend the destinies, not immediate but to be foreseen, of Europe and of Asia, and, more directly and shortly those of the states bordering the Mediterranean ; for this reason these states can not remain indifferent spectators of a struggle in which their most vital interests are at issue ; a struggle in which the subject of dispute is whether they shall continue free and independent or become the vassals, if not in name at least in fact, of the colossal Russian Empire."

"That without stopping at the supposed violation of international rights, that could be but an error of office, in lieu of the memory of old and friendly relations between the predecessors of His Imperial Majesty, and those of His Sardinian Majesty, the Emperor could have recalled other memories, more recent and personal, of the conduct pursued by him since the last eight years toward King Charles Albert, and King Victor Emmanuel ; but first of all he ought to have persuaded himself that His Majesty, Victor Emmanuel, had sought that alliance, not out of forgetfulness of old friendships, nor out of resentment at the injuries received, but out of the firm conviction of being imperatively thrust into it by the general interest of Europe, and the particular interest of the nation whose fortunes Providence had entrusted to him."

Cavour's hopes were not deceived. The valor of the Sardinian troops led by General Lamarmora, won the government of Victor Emmanuel much consideration. On the 16th of August, attacked by the Russians at Traktir they gave such proofs of valor, that they excited the admiration of their allies, and Generals Simpson and Pelissia called attention to it in a proclamation which said : "The Sardinians in their first encounter with the enemy have shown themselves worthy of fighting by the side of the soldiers of the two greatest nations in Europe." Novara was avenged.

At the fall of Sebastopol, an armistice having brought the war to a close, the Powers assembled in Paris in order to treat of the definitive peace. Cavour was seated among the plenipotentiaries of Europe; in this Congress, convoked solely for the settling of the Eastern Question, he attained his end of pleading the Italian cause. In spite of the Representatives of Austria, he exposed in a memorandum the ills which weighed upon Italy, and he pointed out the necessity of applying to them a remedy if the peace and tranquillity of Europe were to be secured.

This act of Cavour's was a master-stroke. Shortly after he could well say to the Chamber of Deputies at Turin: "Now the cause of Italy is brought before the tribunal of public opinion to which, according to a memorable saying of the French Emperor's, belongs the passing of the final sentence. The struggle may perhaps be long, but I feel confident that the final issue will be worthy of the justice of the cause."

And the struggle was far shorter, the final issue far more victorious than could have been hoped and foreseen. This happy result was owing to the secret alliance which Cavour had known how to form at Plombières between Victor Emmanuel and the Emperor Napoleon, in whom the able minister had with a sure eye recognized the only strong and sure protector that Italy possessed.

In the meantime Austria protested against the protectorate affected by Piedmont over the other Italian states, and despising the theory of non-intervention, reserved to herself the right of succoring with arms those among them who might claim her help.

Cavour replied in a haughtier tone than would have been natural, had he not known that he could well do so; each one of Austria's accusations but served to make him proceed with a bolder step toward the attainment of his end. But as yet nothing positive had transpired as to the agreements made long before between the two sovereigns, when on the 1st of January, 1859, Napoleon the Third addressed the Austrian ambassador, Hübner, in these unexpected words, evermore famous: "I am grieved that my relations with your government are no longer so cordial."

All Europe was moved at the news of those proud words. Ten days afterwards they found an echo in Turin, in the following, addressed to Piedmont by Victor Emmanuel:

"The horizon in which arises the new year, is not quite serene;

but strengthened by the experience of the past we resolutely face the eventualities of the future. That future will be a happy one, our policy being based on justice and on love for the liberty of the country. Our Piedmont, although small in territory, has acquired consideration in the Councils of Europe, as being great for the ideas that it represents, and for the sympathies that it inspires. This condition is not, however, free from danger; for although we respect treaties, we are not insensible to the cry of distress which is raised to us from many parts of Italy. Strong in the sense of our rights, let us await with prudence and decision the decrees of Divine Providence."

The King's words were followed by an able memorandum of Cavour, in which he denounced to the European courts the hostile intentions of Austria, her misgovernment of the provinces subjected to her rule, and the absolute necessity of the King's government preparing itself against possible events.

In vain did diplomacy strive to thrust back the tempest of war which was ever more threatening. Russia proposed a Congress of the five great Powers; but Cavour insisted that Piedmont should be represented there as it had been in that of 1856. Austria naturally opposed herself to it, and breaking off all negotiations, intimated to the Cabinet of Turin, to make known in three days if it consented or not to delay no longer in putting the army on a footing of peace and licensing the Italian volunteers.

As was to be expected, the answer was a refusal. In that answer Cavour said to Count Buol, "The conduct of Sardinia has been appreciated. Whatever may be its consequences, the King is convinced that the responsibility would fall on those who were the first to arm, on those who have repulsed the formal proposals of England recognized first by the other great Powers, and have substituted in their stead a threatening intimation."

The die was thrown. The King soon after announced to the army and to the people of Italy, his resolution of going to war; and France declared to Austria that should the latter's troops cross the Piedmontese frontiers, she would take it to be a declaration of war against France herself. Facts soon confirmed these threats. Napoleon the Third announced to France that he put himself at the head of his troops to go to defend Italy. "Austria," said he in his proclamation, "has brought things to such a point that it is necessary she should rule to the Alps, or that Italy should be free to the Adriatic. We shall have at our frontiers a friendly people who will owe us their independence. We do not go into Piedmont to foment disorders or

to shake the power of the Pope, but to deliver her from foreign oppression, and to found order based on legitimate and satisfied interests."

Victor Emmanuel, after having proclaimed that his sole ambition was that of being *the first soldier of Italian independence*, left Turin on the 1st of May, in order to assume the command of the army. To General Garibaldi was entrusted the guidance of the volunteers who, from every province, crowded to swell the ranks of the combatants.

The limits of this article do not allow of our following the various phases, however brief, of the war equally glorious for both sides, that was unexpectedly brought to an end on the 24th of June, by the battle of Solferino, in which after extraordinary proofs of valor on one side and on the other, victory remained to the allied armies.

The news of so splendid a triumph which, according to the words of Napoleon the Third, surpassed Lonato and Castiglione, excited the greatest enthusiasm in Italy and in France; it was hoped that the day was near when Venice would be free in accordance with the proclamation which had recognized the necessity of Italy's being free "from the Alps to the Adriatic." The Piedmontese troops had already crossed the river Mincio, and were preparing for the siege when the news spread of an armistice proposed by Napoleon. The news was true, and the armistice was signed on the 8th of July. On the 11th at Villafranca, the two Emperors stipulated the following conditions of peace: Both sovereigns would favor the creation of a confederation under the honorary presidency of the Pope; Venice would form part of the confederation, remaining however under the Crown of the Austrian Empire; the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Duke of Modena would re-enter their states, proclaiming a general amnesty; the two Emperors would ask the Pope to introduce into his states the necessary reforms; the Emperor of Austria would cede to the Emperor of the French his rights on Lombardy, which, in his turn the Emperor of the French would cede to the King of Sardinia.

Victor Emmanuel, constrained by necessity to put his signature to these preliminaries of peace, addressed to his troops the following words: "I announce to you peace, but should the honor of our country one day call you to combat, you shall again behold me at your head."

The motive of the sudden change which took place in Napoleon on that occasion will always remain a mystery. Much truth, although perhaps not the whole of it, is contained in the words addressed by

Napoleon himself to the great bodies of state that on his arrival in Paris went to congratulate him on his victories:

"If I have come to a stop it is not through lassitude nor through abandonment of the noble cause which I wanted to serve, but because in my heart something spoke still more imperiously—the interest of France. To serve Italian independence I have waged war in spite of all Europe; hardly did the destinies of my country run any danger, when I made peace."

The preliminaries of Villafranca were formally drawn up into a treaty of peace. This was signed at Zurich on the 10th of November, notwithstanding the bold efforts made by the people of Tuscany, of the Legation, and of the duchies of Parma and Modena, to render vain the decisions of diplomacy.

It is sad, but too true, to say that in those days gratitude towards the benefactor was swallowed up by indignation against the prince who, after victories so splendid, and at the very moment of reaping the fruits of so many sacrifices, had crushed with a blow their brightest hopes.

The Garibaldians, more especially, chafed at this treatment, and it was difficult to keep them within bounds.

Cavour, weary and sick at heart, resigned his post of Prime Minister.

It did not suffice to have it written in the Treaty of Zurich that the fugitive princes should return to their States; Tuscany, Parma, and Modena continued to govern themselves. The Powers, seeing so much opposition to the dictates of diplomacy, put forward the idea of a Congress, the bases of which were indicated in a letter of Napoleon to Victor Emmanuel. This attempt having failed, the ancient States of Parma, Modena, and the *Romagne*, constituted themselves under one sole government, by the name of Emilia, awaiting, as did the provisional government of Tuscany, a favorable occasion for their union to Piedmont. This was soon offered by the return to power of Cavour, who even in his retirement was ever on the watch.

On the 16th of January, 1860, Cavour having with a firm hand seized once more the reins of government, on the 20th of the same month boldly proclaimed the Statute of Charles Albert, both in Emilia and in Tuscany, and called on them to seal by a *plebiscitum* their future destinies.

In support of this apparently strange act of Cavour was the adherence, at first secret but later expressed, of France and England. Indeed, both the one and the other hastened to declare that, should the Assemblies of the different Italian States vote in favor of annexation to Piedmont, they would, notwithstanding Austria's protests, make no opposition to the entrance of the Sardinian troops into those States.

On the 14th of March, Emilia, with 426,006 votes against 756, and, two days later, Tuscany, with 366,571 votes against 14,925, declared themselves for the annexation; and Victor Emmanuel, consistently with his programme and promises, accepted the result of the votation, and declared Tuscany and Emilia integral parts of his kingdom.

A cloud came to trouble the serenity of the joy with which this event had been welcomed. The principle of nationality invoked by Italy forbade her keeping Savoy and Nice, which were French by geographical position, by language, and by customs; Cavour himself was obliged to advise the King to make France the sacrifice of those two provinces. The King, in the following words, announced to Parliament the cession which he had made: "Out of gratitude to France, for the good of Italy, for the strengthening of the union between two nations that have the same origin, the same principles and destinies, some sacrifice being required, I have made that which cost my heart the most. Saving the vote of the population and the approbation of Parliament, I have stipulated a Treaty of the reunion to France of Savoy and the County of Nice."

After five days of lively discussion, Parliament, on the 19th of May, 1860, adhered to the treaty, and the *plebiscita* of both provinces gave it a solemn sanction.

That act of Cavour's was not only just; it was at the same time an act of the most consummate policy. He, so to speak, recompensed France for her alliance, and annulled the work of Villafranca and of Zurich. As he himself expressed it, he thus prepared to render France an accomplice of what still remained to be done for Italy.

The annexation of Tuscany and Emilia had, in the meantime, served to keep alive in the other parts of Italy that were still separated the desire of their uniting themselves also under the sceptre of Victor Emmanuel. Venice gnawed the bit and groaned in silence, but lived in hopes; so did also the Neapolitan and Sicilian provinces of the vast southern kingdom, although Ferdinand the Second reigned at Naples, and with an iron hand repressed their patriotic

aspirations. Only to the populations of the Marshes and of Umbria was it easier to succeed in their intent. In spite of the efforts of General Lamoricière, to whom the Pope had entrusted the military command of those provinces, numerous deputations were sent to Turin. Admitted into the King's presence, they implored of him to protect them by putting an end to the occupation of their country by all sorts of foreigners. The King, advised by Cavour, resolved on compliance with their wishes. After a brief military campaign, in which the mixed troops of General Lamoricière were easily dispersed, both the Marshes and Umbria, in the beginning of November, were able to ratify, by a solemn and well-nigh unanimous vote, their desire to form part of the Kingdom of Italy. This desire soon met with its fulfillment.

While in Central Italy these happy and nearly un hoped-for events were being accomplished with the tacit consent of Napoleon, who kept in respect the powers that might have wished to prevent them, other events equally providential were taking place in Southern Italy; events equally directed to the one grand scope, the liberty and unity of the nation.

Ferdinand the Second of Naples had died but a short time before and had been succeeded on the throne by his son Francis the Second.

Various courts of Europe advised the new sovereign to grant more liberty to his subjects, and to enter into an alliance with Piedmont, an alliance which would prove advantageous to both kingdoms. But despising all counsel he declared his intention of steadily following in his father's footsteps. In vain did Victor Emmanuel, on the 15th of April, 1860, implore of him to abandon his fatal policy; in vain did he write to him: "Should your majesty resist this advice, there may come a time when I shall find myself in the terrible alternative of either compromising the highest interests of my crown or becoming the principal instrument of your ruin." All remonstrance was in vain.

In the same month of April, was lit at Palermo the first spark of the insurrection which was to destroy the dynasty of Bourbon. On the 10th of May, took place at Marsala, the famous landing of Garibaldi and his thousand volunteers who had embarked four days previously at Quarto near Genoa. Then alone did Francis, struck by the suddenness of these events, decide on promulgating reforms, and giving the constitution. It was too late. The revolt had spread from Sicily to the Continental Provinces. At Messina, Garibaldi called on the Neapolitans to join him in the cause of freedom, and on

the 9th of August, having crossed the Straits, he landed at Reggio with only two hundred men, and penetrated into Calabria. Several first victories heightened his *prestige*, and the populations rose at his approach. On the 5th of September, he anchored at Salerno. No other means of safety remaining to Francis than to concentrate between the rivers Volturno and Garigliano the few troops that still continued faithful, he left Naples decided to try a last and desperate resistance under the walls of Capua. The next day Garibaldi entered Naples.

Still, notwithstanding so many unfavorable circumstances, the cause of King Francis could not yet be considered lost. One victory over the Garibaldians might have led to serious consequences for the Piedmontese, had Cavour been content to remain a simple witness of the drama. But since Garibaldi's entrance into the Neapolitan province, Cavour had perceived that the moment was come of risking all to attain the end which he had in view. No sooner was Garibaldi in Naples, than Cavour did all in his power to gain time, by the most artful dallying with diplomacy. In the meantime, he advised the king to put himself at the head of the troops, and demanded of parliament the faculty of accepting the vote of the southern population, should it be in favor of unity.

On the 9th of October, Victor Emmanuel announced from Ancona to the populations of Naples and of Sicily, that he was coming to their succor: "My troops," said he, "come among you to strengthen order. I do not wish to impose my will on you, but to have yours respected. You may freely make it known: Providence, that ever protects the cause of justice, will inspire the vote which you will throw into the urn. Whatever be the gravity of the events, I await with tranquillity the judgment of Europe and that of history, for I am conscious of fulfilling my duties as a King, and as an Italian."

"In Europe my policy may not be useless for the reconciliation of the progress of the people with the stability of monarchy. I know that in Italy, I close the era of revolutions."

After several encounters of but secondary importance, the royal troops had reached Naples. Under the walls of Capua, the cannon still thundered, and a fierce struggle waged between the Bourbonic and the Garibaldian troops; in every part of the kingdom the citizens hastened to give their vote for Italian unity under Victor Emmanuel, the constitutional king.

On the 7th of November, Victor Emmanuel made his solemn

entrance into Naples, with Garibaldi at his side; he was preceded by a plebiscitum of 1,772,719 votes.

Francis the Second, shutting himself up later with a few followers in another fortress, that of Gaeta, prolonged yet for a time his resistance, hoping in the result of his negotiations with foreign courts; but understanding at last that his cause was irretrievably lost, he capitulated on the 13th of February, 1861, after a ninety days' siege.

On the 14th of March, the new Chamber, into which had entered also the deputies of the Neapolitan and Sicilian provinces, unanimously voted the bill by which Victor Emmanuel assumed for himself and his successors, the title of King of Italy.

Such a title did not, however, entirely answer to the reality so long as there existed a Pontifical state, however reduced in proportions; and while Venice groaned under a foreign yoke.

The question of annexing Rome to Italy, nay, her very capital, was a complex problem which might well excuse some inconsistency of opinion, even in the liberal party; but there could be no doubt as to the political necessity of the Venetian provinces being re-united to Italy, and delivered from Austrian rule.

Still, according to most probabilities, the liberation of those provinces would yet for many a long year have been impossible, had not the state of isolation in which Prussia found herself in 1866, when, impelled by inexorable necessity, she declared war to Austria, led the Berlin cabinet to enter into an alliance with the Italian government.

Cavour died in May, 1861, without having had time to see all the fruits of his policy. One of those fruits was precisely the alliance concluded between two governments which had never before been able to agree. We must not forget that in Germany, at that time, it was necessary to draw a distinction between the nation and its rulers; that the liberal principles of the Prussian government are of a far later date. Bismarck is but a disciple of Cavour's; he came forward and proposed to himself the realization of German unity after he had seen how happily Cavour had succeeded, under far less favorable circumstances, and by employing means still more audacious.

Thus was verified Cavour's prediction: in October, 1860, the Prussian Minister, Brassier de St. Simon, having gone to read to him a bitter note of disapprobation from Berlin for the entrance of the Italian troops into the Marshes and the Kingdom of Naples, Cavour replied that he was sorry at the reproof, but that "he con-

soled himself with the thought that Piedmont was setting an example which in a short time Prussia would probably be very happy to follow."

The Italian and Prussian alliance of 1866, which won Venice for Italy, was the conception shadowed forth by Cavour in 1858, when on his return from Plombières he went to Baden to pay a visit to the Prince Regent, the present Emperor of Germany. Cavour's words then were: "That which can not be concluded to-day will perhaps be concluded to-morrow. Prussia is inevitably drawn into the orbit of the idea of nationality."

The limits appointed to this short picture, and the necessity of coming to a close, do not allow of our saying anything more of Italy's alliance with Prussia, and of the double war which was its consequence. Austria, beaten at Sadowa by Prussia, found it to her interest to end the war against Italy, and, although in the first encounters on sea and on land the fortunes of war proved unfavorable to the Italians, the Emperor Francis Joseph decided on making a gift of Venice to Napoleon the Third, who, in his turn, made her over to the King of Italy.

The *form* of the thing offended the pride of the Italians, although the thing itself was desired by every one. The advanced party never forgave Napoleon. This fact, and that of his having made himself guarantee to the Pope of the inviolability of the small State still belonging to him, led many of the Italians to forget all that they owed to Napoleon, who had done so much for them. It was he, in fact, who had been the first to think of coming to their help, for as early as 1855 he asked Cavour: "*Que peut on faire pour l'Italie?*"

What had happened in Italy happened in greater proportions in Prussia. Napoleon, who, politically speaking, had committed an error in favoring the aggrandizement of the Prussian monarchy and the progress of German unity, was obliged, in 1866, to come to a sudden stop, and imposing on Prussia the line of the Mein, to prevent her proceeding any further in her warlike plans against Austria. This excited the hatred of the Prussians against Napoleon, and was one of the principal causes of the war of 1870. Historical truth, in so far as Italy is concerned, requires of us to remember that if Napoleon did not favor the annexation of Rome to the Italian kingdom, it was principally owing to the pressure exercised on him in France by the clerical party to which M. Thiers had made adherence.

The Convention of September, 1864, which, with the transfer of the capital from Turin to Florence, signified a tacit renunciation of

Rome; the facts of Mentana in 1867, when Garibaldi's bold attempt was repulsed by the French troops, and all the other efforts to secure Rome to the Pope, were imposed on Napoleon by the implacable hostility nurtured against the Empire by the leaders of the clerical party, especially by M. Thiers.

The words with which Thiers, in December, 1867, stigmatized Napoleon's liberal foreign policy, will ever remain famous: "The result of the policy of France is to be seen in Germany. Two unities, one made, the other allowed to be made, that join hands over the Alps, and lay down as a condition of peace that you will let them reach their accomplishment. . . . In Europe there is an European equilibrium; it is in the name of this principle that we have a right not to create by our side Powers of twenty-five millions of souls."

Events are of still too recent a date for it to be necessary to relate how the Italian government, taking advantage of the reverses of France, in September, 1870, thought the time was come to advance towards Rome and take her by force from the Pope.

Certainly, material force never does good to a just cause; far preferable would it have been had the union of Rome to Italy been brought about solely by the moral means desired by Cavour. We must, however, recollect that the situation was so strained that all continuation of the *statu quo* had henceforth become impossible.

Events are sometimes stronger than the will of man. From the day of Cavour's death, all idea of reconciliation between the Pontifical and the Italian government had become more and more hopeless.

Things had reached such a point that Italy was either to fall to pieces again, or to be joined to her natural capital, Rome. The study of the development of the Roman question, is wound up with that of the Italian Revolution. The Roman question took birth with the Italian question. It is a complex one, as are all those in which in the midst of facts we must look for principles. It is not only an inquiry into the relations between Church and State; it is still less the study of an exclusively religious question. It is an interesting but painful history which begins with the day when Pius IX., for the first time gave his benediction to Italy, and ends on the 20th of September, 1870, with the breach of Porta Pia which dealt the final blow to the temporal power of the Pope; a history not inglorious, but not without its errors and wrongs on both sides; a history in which took part not only the principal contenders, but with them more or less all the Powers of Europe. It is a history that can not be related briefly, but deserves a separate work.

THE GRANGE AND THE POTTER LAW.¹

AN article in the January-February Number of the current volume of the INTERNATIONAL REVIEW, entitled "Retrospective Legislation and Grangerism," while written with seeming candor and judicial fairness, presents but one side of an important question, and that in such a manner as to do serious injustice to those who stand as the representatives of the other side.

As briefly as possible we will state the positions taken in that article, treating them in order.

1. *Grangerism is reducing tolls on railways, by legislation, to a non-remunerative standard.*

In truth, the Grange has no political status—it has never nominated or elected any man to any office, nor organized or maintained a lobby to influence legislation; neither has it any political platform.²

¹ By the term "Potter Law" we mean all the railroad legislation enacted in the year 1874, in Wisconsin.

² The President submitted to the Wisconsin Senate the following communication of Honorable M. K. Young, member of executive committee of the State Grange of Patrons of Husbandry, relative to taxation and tariffs of railroads, and accompanying resolutions:

To Lt. Gov. Parker, President of the Senate:

In presenting through you to the Senate the accompanying resolutions of the state grange upon the subject of railroad legislation, it is proper that a word be added to lessen the chances of their being misunderstood. The entire scope of petition set forth in the resolutions must be taken together, and some of the language used, instead of being employed as direct, was evidently used as relative terms of expression. Hence I am of opinion that our people (the state grange) attached but little importance to any one basis of taxation other than is conducive to the equities of detail. I am of the opinion that our people, while unable to see uniformity of taxation when based on the gross earnings of railroads, and not on the gross earnings of the farm and workshop, are content if the revenue exactions necessary to the protection of the rights of all be fairly adjusted. It is apparent, too, that "the taxation of railroad property as other property," was intended to apply to the burdens, as much or more, than to the forms of taxation. It is proper to say that our people ask squarely for an increase of tax on railroads. Nor is there any mistaking their wish for a maximum tariff for freight and passengers, and a commission to regulate unjust discrimination, and to collect and report facts for the intelligent guidance of future legislation. The former of these, they evidently regard as the restraining measure suggested by the experiences of the past, the latter, as mainly obviating the existing legislative necessity of

It has been diligently courted by both parties with a view to marriage, but it still remains single.

The Potter Law was in no sense the creature of the Grange¹ neither did it reduce rates below a non-remunerative standard. It did not destroy railroad values nor did it reduce them to any material extent nor check railway construction.² The actual gross reduction under that law was not over five per cent.

The true scope and intent of that law was, the equalization of rates, and the forbidding of discriminations between articles and persons. It also prohibited the giving of free passes, and the receiving of them by all state officers, judges of courts of record, members of

being generous by supplying such as will promote the more equitable consideration of being entirely just.

All these points of expression, and petition from our people, proceed from the conclusion that the representatives of the people of the state have legitimate control of the entire subject. This conclusion is founded upon the idea of the absolute sovereignty of government. If, in the grant of exclusive corporate privileges, government be held as parting with ultimate control of the grant, it carries along with it the idea of impaired sovereignty. If the absolute sovereignty of government can be impaired in one direction, it can be in another, and the question arises, how far can the absolute sovereignty of government be impaired without abolishing all the functions of government? The deep solicitude of our people, in this subject, arising both from principle and interest, may throw a ray of light upon the manner of their appeal to the legislature. While abstaining from politics as an order, they feel at liberty to scrutinize public measures, and make themselves felt in all such as embrace the general welfare.

All of which is respectfully submitted,

M. K. YOUNG.

¹ The complexion of the vote by which the Potter Law was passed in the Senate shows only eight votes by farmers, and eighteen by those in other occupations: Lawyers 4, Physician 1, Manufacturers 4, Editor and Printer 1, Bankers 3, Agents 2, Lumbermen 4; Total vote 26 yeas, 5 nays.

² Total mileage in operation in Wis. 2,565.73

" length of sidings (estimated)	200.00		
Increase of mileage in Wis. (1874)	87 m.,	in (1875)	20 m.
Average increase in states	" 85 m.,	in "	65 m.
Total increase in U. S.	" 1940 m.,	in "	1500 m.

During the year 1874, there were in the United States, at one time 122 roads in default for non-payment of interest . . . in that list of 122 there were two Wisconsin roads, and they were unaffected by the Potter Law, except the limitation to 4c. mile rates for passengers, that being the highest rate fixed.

The average rate of interest payable on the bonded indebtedness of roads in Wisconsin is 7-5c.

Total amount of interest paid by roads in this state for the year ending June 30, 1875, is \$4,565,249.34.

The number of passengers has steadily increased from year to year—

Whole number carried in 1873	3,963,039
" " " 1874	4,457,078
" " " 1875	4,628,507

the legislature, or members elect, or passes at a discount, under penalty of fine or imprisonment, or both.

The actual test of the law increased the net earnings, by reducing expenditures and increasing business, and proved wholly beneficial. And yet the law would have failed of enforcement, but for a firm and energetic executive, undeterred by the menaces of the roads and the opinions of hired attorneys.

If there was anything savoring of grangerism in that law, it was the stringent prohibition of discrimination in rates between individuals, and of free passes. The granger was willing to pay a fair rate for himself, but was unwilling to pay for others as able as himself to bear their own expenses.¹

2. *A legislature has no legal or moral power or right to reduce rates or to fix them, after conferring that power on a Railway Company.*

The legal power may be held in abeyance in some states by virtue of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the celebrated Dartmouth College case, but it can not be said of Wisconsin, for by a constitutional provision,² it has reserved the power to "alter or repeal" all the franchises it may have conferred on any corporate body.

The legal power of the legislature in Wisconsin, to regulate tolls is unimpaired—but what of the moral right? Did the state, in conferring its franchises on railway companies, become in any sense involved as a party in any contract which impaired her power to alter or repeal those franchises? Not in the least. The reserved power to alter or repeal is a condition precedent to all grants, and becomes incorporated into all transactions predicated on such franchises. It also acts as an estoppel to any and all claims for indemnity for any depreciation which may attach to any corporate property, by any act of the legislature.

In grants made by the state, nothing passes by implication. But it is conceded that the state has both the moral and legal power to confer the right to levy tolls to the railroad company, and when, as in the State of Wisconsin, the right is given subject to the constitutional provision of repeal or change, it seems to us, there is no room for questioning the propriety of the exercise of the power, when in

¹ While the State Grange was in session in the capital at Madison, during the winter of 1874-1875, an offer was made by two of the principal railroads to return them at 1c. per mile rates, but the offer was respectfully declined. The Grange has never asked for reduced rates to any of its gatherings.

² Sec. I. Art. II.

the judgment of the state it is demanded in the interest of the public. All contracts absorb into themselves the law under which they are made; the "reserved power" is a part of the contract.

3. *When a state confers franchises on a railway, it may not restrict or recall them, except it first provide for the payment of all its indebtedness.*

This statement involves the absurd proposition that a part is equal to the whole—that the franchise to levy tolls is all there is of value in a railway:—that the roadway, ties, rails, fences, depots, rolling stock and all other equipments, and the business pertaining to the route, are all worthless, representing no power to satisfy any claims against the company, and it must also be borne in mind that nearly every road in Wisconsin owns large quantities of donated lands. So also the company may vacate their franchises and operate as a private company, or sell to other parties who may be willing to operate the road under legislative control or supervision.

But if this claim is admitted, then it concedes too much, for if the state by any other act reduced the earnings of the road below a remunerative standard, such as taxation, safety to passengers, liability for damages to person or property, or by some financial regulation which should reduce the ability of the public to use the road, it would just as properly be made liable to pay all the indebtedness of the road.

What of the case where the state charters a parallel line, more favorably situated than the first, and more liberally endowed with benefactions, so that it can carry at less rates, and thereby ruins the first company by reducing rates below a remunerative standard!

The effect is the same whether a blow be struck by a fool or a madman, and we see no moral distinction between an indirect or direct way of reducing the power of a company to meet the just expectations of its creditors.

If a railway company contract such a bonded indebtedness that its earnings will pay only interest on it, then the state would be forever estopped from putting any check on the avarice or extortion of the company, and the public could have no relief by any act of the legislature or courts, for the company could insure immunity forever, by making a debt greater than the road would sell for, and thus make it a losing investment for the state to pay so much for so little.

This claim, if admitted, is a virtual premium on "watering stock" and prodigal borrowing, for all the justification needed for exacting high rates is, that it is necessary to pay the stockholders ten per cent,

that being the legal interest in Wisconsin, and they may pay such wages and salaries to their officers as they deem best—and it ends in this—that the company has only to keep in debt to keep all restrictive legislation at bay, and there can be no relief to the state except by paying them for their viciousness.

The reserved power would be nugatory, if the mere use of the franchise could operate to put it beyond alteration or repeal. The position is a mere *petitio principii*.

On the other hand if the company keep rates so low that they pay no interest or dividends we see no valid reason why its creditors may not demand of the state either that it legislate to secure increased rates, or pay itself what the company fails to pay.

Finally—we see no escape from the conclusion that, granting this claim to be well put, no remedial legislation could be reached, and no wrongs however flagrant could be redressed; for even a fine imposed on the company or one of its agents for violation of law, would impair the ability of the company to pay, and consequently to be forborne.¹

4. *The state, in authorizing railway corporations to borrow money, does itself contract with the individuals who lend money to the company, and any restriction on its power to levy tolls is both a violation of contract and confiscation.*

It seems very curious that the sovereignty in matter of tolls passes entirely to the railway, and the responsibility for payment of

¹ In *Tomlinson vs. Jessup*, 15 Wal. p. 459: "The reservation affects the entire relation between the State and the corporation, and places under legislative control, all rights, privileges, and immunities derived by its charter directly from the State."

See also *Miller vs. State*, 15 Wal. p. 478: *Olcott vs. The Supervisors*, 16 Wal. p. 673., the Court says, "The railroad can therefore be controlled and regulated by the State. *Its use can be defined; its tolls and rates for transportation can be limited.*"

We quote from the opinion of Attorney-general Sloan: "The legislative act is conclusive that the rate is reasonable. The exercise of the power is of itself an assertion of its justice and of its necessity. The railroads can not question it; the courts may not review it, for by the agreement of the parties in accepting the charters under the reservation, the whole subject is withdrawn from the domain of judicial decision and remains only a matter for the legislative conscience." . . . "It is difficult to see how restricting these tolls within certain limits which the legislature deems just, is any more depriving the corporations of their property than it would be to repeal their charters and thus deprive them of the power of charging any rates at all, and this latter power may confessedly be exercised *without making compensation.*" . . . "We do not claim that this reserved power gives to the legislature any right over the property of the corporation. It can deal only with franchises. Over them it has absolute control."

In *Thorpe vs. R. and B. R. R. Co.*, 27 Vt. p. 146, the court say, "The privilege of running the road and taking tolls or fare and freight is the essential franchise conferred."

its indebtedness all passes to the state. In truth this fiction of legal responsibility attaching to the state, in authorizing a corporate body to borrow money, so that the state is virtually the sole contractor, is a sheer assumption on which to rest that wrested and distorted construction, so much in favor with monopolies, of the term "Vested Rights" or its equivalent "violation of contracts."¹

The state may no more commit suicide than a person, and yet if the above principle be correct it involves nothing less. The assumption that the state may do indirectly what it may not do directly, *i. e.* vacate its sovereignty by passing it to the possession of the railway company, is simple suicide. It is just as tenable to assert that when taxes have been remitted as a bonus to a railway on its lands or other property, that it would be a violation of contract, and confiscation, to relay taxes, since it would impair the revenues of the railway and reduce its ability to pay its bondholders.

It is simply monstrous to claim that the state is only an Indemnity Bureau in the use of its sovereignty as guardian of the public against corporate mismanagement, avarice, or fraud.

It does not seem credible that the charge of confiscation is soberly urged against the state in this issue. It would rest on far more tenable ground if urged against the United States, in its taxing the circulation of the state banks ten per cent., which compelled them to withdraw and cancel their bills and surrender their charters, and yet it was a legitimate exercise of its sovereignty over a matter entirely at its discretion.

5. *A railway company is either a public or a private enterprise.*

Chap. 341—Laws of 1874, Sec. 1—declares all railways to be "public highways," and railroad or other transportation companies to be "common carriers," and forbids "unjust discriminations" in persons or property.

We hold with Chief-justice Ryan that all corporate bodies are both *quasi* public and *quasi* private; the material property which the railway company may become possessed of is as exclusively their own as though held by private persons, while their franchises are held in trust for public use, and are always at the sole disposal of the power that conferred them.

If the contingency predicated by the article under review should

¹ We see no justice or equity in the state being made responsible for the indebtedness of railroads, and leaving the creditors of all other corporate bodies without such indorsement or guaranty against loss. Are the creditors of railways to be secured against the ordinary risks of investment, and no others?

arise, of the state fixing rates below a remunerative standard as judged solely by the railroad company, thereby necessitating by the state the assuming of, or providing for, the payment of all outstanding obligations of the company, some very important questions would suggest themselves which are not reached by any principles there advanced, and we propound them for the mature consideration of those who teach the doctrine of necessary compensation.

a. If the state receives nothing for conferring franchises on the railway company, why should it buy them back at such price as the sole will of the company may fix? in other words, by paying its whole indebtedness?

b. Who will own the road after the indebtedness is paid, the state or the company? or will they become joint owners?

c. In case the state pays the indebtedness, should it not be entitled to a drawback or rebate to the full amount of all aid which it has granted in virtue of its authority, such as bonds, land grants, and moneys voted by towns, as well as all taxes remitted by exemption?

d. If the state pays the indebtedness of the roads and leaves the company in ownership, will it have acquired more or less right or power to protect the public from extortion or discrimination, and if either, how?

Forty years of railroad experience practically determines that no causes are sufficient to effect the needed control of transportation by rail except restrictive legislation. The competition effected through parallel lines and water routes are insufficient and only partially available, and the owning of a portion of the railways by the government, is not admissible in this country, though it may be in Europe.

The Massachusetts Commissioners assert that the natural law of political evolution governing transportation by rail may now be formulated. The different phases of experience through which this ultimatum is reached are presented as being:

1. Non-interference of government.
2. Legislative regulation.
3. Executive supervision.
4. State ownership.

Of course we can not agree with the fourth term, and would combine the second and third; but we would approve of the fourth rather than the *imperium in imperio* which the railway companies issued after the passage of the "Potter Law," and indeed virtually exercised before its enactment.

The causes provocative of the restrictive legislation of 1874 in Wisconsin, may be summarized under the following heads:

Private gains at the expense of stock and bond holders; water-

ing of stock; corrupt letting of contracts; fraudulent purchase of other roads; misappropriation of land grants; disregard of public convenience; excessive charges. These and other kindred practices made the nominal cost of roads from twenty-five to fifty per cent. above what careful, honest management necessitated; and on this inflated, fictitious basis, charges were fixed amounting at times to almost a prohibitory tariff on production in reaching a market.

We know that a statement is going the rounds of the press, that the grangers wanted their produce carried to market at the expense of others, but we question the decency of such a charge, made by men who ride on these roads with free passes and who never paid a tax to help build them. The animus of the charge and the source from which it emanates does not entitle it to serious consideration.

The statutes of Wisconsin exhibit a multitude of grants, concessions and powers conferred on railways and other corporate bodies: such lavish endowments as sober, unbiased judgment could scarce make accord with even the best good of the grantees, much more that of the grantor; and when a very slight check is put on the "full swing" which was previously accorded, they boldly and audaciously put forth their dicta "That no statute which does not provide for their debts will be construed as requiring the corporation to so diminish its tolls as to impair its own means of payment."

It certainly were far better that the state should never charter a railway company, than that she should be mulcted in costs to the extent of whatever the criminal or offending company may choose to impose as penalty for any interference in fixing rates of toll.

We offer a conundrum to the legal lore that devised such a fine device for the exemption of railways from all liability to pay their just debts: why should the citizen be taxed to build the railway, taxed to use it, taxed extra that the road may be partially or wholly exempt, and yet the claim be urged that it is private property?

But cutting through to the core of the controversy, it is resolved to this one simple demand from the roads, "Let us alone." Putting aside the artful dodging, the prevarication, the substitutions and evasions, we find them at last seeking sole and unlimited empire: to set aside every restraint, to elect governors, to subsidize legislatures, suborn juries, and corrupt courts and judges.

No doubt the stock and bondholder desire and deserve a fair return on their investment, but let them look solely to the corporators, to whom they loaned their money, or to whom they trusted

its use, and not to the state which has neither received nor used their money nor guaranteed its payment.

The premises upon which the liability of the state to pay, in a given contingency, rest, exist only in a legal fiction originated in the fertile brain of a railroad attorney, and the conclusion is so far fetched, that a microscope could scarcely reveal the attenuated connection.

Finally, the conclusions from past experience, may be summed up as follows:

1. The public character of railways is fully established.
2. Both the right and necessity of legislative and executive control and supervision are in no sense doubtful.
3. Control and supervision are demanded by the public interests. It is impossible to presume, under any conceded power of good government, that interests so vast and manifold as to involve the fundamental conditions of public progress and prosperity, should be surrendered to the undisputed caprice of a personal discretion, based solely upon considerations of private or corporate profit.
4. Control and supervision are also demanded in the interest of capital; a railway bond or its stock should be as valuable as that of the state; they should no more become worthless, and the foot-ball of speculative machination, than the currency or bonds of the United States, and to secure this steadiness of value requires general laws based on constitutional provisions.
5. The necessity for this control and supervision is a growing one. The rapidly accumulating knowledge of speculative and fraudulent methods in railway construction and management, has almost destroyed public faith in such securities, and to call them "securities" is a glaring misnomer; such causes have fatally injured the interest of investors in railway stocks and bonds. It is a noteworthy fact, not to be ignored in this discussion, that railway investments have appreciated under "granger legislation" so-called, in Wisconsin.

In conclusion, we are led to ask and answer; upon what basis should rates for passengers and freight be reckoned?

1. Actual cash value; or what it would cost to replace the same property, at the time of assessment, in ready money.
2. By limitation of actual profits. The net profits determine the value of railway stock to the holder, seeing his interest and final payment depend on them, and to reach a just determination of their limits requires a full knowledge of actual value and operating expenses; necessitating complete reports from railways of all matters relating to construction and operation.

SULTAN ABDUL-AZIZ AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

NINETEEN Levantine doctors having given it as their deliberate opinion that the wound discovered on the body of Abdul-Aziz was of a nature to have been inflicted by the late sovereign himself, with a pair of scissors, alleged to have been found near the corpse, the public are entitled to regard the official account of his death as in accord with the physical laws of nature. As the Turkish portion of the public moreover are persuaded that the one remaining duty of a deposed sultan is to die, and that the particular style in which the obligation is accomplished, is a matter of comparative indifference, those most nearly concerned by the event, in addition to its physiological accuracy, have the gratifying certainty of the death being in keeping with the eternal fitness of things. Under these circumstances what does it signify that diplomatists perverting a term of their elastic art, descant upon the *modus non vivendi* discovered for the fallen potentate? that people with a turn for languages have profited by the opportunity to enrich the dictionary of their respective idioms, and from the Golden Horn to Land's End, speak of the "suicided" Caliph? The victim of the cruel joke was persecuted by puns when alive and is not let off scot-free even in death.

Abdul-Aziz was a modern Turk. This being a species of mankind than which nothing can be imagined more different from the regular old Saracen, a sketch of this novel variety will give the key to the whole situation. If there ever were an indomitable set, the horsemen emerging from Asiatic wilds at the time of the early Crusades might lay claim to the name. Like all Tartars, their ideas were few and their will unconquerable; but like a few other gifted tribes of their race, they were fiery, if fierce, and chivalrous, if violent. With religious enthusiasm superadded to these strong national characteristics, they succeeded in subjugating wide lands by prowess, and in retaining possession of them by indifference, flavored with occasional massacre. They were the same in Persia and Palestine as in Constantinople; and when in the days of their greatest strength they galloped up to the gates of Vienna, the indelible feat-

ures of their psychological type were displayed in their very defeat, the consequence of their having to defend their camp when they only knew how to conquer by attack. The very quality which had created their empire eventually destroyed it. Checked at length in their onward course by civilized Europe, they sat down in the extensive domains they had so rapidly acquired, and ceasing to be conquerors, ceased to be anything. Their lands were too fertile and their wants too few to compel them to work; and as apathetic repose is the beau ideal of the race when the manly excitement of strife can not be had, the Turk, even in the luxurious capital of Constantinople, where the plunder of two continents was amassed, in intellectual habits and social arrangements never care to get far beyond the Kirghis shepherd lolling listlessly in the distant steppe.

An ordinary Turkish house to this day is almost as devoid of comfort as any tent. The inhabitants are as ignorant as their ancestors were on arriving in Europe five hundred years ago; as idle and lazy as an Indian warrior with no congenial employment in the unnerving recess of peace; and withal as proud and conceited, as narrow-minded and helpless as a Spanish Don in days of yore.

As the individuals, so their polity. Strictly speaking, there never has been any government in Turkey. Paschas were certainly sent out to represent the sovereign power in the provinces; but their only duty consists in enlisting recruits, enforcing the decrees of the courts, and seeing taxes paid. Of these several functions, the conscription alone gives them personal trouble. The courts, consisting of priests guided by unchanging religious law, and the tax gatherers, private persons who pay the government in the lump for permission to fleece the subject, as a rule, rely on the protection of the police, with whom they divide the spoil. Other departments of public service hardly exist. The inhabitants having no wants as individuals, have none as a community either. They require no schools, unless the religious establishments attached to the mosques may be honored with such a superlative appellation. They manage to live without the civilized superfluities of roads, bridges, and hospitals, except in some favored localities. In short they continue in the semi-barbarous state, attained ages ago by their sires, and so perfectly in accord with the boldest aspirations of the race that they do not see the good of going beyond. Yet with all their radical imperfections, the Turks preserved a certain manliness which kept them masters of their realm. Living among a variety of other races as backward as themselves, but less determined, although, perhaps, more intelligent, they managed to

assert their sway not by any weight the government brought to bear upon the subject, but by the self-assertion and innate aplomb of the individual Turk. Indolent but brave, the Turk always knows how to assert himself. Were the Ottoman Empire placed on an island in a distant sea, far away from the rest of the world, there can be no manner of doubt that, even in his present sleepy indifference, the descendant of the Saracens would still be more than a match for those living under his rule.

But, in an evil hour, the ancestors of the living generation were imprudent enough to establish themselves in Europe. Stationary themselves and seemingly incapable of development, they absurdly located themselves in a quarter, not very civilized, but bordering upon and intimately connected with countries partaking of the ordinary progressive propensities of European mankind. Servians and Bulgarians, Armenians and Greeks are only the outer fringe of European civilization, and centuries behind their neighbors; but, being Christians, contact with Europe is open to them. Their wealthy families have long been in the habit of sending sons to be educated at Paris, Vienna, and Berlin. These on their return have had sufficient influence to scatter a few sparks of European enlightenment among their benighted brethren. They have established newspapers and schools for the select few; they have endeavored to do away with the barbarous habits of the million; and they have altogether striven to accustom their people to the idea that they are Europeans, superior to the Turk and sure to oust their uncompromising masters at some convenient moment. If these opinions have made uncommon progress the last thirty years, this is owing to an alliance between the educated few, who started them, and a different element of Rayah society for centuries on excellent terms with the Turk. I refer to the priests. Careless and proud as the Turk is, he allowed his Christian subjects to form separate communities under clerical control. The priests were not slow to take advantage of the permission given them and if the Pascha ruled too little, the Bishop mostly governed too much. The system was so convenient to the clergy from a pecuniary point of view, that with the exception of rare intervals where a rebellion carried them away, the mitred Reverences stoutly sided with the unbelieving masters of the land. But the present generation has witnessed a change. Ever since the Emperor Nicholas methodically prepared for the conquest of Turkey, the connection existing between the holy synod at St. Petersburg and the orthodox Bishops of the Ottoman Empire has been used to imbue the Rayah clergy with the

idea that the Turk will be sent away before long and that if they are wise and religious they will aid in the process. Nearly all the Rayah clergy being as barbarous and poor as their parishioners, without any claim to the rudiments of a literary education, it can not have been very difficult to make them transfer their allegiance, and convert them from instruments of the Sultan to tools of the Czar. Certain it is that the metamorphosis was quick, and, in the case of most servants of the church, complete. Of course the political agitation kept up by the Russian agents, powerfully contributed to this end. For the last forty years every Russian consulship in Turkey has been the centre of a number of minor and unrecognized agencies, instilling the hope of coming liberation into the Rayah mind. Plenty of official documents, come to light in the course of time, acquaint us with the indefatigable burrowing of these political moles, and the views of other European statesmen upon the mining activity going on before their eyes.

The Turks were slow to perceive the movement. Roused at last from their sleepy indolence, they behaved like Turks, committing outrageous acts as is their wont whenever they leave their lair. What with the hatred engendered by repeated rebellion and repression, the relations between the dominant and subject race rapidly assumed the deplorable aspect they have worn of late.

But, of late, not all Turks have relied upon cruelty for the maintenance of their rule. Among the millions filling those extensive provinces between Euphrates and Danube, there gradually arose a small number of heterodox individuals. Boldly differing from the rest of their countrymen, these novel radicals declared there were other means than the sword, that might be employed in cementing the alarming fissures of the body politic. Either because they had ceased to believe in the Koran, or because they were intelligent enough to perceive that the Infidels, in a mechanical age, could be vanquished only by infidel lore, the reformers insisted that the country should be Europeanized. Successive sultans adopting this theory, it was forthwith put into practice and has been the recognized government programme the last forty years. However, to apply the experiment to the masses soon proved impracticable: it is as impossible to convert a stone into a plant, a complete but barren thing into an imperfect but growing thing, as to induce an ordinary Turk to modify his habits, and admit the good of reform. With their activity thus unavoidably confined to the upper classes, the liberal sultans, who looked to foreign knowledge as a means of domestic

safety, speedily discovered that if their programme were to be carried out at all, the attempt could be made only in towns accessible to European influence. They have since acted upon this prudent conviction, limiting the attempt at administrative and educational reform to Constantinople, Alexandria, Smyrna and a few other leading cities. Yet, it proved baneful in the extreme. However restricted in its area, the product of the innovation was potent enough to deprive the empire of its little remaining strength, and to accelerate its overthrow. That product was the modern Turk.

Can you imagine a tiger in a dress coat? A dandy tiger, who, to crown the extravagance of his apparel, is deeply convinced that a swallow-tail is the only fitting garb for a fellow parsimoniously provided by nature with only one dorsal excrescence, and that of wholly inelegant proportions? A tiger persuaded that it is unbecoming in him to bite, and that his ancestors were wrong in adhering to the practice, albeit that particular action of the maxillary bones has ever constituted the sole accomplishment of the race? Try to realize this monstrous quadruped, and you have an approximate idea of the modern Turk. Tolerant on principle, humane in theory, and civilized in intent, he advanced just far enough on the road to culture to divest himself of his ancient habits, but never reached the point where his new motives might be made serviceable. To render him European, more was required than to eschew murder. The Turk, to take rank with civilized men, ought to have accustomed himself to the tiresome task of thinking and working. He ought to have carried industry and agriculture beyond the primitive degree attained by his ancestors a thousand years ago. He ought to have acquainted himself with mechanical arts, and applied them to the thousand and one purposes for which they are indispensable in these modern days. He should have introduced schools, to wean the people from their savagery, and gradually break them in for the lenient yoke of the civilized state. He should have studied political and financial science, and turned results to account in the magnificent domain so long possessed without adequate profit. In short, he must have done a good many things he did not do, and is apparently incapable of doing.

It soon became manifest that the entire reform consisted in giving a thousand young men of rank a smattering of French, and a vague idea of military tactics. In exchange for these feeble attainments, the sultans bartered their ancient remorseless energy, and the determination to cut down whosoever was not of

their race and belief. They paid too dear for their whistle. They ceased to be formidable, yet failed to render their people intelligent, industrious, and useful. They could no longer bring themselves to order the wholesale slaughter of Christians, yet omitted to render them so contented that they could safely dispense with butchery. They had their teeth drawn, without developing their brains. Add to this, that the theory on which this voluntary weakness was founded, was acknowledged only by the few men forming the government, or connected with it, and you will realize the denouément. While the government issued civilizatory decrees which it was too lazy to see carried out, the people, as ignorant and brutal as ever, foiled all attempts at innovation by simply holding fast to their ancient traditions. The sultan's benevolent intentions were intentions only; but the blows dealt by the ordinary Turk hit as hard as ever. Thus the exotic philanthropy of the government issued in increased oppression of the subject race, without in any way benefiting master or serf. No doubt the government was sagacious enough to comprehend the discomfiture of their plans, but altogether too helpless to better matters. Conceive a captain bawling to his crew, fighting while the ship is fast going down, and you have a picture of the modern Turk in the act of governing his state. To perfect the unique cartoon, you must please suppose the captain lolling on his sofa in the midst of the uproar, with a couple of revolvers ready at hand, which principle and indolence forbid him to use.

For a modern Turk, the late sultan was not a bad sovereign. His acquaintance with European manners and customs was certainly of the smallest; his French pitiable beyond conception; and his desire to learn and improve himself on a par with that of a Nubian slave. But he was deeply persuaded that Allah, who had allowed infidels to get on in the world, and become more powerful than believers, willed him to be a liberal sovereign, meting out even-handed justice to all his subjects alike, whatever their creed or race; and being a good humored, sleepy sort of man by nature, the part allotted him by circumstances suited him to a turn. He spent the greater part of his life in his bed, or his private theatre, gazing at native farces, and laughing immoderately at the coarse jests and stupid witticisms of the popular comedy. He every now and then, when the everlasting routine of enjoyment palled upon his imperial sensibilities, and he wished to distinguish himself as a man and a king, ascended the tight rope and performed to the delight of his applauding court in an

art which, in the aspiring years of youth, it had been his pride to excel. But whenever these necessary avocations left him a moment's leisure, he was not at all averse to tuck his feet under him, and gravely affix his signature to a majestic decree admonishing Paschas to be just and lenient. Thanks to the peculiar style of business prevailing in Turkey, many of these ordinances never left the palace precincts, but after passing through the hands of women, eunuchs, secretaries, and ministers—the order sanctioned by tradition—were lost in oblivion, or at least some out-of-the-way corner. For any good they could have done, all documents of this interesting class need never have been penned. However philanthropic the principles laid down in them, however grand and weighty the language in which they were couched, there were so many attempts at political poetry which nobody ever dreamed of translating into the prose of administrative practice. Whatever axioms the sultan might be pleased to inculcate, the law of the land remained Koran and Shariat, the former the religious, the latter the political code of Islam. This law makes it a sacred duty for believers to maltreat non-believers, and stifle complaint, forbids the courts to admit Christian witnesses against Mohammedans. This law never having been superseded, and the most liberal sultans never having had the power to think of superseding it against the will of their Mohammedan subjects, what could their one phraseology avail? So while Abdul-Aziz went on snoring, laughing, dancing and singing, the subversive forces at work continued their fatal activity until the crisis arrived. Mismanagement, barbarism, religious and national hatred prepared the catastrophe; foreign influence using the Turk's own weapon against him dealt the blow.

Turkey's evil genius is Russia. Having repeatedly failed in her endeavors to do away with Turkey, her plans this time are laid with uncommon sagacity, and promoted by a rare coincidence of favorable circumstances. Let us retrace our steps. Only twenty-five years ago the determined opponent of German unity, Russia as a preliminary to a new oriental enterprise, has lately contributed towards the revival of the Germanic empire. In this she aimed at weakening Austria, her antagonist in the Crimean war, who could not but be greatly injured by that exclusion from Germany, which must be the necessary consequence of Germany's reunion under Prussian auspices. But as good luck would have it, Russia obtained more than she went in for. Austria *was* excluded from Germany, and left to her own devices. Upon this, France, deeming it expedient to interfere with

the strengthening of the Teutonic commonwealth, attacked Germany and being defeated, has now but one idea—revenge. So not only was Austria deprived of the influence she derived from her former connection with Germany, but France, biding her time until the German quarrel can be advantageously renewed, is in the meantime necessarily indifferent to the East, or as far as she cares for it at all, is simply anxious to oblige Russia to secure her help against Germany. To neglect such an opening the Russian diplomatists must either have changed their policy, or else have lost the cunning that has long distinguished that branch of the imperial service. Neither being the case, the Oriental question has been set a-going once more.

To make assurance doubly sure, the campaign was opened in a fashion which allows official Russia to play the spectator, and will only render it necessary for her to become a responsible agent, should Serbia and Montenegro, her tools and effective representatives on the theatre of war, prove incompetent for the task entrusted to them. For this purpose the ground was dressed by long and patient toil. Serbia and Montenegro were provided with the means required to raise their armies to a respectable figure. The feelings of the Rayah were kept up to the desired pitch. The European press was made to resound with the statement that Russia had mended her ways and would never again touch the East. When all was ready, Serbia and Montenegro sent their men—out of uniform of course—across the frontier, where, reinforced by rebel subjects of the Porte, they began the war. Were not the Porte under the tutelage of the Powers, she would have resented these proceedings and rewarded Serbia and Montenegro without delay; as it was, she only applied to the powers for permission to ward off her enemies, and failing to obtain the license asked for, submitted to an attack she was not at liberty to repel. The veto of the powers was the natural result of Russia's preponderance at a time when Austria was impotent to resist, France anxious to oblige the Czar, and Germany compelled to prevent a Russo-French alliance being formed at her expense. The Servo-Montenegrines being thus in a position to choose the hour and place of attack, and to retreat to unassailable territory, whenever they chose, the Turks found it impossible to put the rebellion down. After this ingenious game had been going on for a twelvemonth, Russia, who had all along seconded the operations of the Servo-Montenegrines by desiring the Sultan to accord the rebel provinces a sort of semi-independent position, thought the moment had come to repeat her demand emphatically. Her wishes were embodied in

a document called the Berlin Memorandum, from its having been concerted at Berlin during a conference of the Austrian and Prussian chancellors with Prince Bismarck. Germany on this occasion as on some preceding ones helped Austria to blunt the edge of the Russian demands; but as she could not safely go beyond a certain point in her opposition, unless she was prepared to break with the Czar, the main features of the Memorandum after the conference were the same as originally devised at St. Petersburg. At this juncture England who had so long kept aloof, found it indispensable to interfere. To the invitation to affix her signature to the Memorandum she replied by a pointed no and the dispatch of a powerful squadron to the immediate vicinity of Constantinople. Her resolve forthwith produced consequences. The dormant Sultan was dethroned by the more energetic among the ministers. Having lived in the fear of Russia since the overthrow of France by Germany, the poor man, when the contents of the Memorandum were confidentially brought to his cognizance by England, displayed an unmistakable inclination to yield. The British ambassador who had been instructed to acquaint His Majesty with the doings of the Powers, before the formal delivery of the new appeal, speedily discovered his government were mistaken in hoping that the Sultan would indorse their disapproval of the step. However urgently Sir Henry Elliott might represent the inexpediency of making concessions sure to result in the disintegration of the state, the arguments used by General Ignatieff, the outspoken champion of the Muscovite interest, proved the stronger. A weak-minded denizen of the harem, as he had been all his life, the Sultan was sufficiently oriental to know a strong man when he saw him. He told his ministers in so many words that there was no use in disappointing the Czar. He swore he had the greatest respect for the queen of England, and would be delighted to take her advice, if she would only purvey him with anything like the number of infantry, cavalry and artillery, the Czar might eventually marshal against his frontiers. He wound up by bluntly declaring that he would accept the Memorandum, as he had no alternative; that he would not allow another piastre to be spent in armaments which were utterly superfluous, as they could never be extensive enough to enable him to cope with his enemy; and that he wished to be left in peace and spared unnecessary bother.

This declaration put a period to the Sultan's existence. The ministers finding that he meant what he said, a few of the more determined among them perceived the necessity of acting without

delay. Though forcible removal from the throne had fallen into disuse since the beginning of the century, there was nothing to prevent the revival of the practice in the present emergency. The Sultan's apathy and subservience to the foreigner had roused the indignation of his subjects. His luxurious seclusion in the palace had deprived him of the opportunity of gaining a hold on the army; and though he certainly had some personal friends in the navy—the only institution in which he had ever displayed the slightest interest—it was easy for the conspirators to finish the indolent recluse long before the sailors could come to the rescue. With all Mohammedan Constantinople against him, it was evident that a single company sufficed to abolish the King of Kings, the irresponsible lord of life and death in an Empire of 25,000,000. These circumstances once realized, the conspirators allowed no grass to grow under their feet. They began by practically ignoring His Majesty's occupancy of the throne. Despite the announcement of his Imperial will to do as he was bid by his imperious adversary, the three resolute ministers at the head of the movement determined on an opposite course. They did not speak to His Majesty any more upon the subject. They did not assemble the divan, or great council of state, which, including all former ministers residing in the capital, absurdly represents the contradictory opinions of the last twenty-five years. They simply ordered the Turkish ambassadors at St. Petersburg, Vienna and Berlin to inform the sovereigns to which they were accredited that the Turkish government having been acquainted by England with the contents of the famous Memorandum, thought it to the interest of all parties to lose no time in declaring that they rejected the demands of the Northern powers and that they hoped they would not be treated to the indignity of receiving such demands embodied in an official document. Before people at St. Petersburg could recover from their surprise at this unwonted independence, Abdul-Aziz had been jostled from the throne. As foreseen a single company had been competent to upset the law of inheritance. Early in the morning Mehemet Rushdi, one of the conspirators, accompanied by the Sheik el Islam, or grand priest of the realm, had entered the apartments of the unsuspecting monarch. Awake from sleep, his principal occupation, the Sultan angrily entered the room in which his untimely visitors were awaiting him. His vituperations were cut short by the worthy sheik stepping forward, and in the name of the religion he served, pronouncing the Sultan as unworthy to bear the Caliph's title and dignity. Having thus been divested of his ecclesi-

astical rank as the head of el Islam, the Sultan was quickly informed by Mehemet Rushdi, that as he had ceased to be a Caliph there was no reason why he should be allowed to remain a Sultan. He had betrayed the country and must give place to a better man. At this strange address the Sultan clapped his hands to inform his women servants to inform the eunuchs to inform the chamberlains to inform the officers of the guard, that he desired his interlocutors should be hung. Nothing daunted by the terrific intimation, Mehemet Rushdi opened the window and pointed at the company drawn up in the palace yard. In another moment the Sultan was forcibly removed from the room and hurried down to the shore where a couple of Kaiks were in attendance. With him the Valide, or dowager Sultana, according to Turkish custom the only person of political importance in the Imperial family, was bundled off. The melancholy procession flanked by several boats filled with armed men, immediately made for a solitary kiosk at the water-side, at some distance from the capital. There the deposed sovereign conforming to the time honored usages of his race, died soon after.

A few hours after his dethronement, the guns of Tophane announced the accession of Murat V. the nephew and legitimate heir of the deposed monarch. Simultaneously with this striking advertisement for the benefit of the million, the representatives of the foreign powers had the change of sovereign officially notified to them in a few laconic lines.

The blow dealt by the conspirators partially thwarted the Russian scheme. With the general condition of Europe all in her favor, Russia this time had intended to act through proxy. As we have seen, one of the substitutes employed for this useful purpose was the Servo-Montenegrine people, whom she enabled to fight Turkey on terms gradually exhausting the resources of so disorderly and ill-managed a concern; the other substitute acting in behalf of the Czar, was no less a personage than the Sultan himself. What with the Servo-Montenegrines being allowed to attack the Turks with impunity, and poor Abdul-Aziz being frightened into enduring these unequal conditions of warfare, Russia might reasonably hope to shatter the rickety fabric of the Oriental State, and after a few months more, obtain the fruition of her desires. If, in accordance with the Berlin Memorandum, the Sultan could have been prevailed upon to accord Bosnia and Herzegovina a semi-independent position, which would have made the Rayah interest paramount in those principalities, an immense step would have been made towards the goal.

Even if Bosnia and Herzegovina were not allowed the extensive privileges conceded to Servia, Roumania, Egypt, and other feudatories of the Porte, their conversion into Slavonic and orthodox lands, on any terms, would have made the overthrow of the Turkish element in Europe a question of a few years. With this result Russia might have been well satisfied to close the present campaign, leaving the future to take care of itself. But alas! just when she raised her hand to pluck the fruit, an envious breeze wafted it beyond reach. The obliging Sultan went to the solitary kiosk, and his successor, a mere cypher, but attached to the powerful unit of a resolute cabinet, would not consent to be harassed to death without resenting the process. The re-modeled cabinet left no doubt as to their purpose of going to war with Servia and Montenegro, if Servia and Montenegro did not cease to fight Turkey by means of "insurgent bands."

When the news of the Turkish catastrophe arrived at Ems, whither the Russian emperor had retired with his diplomatic retinue from Berlin, such was the impression produced upon the illustrious visitor of the Rhenish Spa, that vague rumors of mobilization and war flew through the European press. But the Russian cabinet were not so easily diverted from their new and improved method of dealing with the East. To relapse into a sequel to the Crimean war would have been a blunder unworthy of a Gortchakoff. The Prince Chancellor at once determined that he would not again unsheath the sword at the risk of bringing other powers into the field; or at any rate, would not embark in the venture as long as a more lenient and guarded, albeit more gradual means, were at his disposal.

If the emancipation of the Rayah could not be obtained wholly without war, there was still an intermediate step between rebellion, fomented by Servo-Montenegrines, and the dread contingency of Moscow taking the field. The Servo-Montenegrines might combine for a common and avowed attack. No doubt such a step, as it might bring matters to a crisis, involved the risk of inducing foreign interference. Yet the peril was infinitesimally small.

After all, what had happened? And what was likely to happen? Now, as before, Servia and Montenegro, being identified with Russia, were nearly as safe as Russia. France, looking upon the Czar as a possible ally against Germany, was not likely to forfeit the good-will of her wished-for friend by opposing his clients. Austria, herself a sort of Turkey, with half a dozen contending nationalities endeavoring to burst the hoops which bind the impe-

rial staves together, forms an unhappy barrel, and has to look after her own cohesion rather than the solidity of neighboring concerns. As the Austrian government suspect their German subjects of wishing for reunion with the Teutonic Empire, and their Croato-Servians to go in for eventual absorption by an independent Serbia of the future, it is only natural they should endeavor to avoid the former contingency rather than the latter, Germans being so much more in a position to act and think for themselves than Servo-Croats. Dreading to be given up by Russia to Germany were she to oppose Russia, Austria prefers to allow the Czar to shorten her existence by the establishment of a Slavonic commonwealth on her southern frontiers rather than provoke his Muscovite majesty into authorizing her brother neighbors to make short work of her decrepit limbs. Whether this Northern neighbor could be tempted to do anything of the kind is another question; but the suspicion exists at Vienna, and regulates the conduct of the powers that be on the Danube.

Both France and Austria being thus rendered harmless to Russia, there remain Germany and England to be taken into account. Germany has her hands impeded, though not perhaps actually fettered, by a prudent regard for French vagaries in the direction of the Rhenish frontier; while England, though she may create serious difficulties, is hardly enough of a continental power to wish to engage in single-handed contest with millions of Russian troops. This calculation being carefully gone through at Ems, the sum total was drawn without much ado. The Servo-Montenegrines could be safely allowed to have an avowed fling at the Porte. If victorious they would not be denied reward; if defeated there would still be no peril of their position being impaired by the triumphant Turk. With the rest of Europe divided against itself, Russia would be strong enough to prevent any such result without jeopardizing security.

Accordingly Russia neither mobilized nor betrayed any anger under the infliction. She had placed her cavalry and horse artillery on a war footing as early as a year ago, and considered this a sufficient precaution under the reassuring circumstances of the case. But she at once shaped the diplomatic situation after her will. The new Sultan at the advice of England, proclaimed a six weeks' truce to give the insurgents time to return to their allegiance. The insurgents declined the proposition. They were irresponsible agents, and, withdrawing to Servo-Montenegrine territory, could not be brought to book. The new Sultan, too, caused Serbia to be asked, in a summary

style, what she meant by arming and lining her frontiers with troops. To this Prince Milan was made to reply courteously that he meant nothing in particular, that he only wished to protect his country from catching the revolutionary epidemic unhappily raging on the other side of the frontier, and that he was and would forever remain the most obedient and humble servant of his liege lord. This letter was indispensable to give Servia time to complete her armaments. The Russian officers sent to Servia having reported that she required a good many more horses and cannon before she could trust herself to take the field, time must be gained to make up for the deficiency. To secure this end, Russia likewise consented to defer presenting the Berlin Memorandum at Constantinople.

Yet, even in the eleventh hour, the wish to coerce the Sultan by mere threats, survived at St. Petersburg. While cannon and horses were being sent to Servia via Roumania, the Servian government, contrary to the primary rules of the military art, considered it politic to announce the progress of their preparations daily in the papers. As if the Commander-in-chief were intent upon making all the world and his wife his confidant, the most detailed intelligence was vouchsafed to us by that communicative individual on the eve of the War. To-day, this regiment took the oath. To-morrow, that battalion was dispatched to the frontier. The day after, that brigade would be withdrawn from a certain village and placed in another locality, distinctly pointed out to the inquisitive reader. When all this was of no avail and the Turk would not be intimidated, by literary campaigning, a war manifesto was allowed to transpire without being actually published. Only when the obtuse Mohammedan ignored even this crowning achievement of the hostile pen, was the lurking manifesto exposed to the public gaze and the Turkish frontier really crossed by bona fide battalions.

Since then we have had the oft announced spectacle of a Servo-Turkish conflict. As yet it is no more than a guerilla war on a grand scale. The Turkish commanders having in the preceding unavowed hostilities surrounded the principality with a continuous line of military posts, the Servian troops had to be divided into half a dozen corps to prevent the country being overrun by flying columns of the enemy. But the Servo-Montenegrine forces can not be estimated higher than 100,000, so that, making the necessary allowance for reserves, etc., the average strength of each operating detachment may be set down at 12,000 or so. Of the war bulletins published by either party, it would be hard to speak with too little respect. Num-

berless are the encounters blazoned forth by the remorseless telegraph; frightful the heaps of slain piled up by the cruel wires. While both parties agree in this harrowing particular, they differ strangely in the distribution of the corpses, thereby reiterating the remarkable exploit of the Kilkenny cats, who ate each other up all but the tips of their tails. The more forcibly to palm this sort of intelligence upon the world, independent correspondents are shut out from the camp, or if they venture to take a sly peep at the troops, shot at. However, we have proof irrefragable, that the mathematical axiom treating of contradictions that nullify each other, applies to politics as well. On the showing of both parties, neither has made any way. Thus far the slight advantages gained at one point by the Turk are counterbalanced by others won in another quarter by the "Srb." Unfortunately, however, it is only too certain that the flying columns sent out by either party are murdering villagers right and left. In Bulgaria, the price of a Rayah girl has gone down to a couple of dollars, so overstocked is the slave market.

The Emperor of Russia, having on his way to Ems visited his uncle of Berlin, on his return journey, had a counterbalancing interview with his friendly adversary of Austria at the chateau of Reichstadt, in Bohemia. On this occasion Austria, in her name as well as in that of Germany, offered to mediate between Russia and England. Russia needs no mediation, seeing that Servia still holds her own; but the Russian statesmen were too wise not to oblige Austria by the acceptance of her proposal, provided a counter proposition of theirs should be acceded to by their Vienna friends. In consequence of the arrangement concluded at Reichstadt, Russia will kindly see what can be done to stay the progress of the war, and to induce the Servo-Montenegrines to content themselves with an installment upon their demands; while Austria, to show her gratitude for these amicable intentions, has closed the harbor of Klek against the Turks. This harbor being the principal access to Herzegovina for the Turkish troops, it is likely that things in another month will assume an aspect which will enable Russia to close the war. Russia has learned how to eat her artichokes leaf by leaf, and is satisfied with a small piece at a time.

LORD MACAULAY.¹

THIS book has been so widely read and so widely reviewed that it seems at first sight hard to say anything about it which every one has not heard or thought of already. It has undoubtedly raised the character of Lord Macaulay in public esteem. His literary reputation is still fresh. But his political reputation, like that of all men who do not hold the very first rank in politics, was beginning to fade out of memory. His written biography now comes opportunely to bring it back to life. And to what we all remember and to what some of us are beginning to forget, these volumes add what none of us have had any chance of knowing except Lord Macaulay's personal friends. The author was known and the statesman was known; but the man himself was less known than most men whose names were so familiar. The personal and private character of Lord Macaulay is now revealed to the world for the first time. There is no man whose writings have a more distinct literary character of their own; but he was not one of those writers who let the whole man stand forth in their writings. We now know what before we had no means of knowing, how amiable and charming the eloquent speaker, the clearest and most fascinating of narrators, was in private and domestic life. All this we learn for the first time from Mr. Trevelyan's life of his uncle, and besides what we learn of the uncle we learn also something of the nephew. Mr. Trevelyan has to be most unreservedly congratulated on having successfully performed one of the most difficult of tasks, the task of telling the world neither too much nor too little of the inner life of a near kinsman.

It would be unfair to write anything calling itself a review of Lord Macaulay's life without saying at least this much of the general impression which the book gives, both of its subject and of its author. But all this and much more has been often said already. I propose, in speaking of Lord Macaulay's life so late in the day, to say something of some points in his literary character which may not stand out

¹ The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay. By his Nephew, George Otto Trevelyan, M. P. In Two Volumes. London: Longmans & Co. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1876.

so clearly on the surface. And, as one who has been himself occupied with another part—though a widely different part—of the same great subject, I may perhaps be allowed, in a writing which is not anonymous, to say a few words to set forth the deep debt of gratitude which I at least feel and which every student or writer of any period of English history ought to feel towards him. Macaulay doubtless had his faults—we could find that out without the carpings of men beside whose literary and moral errors his greatest faults seem his merits—but, be his faults what they may, he is none the less entitled to be looked up to by all of us as a master and a model.

First of all, Macaulay is a model of style—of style not merely as a kind of literary luxury, but of style in its practical aspect. When I say that he is a model of style, I do not mean that it is wise in any writer to copy Macaulay's style, to try to write something that might be mistaken for Macaulay's writing. So to do is not to follow in the steps of a great writer, but merely to imitate his outward manner. So to do is not the part of a disciple, but the part of an ape. But every one who wishes to write clear and pure English will do well to become, not Macaulay's ape, but Macaulay's disciple. Every writer of English will do well, not only to study Macaulay's writings, but to bear them in his mind, and very often to ask himself, not whether his writing is like Macaulay's writing, but whether his writing is such as Macaulay would have approved. I know at least what my own experience is. It is for others to judge whether I have learned of Macaulay the art of being clear; I at least learned from Macaulay the duty of trying to be clear. And I learned that, in order to be clear, there were two main rules to be followed. I learned from Macaulay that if I wished to be understood by others, or indeed by myself, I must avoid, not always long sentences—for long sentences may often be perfectly clear—but involved, complicated, parenthetical sentences. I learned that I must avoid sentences crowded with relatives and participles; sentences in which things are not so much directly stated as implied in some dark and puzzling fashion. I learned, also, never to be afraid of using the same word or name over and over again, if by that means anything could be added to clearness or force. Macaulay never goes on, like some writers, talking about "the former" and "the latter," "he, she, it, they," through clause after clause, while his reader has to look back to see which of several persons it is that is so darkly referred to. No doubt a pronoun, like any other word, may often be repeated with advantage, if it is perfectly clear who is meant by

the pronoun. And with Macaulay's pronouns it is always perfectly clear who is meant by them. Then, as to his choice of words; here and there I myself might perhaps think that a Romance word might well be changed for a Teutonic word. Certainly no one can charge Macaulay with what is called pedantry or purism, in a Teutonic direction, or in any direction. Still, where I might wish to change one word in Macaulay, I might wish to change ten or a hundred in most other writers. Macaulay never uses a word which, whatever might be its origin, had not really taken root in the language; he has no vulgarisms, no new-fangled or affected expressions; no man was ever so clear from the vice of thrusting in foreign words into an English sentence. One sees this in such small matters as the accurate way in which he always uses foreign titles. He speaks for instance of the "Duke of Maine," the "Count of Avaux," while in many other writers one sees the vulgarisms of the Court Circular, "Duke de Maine," "Duc de Maine," perhaps "Duc of Maine," alternating with one another through whole pages. He explains in one of his Essays that "Abbé" is to be used because the English form "Abbot" would give a wrong meaning; but he would probably have said, if asked, that there was no more reason to talk of a "Duc" of Maine than there was to talk about a "Roi" of France. And as he speaks of people in English, so he also spells them in English. "Louis," "Jean," "Guillaume," in an English sentence will never be found in his accurate pages.

In short, Macaulay never allows himself for a moment to be careless, vulgar, or slipshod. Every person and every thing is called by the right name and no other. And because he did all this, because he wrote such clear and well chosen English that the printer's reader himself never had to read his sentences twice over, therefore men who can not write as he could, talk glibly of his "mannerism" and so forth. Every body, I suppose, must have some manner; Lord Macaulay had a good manner and not a bad one, and therefore he is found fault with.

Without, therefore, recommending any one to imitate Macaulay's manner or the manner of any one, I do say that in all this, Macaulay has left to every writer of English an example which every writer of English will do well to follow. The care which Macaulay took to write before all things good and clear English, may be followed by writers who make no attempt to imitate his style, and who may be led by nature to some quite different style of their own. Many styles which are quite unlike one another, may all be equally good; but no

style can be good which does not use pure and straightforward English. No style can be good where the reader has to read a sentence twice over to find out its meaning. In these ways the writings of Macaulay may be a direct model to writers and speakers whose natural taste, whose subject, or whose audience, may lead them to a style quite unlike his. In every language and in every kind of writing, purity of speech and clearness of expression must be the first virtues of all.

I have paid this tribute to one whom I never saw, but whom in many ways I have come to look on as a master. I wish now to go on and say something as to the evidence which these volumes supply as to the extent and nature of Macaulay's reading and scholarship, both in the direct historical field and in others. His choice of subjects and his treatment of them, tells us a good deal as to what he had studied and what he had not. But the *Life and Letters*, while they considerably enlarge, do not at all contradict the notion which we should draw from his writings. We should learn from his writings that he had pried into almost every corner of the literature and history of the last three hundred years. How thoroughly he had both at his fingers' ends is plain from the kind of things which he takes for granted, the kind of things which he seeks quite naturally, and without a touch of affectation, to expect that everybody knew. There are crowds of allusions and references in his writings, which even a well-read man, unless he is a special student of the matter in hand, is not likely at once to understand. I am now speaking purely of incidental references; the matter which he has immediately in hand he always expounds so that the very dullest can not fail to understand. And this kind of obscurity of reference, though obscurity is too hard a name for it, is perfectly consistent with clearness of style. The sentence, as a sentence, is perfectly clear; only we do not know the particular story or saying referred to. Some people I know, feel themselves wronged when they come to any allusion which they do not understand. My own feeling when I come to an allusion in Macaulay which I do not understand, is that the writer has paid me a higher compliment than I deserve. I feel ashamed that I do not know what he means, and I try as soon as possible to find out. It is easy to see from Macaulay's references of this kind, that the history and literature of which his mind was full, was the history and literature of modern Europe and of the old days of Greece and Italy. In both of these he is clearly at home, though perhaps not at home in exactly the same way. In the intermediate periods he is clearly not

at home. With mediæval history and literature, with the single exception of those of the Italian commonwealths, he is plainly not familiar. The references which he makes to them are much fewer in number and much less to the purpose when they are made. Of the first thousand years of English history he shows no sign of any knowledge greater than what was needed to make him understand the last three or four hundred years. There is no sign of his having worked at the earlier history or the earlier literature for its own sake. And yet the introductory sketch of the earlier English history with which his great work opens, is a very remarkable piece of writing. We must remember that it is now nearly thirty years old, and that a great deal has been done in those thirty years, of which Macaulay could not possibly know anything. But it is worth noting that his first volumes appeared in the same year as Kemble's "Saxons in England." In that introduction it is not hard to find exaggerations, and even positive mistakes. For the earliest times of English history, he clearly had no great love. The times which followed he looked at, not unnaturally, with the eyes of the school of Scott and Thierry. He fancied that the distinction between Norman and Englishman after the Conquest lasted much longer, and was much sharper while it lasted, than it really was. But for all this Macaulay thoroughly took in the true aspect of the long series of ages over which he ran so lightly. His sketch shows a thorough grasp of the order of causes and events, and of the bearing which the events of one age had on the next. Though Macaulay had clearly never minutely studied the earlier English history, yet he dealt with it as an historian, as a man who had gained the power of dealing with any period of history. His position with regard to the times before his own period was very different from that of men who tell us that they took to writing history for want of something else to do. Such men naturally remain in the blackness of darkness as to all times before the arbitrary point at which they begin at once their writings and their studies. But in this sketch Macaulay shows the grasp which the true historian has even over the times which he has not studied in detail. The process of thoroughly mastering certain periods, at once in their broad outline and in their minutest detail, gives him a power over other periods. His practice gives him a kind of tact by which he can see his way through what without that tact would be a mere maze, a tact which enables him to grasp boldly, truly and firmly the broad outlines of an age, the working of causes and effects, even in a time when he is by no means master of the details, and where he may

even here and there make mistakes in the details. This power was never more strikingly shown than in Macaulay's introductory sketch of English history. He seems, as it were, to have put forth his hand, and to have instinctively grasped such parts of the subject as were needful to an introduction of his own subject. The feat is no small one. To have accomplished it is at least as clear a sign of true historic power as to have dealt as he did deal with the times of which he was thoroughly master.

When we turn to the account of his studies which is given in the *Life and Letters*, the facts very much bear out the theory which we should have formed from his writings. In one point indeed our notion of his studies is enlarged. The classical references in his writings are frequent, and commonly to the point. But they would hardly prepare us for the life-long devotion to Latin, and still more to Greek literature, which we find revealed in the *Life*. Macaulay is always reading his Greek books, reading them over and over again. Unless it were reading the novels of a time a little before his own, there seems to be no kind of reading in which he more thoroughly delighted. His comments on his studies of this kind are always worth the notice of any scholar. He thoroughly appreciated and estimated at their right value the historians of old Greek and Roman days. And yet there is a kind of feeling that very little came of all this Greek and Latin reading. It is wonderful that among all his essays, there is not one directly devoted to any Greek or Roman subject. And it is clear that he had not learned to connect the two worlds in which he walked. He leaped from the fourth century to the sixteenth. It must be remembered that he was a man of the eighteenth century, though certainly born very near to the verge of the nineteenth. And he had something of the eighteenth century contempt for mediæval times and things hanging about him. He sometimes refers to them in a way which is quite uncalled for, and which shows how slight his knowledge of them was. He is content to repeat popular estimates, popular comparisons, and yet, even when he is wrong in his fact, his reference would commonly have plenty of point if only his fact were corrected. Thus he speaks in one of his essays of "the most abject driveler among the later Carlovingians." Here is a popular estimate assumed without examination. The later Karlings were anything but drivellers. The epithet is always as much out of place when applied to Lewis from beyond sea, as it would be if it were applied to the great emperor himself. But simply change the dynasty, put Meraings instead of Karlings, and

the illustration as an illustration is perfectly to the point. He reads Ammianus and comments, as every reader of Ammianus must, on the strange position of a historian whose matter by itself would place him in the highest rank, while his style by itself would place him in the lowest rank. The character of Ammianus Macaulay sees perfectly; but he makes a rather unlucky illustration when he says that his style would disgrace a monk of the tenth century. Had Macaulay read the writings of many monks of the tenth century? I certainly can not call up any whose style is the least like that of Ammianus. The style of Dudo who was not a monk, is quite as bad as that of Ammianus, but it is not the least like it. So again, in one of his letters he makes a casual contemptuous reference to "saints like Dunstan and Thomas Becket." It is plain that he had not got beyond the merest popular notion of those two great men. Of the minister of Gadred and Gadgar; of the great Chancellor who made the chancellorship of England what it has ever since been, he clearly had no notion whatever. So he compares Æschylus and Milton, and rules that the Satan of Milton was not borrowed from the Prometheus of Æschylus. It does not occur to him to think what were the relations between the Satan of Milton and the Satan of Cædmon. He goes through the Loire country, and his earliest memories seem to begin with Francis the First. It might be too much to expect him to think of Herbert Wake's day or Geoffrey Martel; but surely the first memory from Englishmen in that historic land should be the memory of the mighty lawgiver of England, who was born at Le Mare and who died at Chinon.

It is much the same in speaking of contemporary men. He often mentions John Allen; but he mentions him only as a hanger-on at Holland House, who put up with all Lady Holland's whims. We see no sign of the great scholar who first taught what *folkland* and *bookland* really were. Yet Allen was a fellow worker on the Edinburgh Review, whose writings, if less brilliant, are certainly not less instructive than his own. So he once speaks of Kemble as a candidate for the History chair at Cambridge. The choice, it seems, lay between Kemble and Sir Jere Stephen; and Macaulay, who declined the professorship himself, speaks of the difficulty of being just between the two. Yet Stephen only wrote some pretty essays; Kemble is one of the giants of ancient English learning.

One little point strikes with regard to Macaulay's Greek studies. He did not like Mr. Grote to call Odyssus Odyssus and Poseidon Poseidon. That little dislike explains a great deal. It shows the

kind of position which Greek learning held with him as play rather than work. It is the feeling of the man who enjoys Greek literature, who thoroughly understands Greek, but who has not grasped the relative place of Greek history and literature in the general history of the world. To Grote Greek history was work; to Macaulay it hardly was. To say Neptune when Poseidon is meant is simply to confound two distinct mythologies. It is plain that, or then rather, Macaulay was pre-scientific.

Yet he was a great scholar, a great writer, a great historian, a great man. Those who can most clearly see his real faults are those who know his writings best, and who therefore admire them most. And those who know them best and admire them most will also be the first to mark what can not fairly be called faults, those gaps in the way of looking at things which belong to the man and his time, as other gaps of the same kind doubtless belong to other men and other times. Macaulay is a man who already belongs to a past age; but without such men in past ages, the present age could not have been what they have helped to make it.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE, ART, AND SCIENCE.

RECENT AMERICAN BOOKS.

CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.¹—This is in many respects a most remarkable book. It is remarkable in its plan, which was one scarcely to be looked for from a person foreign alike by birth and by education, to the people and the institutions of the country, for it embraces a full and somewhat minute examination of our political history from its very dawn, such as could only be made after thorough study, not merely of the leading actors, but of some persons also in themselves unimportant except as circumstances gave them consequence. But difficult as was the task, the preparation for it has been of a character and thoughtfulness such as probably no other man of equal ability has ever possessed. With rare natural abilities, and a large acquaintance with the political history of other countries, Dr. von Holst came to this country soon after the close of our civil war, and devoted several years to a laborious and careful study of its institutions and their development. A superficial view was foreign to his scholarly habits and earnest nature; and how diligently he labored at his task, there is abundant evidence in the numerous references to books, pamphlets, reports, letters and speeches, embracing almost every publication of note in our political history, and many of less note. As he frankly avows in the preface to this edition, he had much to unlearn as well as to learn. "Without being fully conscious of it, I expected to find in everything something particular, quite different from what was known to me either by study or by personal observation; and this, all the books I had read had failed to distinctly show me as a mistake which could not but be fatal to the success of my studies. That I at last became aware of the mistake, is the explanation of the claim raised before, that I have studied and written with more soberness of mind than any of my predecessors. And I beg leave to add that, after this veil had dropped from my eyes, my interest in the subject assumed quite a new character; from that moment it was decided that I had found the principal task of my life, as a student and as a writer, for it is the work of a life-time I have undertaken. Now

¹ "The Constitutional and Political History of the United States : " By Dr. H. von Holst, Professor at the University of Freiberg. Translated from the German by John J. Lalor and Alfred B. Mason. Chicago: Callaghan & Co. 1876.

it had fully come to what I would call my *immediate* consciousness, that here was only an act of the one great drama; the history of western civilization; and that—to express it strongly in order to be distinct—the players in it, the principal ones as well as the great mass, were neither demi-gods nor devils, but *men*, struggling under many short comings, but with great energy, their way onward, not with startling leaps, but advancing step by step, just as all the rest of the great nations of the earth have had to do. Nothing was left of either the misty vagueness of the grand and wonderful fairy tale, or of the prickly atmosphere of the strange puzzle; I felt myself standing in the fresh and clear air of stern historical truth.”

The present volume brings the reader to the period of attempted nullification, and has for a sub-title State Sovereignty and Slavery. Beginning with the opening of the war of the revolution, Dr. von Holst is led by his investigations to accept the national view, which considers the thirteen original States as never in any proper sense separate sovereignties, but as having accepted at the moment of separation from the British Crown, and by the very act of separation, the Continental Government of the Congress which declared independence, and which thenceforth continued to exercise national powers until superseded by a national government more formally established. It was by no means a necessary result of this view that Dr. von Holst should sympathize with the Federalists in the controversies under the constitution, but he does so unmistakably, and it is evident that of all the early party leaders Hamilton is regarded by him as preëminently the great, wise and far seeing statesman, whose measures were generally right, and whose opponents were apt to be influenced by motives not all of which would bear the light.

The portions of the work already completed which are most likely to attract general attention are perhaps those which contrast Hamilton and Jefferson, and the chapter devoted to nullification. There are many admirers of Jefferson, who will doubt Dr. von Holst having, as regards this distinguished character, succeeded wholly in his faithful and honest attempt to “ward off all prejudices;” but they must admit that the conclusions, even when uncharitable, have been formed after full investigation. Others will believe that the author has given too much prominence to the early indications which foretold our recent difficulties, but it is well to have another point these out to a people whose blind incredulity forbade their perceiving the premonitions until the storm was upon them. Whether his criticisms are more sharp and his conclusions less hopeful than they should have been we shall do well not to be hasty in pronouncing. The work is not so flattering to our national vanity as De Toqueville's *Democracy*, but it is much more profound and thorough, and in like proportion more valuable. What we want now is not to be flattered but to be told the truth; and because Dr. von Holst tells us faithfully and honestly the truths of our history as investigation and reflection have revealed them to him,

he has given us the most valuable work on the subject which has yet been written.

The translation seems to be admirably done, and the preface is furnished by the author himself in English.

BANCROFT'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.¹—Begun with the commencement of his literary career, from its inception to its last revision, Mr. Bancroft's great work has extended in its progress through a period equal to half the years numbered by the United States as a nation. The appearance, therefore, of a new edition of this work at the time when the nation whose history it records is celebrating the first centenary of its existence, is both appropriate and suggestive. The period embraced between the beginning and the end of Mr. Bancroft's labors as a historian, includes almost every work of importance that can be regarded as distinctively American in literature. When Bancroft in 1820 took his degree at Göttingen, American literature was only beginning to assert that independence which the American citizen had already enjoyed for many years. It is safe to say that the domination of English influence in America, in every department of literature, continued for nearly half a century beyond the termination of English authority in matters of government. There were the beginnings, at an earlier date, of a distinctively American school of thinkers and writers, but not until about the beginning of the period marked by Bancroft's entrance into the literary arena, can such a school be said to have fairly taken shape and character. At this period the writings of Paulding and Irving began to present evidences of a greater freedom from English influence. Hillhouse and Channing began to write of a "national literature;" Cooper was commencing his career as a novelist who could well be called "American," and Prescott was already preparing the materials for his first historical work. At this time, about the year 1825, a literature sufficiently distinctive in its characteristics to be called "American," first began to claim the attention of the world; and it was at this interesting period that Mr. Bancroft, who, like Ticknor, had supplemented the then imperfect training of the American College by studies in a German University, began his work as a historian. Among those of his contemporaries whose career was then beginning, were Prescott, Halleck, Sparks, Ticknor, Dana, and Bryant.² Mr. Bancroft, the youngest of these by only a few years, Mr. Dana the eldest, and Mr. Bryant, who stands midway between them, are the only survivors of this notable band of writers. Of these, Dana the essayist, although his pen has long been idle, retains the use of his faculties in the enjoyment of a tranquil old age; Bryant the poet, vigorous in mind and body, has recently given to the public a noble poem, as origi-

¹ "Bancroft's History of the United States." From the discovery of the continent. Centenary edition in six volumes. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1876. 12mo. \$2.25

² Born respectively in 1796, 1795, 1794, 1791, 1787, and 1794.

³ Born in 18.

nal in conception as it is Dantesque in spirit and beauty; and Bancroft the historian, with his natural forces unabated, in the ripeness of years, has just completed the great work of his life, a work which was regarded as a *chef d'œuvre* of historical scholarship in the early days of American literature, and which is even more worthy of such praise, after the test of time.

Without an attempt at criticism, we may call attention to some of the characteristics which have contributed to the author's success, and to the most important changes in the revised edition of his work.

Mr. Bancroft is not one of those superficial writers who regard the facts of the past from a merely objective standpoint; who generalize from that which seems to be, and who construct history in accordance with fallacious theories, or upon doubtful or untenable premises. He is rather a writer the requirements of whose mind demand an unquestioned foundation for every premise, and a logical certitude for every conclusion. To these requirements for success as a historian, he unites a quickness of comprehension, and an aptness of expression, which, with his many other qualifications, enable him to give to his narrative not only historical value of the highest order, but a rare charm of manner, and singular interest.

The absence of the marginal notes which were so serviceable in former editions, is perhaps the only change which will call forth adverse criticism. For all other changes there are such excellent reasons as to secure for the author more completely than ever, the confidence and commendation of those who are competent to judge of his qualities as a historian.

It will be observed that Mr. Bancroft does not recognize, in this edition of his work, the supposed voyage of Verrazzano to America in 1524, as sufficiently authenticated to deserve a place among historic facts. In taking this position, he has the support of Mr. Murphy, whose recent book on the subject has attracted some notice among scholars as presenting very plausible reasons for regarding the story of this voyage, which has had a place in history for three hundred years, as a groundless fabrication. There are some scholars of considerable eminence, who will take exception to Mr. Bancroft's revised views upon this question, as not sufficiently justified by the facts; but we believe that he nevertheless bears with him here, as in all other mooted questions, the balance of authority. It would seem however, that the entire rejection from authentic history of that which has been supposed for so long a time to have a proper place there, might well have called forth some statement as to the author's reasons.

Concerning all other questions connected with the early history of the country, and regarding which there have been differences of opinion, it is sufficient to say that the text has undergone such revisions as make its statements entirely in accord with the results of the latest and most thorough investigations.

Mr. Bancroft's main object in re-writing his great work seems to have been the securing of the most thorough accuracy in historical statement, more perfect exactness in expression, and an even greater degree of elegance

in style. To say that he has achieved success in all of these respects, is to say that a work already seemingly perfect has been made, as nearly as possible, quite so. It seems fitting that its author should have the satisfaction, in the ripeness and maturity of a vigorous old age, of thus completing and crowning the labor of a life-time.

ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.¹—This is a rapid and interesting summary of the principal events in the history of the United States, from the earliest settlements of European colonies to the Centenary of Independence. The story confines itself, for the period following the Civil War, to a mere outline, avoiding, for obvious reasons, every expression of opinion upon controversies still pending; and indeed we have found nothing in the volume which could offend any reasonable man, unless his prejudices are strong against established truth and the love of country. The spirit of comprehensive patriotism breathes throughout, as becomes a book which this memorial year calls forth. Comprising only that which every American citizen ought to know of his own land, in a form rendered attractive by every charm which the art and taste of the publishers can give, it ought to find a universal circulation.

Two features of it demand especial mention; first the illustrations, many of which are very creditable specimens of wood-engraving, in the spirited style which has of late increased so enormously the popularity and usefulness of this art. They are so selected as to be instructive as well as ornamental, often adding vividness to the account of manners or of progress in the arts, affording authentic portraits of prominent characters, and, by a large number of appropriate maps arranged in their proper places in the text, keeping the local relations of the events recorded always before the mind. Secondly, an admirable "Chronological Table of the events of the Revolution" is added, on a simple and striking plan, which shows at a glance the temporal sequence of events as clearly as a good map shows their geography. This table would afford an admirable source for family recreations or school exercises, not less attractive to most young Americans than any game of chance, and peculiarly appropriate to this period of centenary observances. Moreover, it will be examined with interest as pointing out at once the precise day on which the anniversary of every noteworthy event of our revolutionary history recurs. The solid merits of this history are well clothed in its garb of beautiful typography, softly tinted paper and tasteful binding, so that it is sure to obtain a general circulation.

PRINCIPLES AND ACTS OF THE REVOLUTION.²—The first edition of this work appeared fifty-four years ago, and was accurately described by

¹ "Barnes' Centenary History."—One Hundred Years of American Independence. By the author of Barnes' brief History of the United States for Schools. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co. 1876. 8 vo. pp. 663.

² "Principles and Acts of the Revolution in America." By Hezekiah Niles, editor of the Weekly Register. Republication: New York, Chicago, and New Orleans: A. S. Barnes & Co.

the compiler on the title page as "an attempt to correct and preserve some of the speeches, orations and proceedings, with sketches and remarks on men and things, and other fugitive or neglected pieces, belonging to the revolutionary period in the United States, which rapidly terminated in the establishment of their liberties, with a view to represent the feelings that prevailed in the 'times that tried men's souls,' to excite a love of freedom, and lead the people to vigilance, as the condition on which it is granted." Mr. Niles always displayed good judgment in his selections, and his extensive knowledge of "men and things" peculiarly fitted him for such an undertaking. Very many of the papers published are not now accessible in any other form, and others are to be inspected in official records only, or in other places where they are not readily found. As the book has long been out of print, the republication is not only very welcome, but it is peculiarly timely in this year when the events of the period in question are receiving more general attention and examination than ever before since they occurred.

BRIEF BIOGRAPHIES.¹—The names of Fawcett, Dilke, Lubbock, Hughes, Brassey, Morley, Plimsoll, Miall, Richards, and Holyoake, have a familiar sound to all who are in any degree acquainted with the history of recent affairs in Great Britain. Among the most prominent of living Englishmen, they are justly entitled to the esteem in which they are held, at home and abroad. In his brief biographies of these, and other men of like position in England, Mr. Hinton has presented to American readers, some *feuilletons* of no little merit. Each sketch is a clever portrait; and the portraits are none the less true to life because of the fact that Mr. Hinton, although an American citizen, is an Englishman by birth and education.

What Mr. Hinton has done in the field of English Biography, Mr. Edward King, and Mr. Herbert Tuttle, in other fields, have done with equal success; they have given to American readers just that information, in their respective fields, of which they are most in need.

Mr. King, with a facile pen whose portraiture is intensely life-like, has given brief historical sketches of such prominent living Frenchmen as Victor Hugo, Thiers, Gambetta, MacMahon, Laboulaye, Rouher, the Duc de Broglie, the Comte de Chambord, the Duc d'Aumale, the Comte de Paris, Rochefort, and Casimir Perier, whose death has occurred since the publication of the book. We observe some conspicuous omissions in Mr. King's list, notably that of Préssensé, who, as a representative of the Protestant element in French politics, might well have been set over against Monsignor Dupanloup.

Mr. Tuttle, the able Berlin correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, and a reputable writer of various essays on German themes, writes in a

¹ "Brief Biographies." Edited by T. W. Higginson. Vol II. English Radical Leaders, By R. J. Hinton. Vol III. French Leaders; by Edward King. Vol. IV. German Political Leaders, By Herbert Tuttle. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1876.

terse and vigorous style, and with not a little political insight, of such representative Germans as Bismarck, Dr. Falk, Count Von Arnim, Herr Lascker, Prince Hohenlohe, and many other prominent politicians, whose names are almost, or quite, unknown to American readers.

The editor, by a fortunate choice of authors, or as the result of careful editing, has secured a remarkable degree of uniformity in the general method, and the style and excellence, of each volume. The idea of this series of books was a happy one, and its completion will make a valuable addition to popular biographical literature. Among the subjects of biography, our readers will recognize, in the names of Thomas Hughes and Thomas Brassey, in England, and Edward Laboulaye in France, regular contributors to this Review.

RECENT ENGLISH BOOKS.

SYMBOLISM.¹—In Dr. Inman's work on Ancient Pagan and Modern Christian Symbolism, and Mr. Lundy's book on Monumental Christianity, there is nothing whatsoever in common, except that they both treat of Symbolism. Dr. Inman exhibits no other qualification whatsoever for his work, than a morbid zeal for a very unprofitable kind of research. His intense prejudices against the Christian religion render him unfit not only to interpret Scripture, but also to read history fairly, or even to decipher the symbols which he has here gathered together. In his quotations of the Bible, he not only suppresses, he misrepresents; he certainly ought to know, for example, that the Philistines who carried off the ark were so "particularly bothered" that they were very glad to be rid of it again; he ought to know that David was not nude when he danced before the ark, and that the attempt to identify this dance with the licentious rites of the heathen has nothing to sanction it. He simply falsifies the Scripture narrative when he refers to passages in which the writers condemn the licentious worship borrowed by apostate kings from the Phœnicians, as though they were indicative of the true religious rites and symbolism of the Jewish religion. Unquestionably the mystery of life and its origin has always led the mind of the thoughtful and reverent to the Creator; but only a rare aptitude for impure thoughts combined with a shallow scholarship, could give to this solemn and even sublime truth, the coloring and interpretation which it receives from Dr. Inman. The only really valuable part of the book is the appendix by Mr. Newton, which is in striking contrast, in the spirit and delicacy of its treatment, with the rest of the volume.

¹ "Ancient Pagan and Modern Christian Symbolism." By Thomas Inman, M. D. J. W. Bouton: New York. 1876.

Monumental Christianity, or the Art and Symbolism of the Primitive Church, as witnessed and teachers of the One Catholic Faith and Practice. By John Lundy. J. W. Bouton: New York. 1876.

The object of the author of *Monumental Christianity*, is to open the relatively sealed book of Christian antiquities, and, chiefly from the walls of the catacombs of Rome, to read the story of early Theology and Ecclesiasticism. His mind is broad and his imagination is pure; and he neither falls into the unfortunate error of supposing that all Symbolism is employed as the language of one idea, nor into the more odious one of looking into pure Symbolism to discover impure imaginations. He makes as the basis of his work—or rather as its ground plan—the apostles' creed. He raises a reasonable suspicion that he is somewhat anxious to demonstrate that it accords with these earliest records of the primitive faiths of Christianity; but this desire, while it sometimes affects his deductions, does not seem to affect his reports. Apart from his theological deductions are some of more general interest, and perhaps of greater certainty. It is curious to observe how much of the life of Christ is written on these mural records, and how little else. The story of his early life, the anticipations of his return, and the symbols of his presence—these make up the greater part of the ancient volume which Mr. Lundy has opened to American readers. The parallels between Christian and heathen Symbolism he traces in a small measure, but this is the least satisfactory part of the work, because the part in which he took the least satisfaction himself. The growth of corruption in the church is also curiously illustrated. It only remains to say that Mr. Lundy seems to possess the necessary qualifications for his work: a real enthusiasm for it, a careful study of the works of previous students in the same field, a personal study of the monumental remains which he endeavors to illustrate and interpret, and a mind broad to perceive the varied significance of symbolism, with an imagination receptive rather than creative, and so more ready to accept what he finds in these ancient and somewhat mystical records than to impute his own ideas to them.

COMMENTING AND COMMENTARIES.¹—This work is interesting as well as valuable; interesting because it indicates some of the elements of power in Mr. Spurgeon, valuable because it points out to the professional student the sources from which the most popular preacher in England, if not in the "greater Britain," has drawn his abundant material. It indicates not a deep student, not a broad student, but one who has studied both widely and well those works which are calculated to aid in the popular exposition of Scripture before an audience of the uncultured classes in England. It does not follow that they would be equally valuable to the American preacher, neither is it by any means sure that he who has achieved such wide and well deserved popularity in England would have been equally successful in this country. The extent of Mr. Spurgeon's erudition has sur-

¹ "Commenting and Commentaries." Lectures addressed to the students of the Pastor's College, Metropolitan Tabernacle, with a list of the best biblical commentaries and expositions. By C. H. Spurgeon, President. New York: Sheldon and Co. 1876.

prised us; he gives a list of commentaries in the English which occupies more than two hundred pages, and the brief, but generally just, and always well considered characterization of them, confirms the declaration of the author—"in almost every case the books have been actually examined by myself, and my opinion, whatever it may be worth, is an original one."

In general it may be said that Mr. Spurgeon shows great familiarity with commentaries on the Scripture, but less with interpretations of the Scripture. His bibliography will be valuable to those who desire to know where to find the most suggestive thoughts of pious and stimulating thinkers which have been struck out by the devotional study of the Bible; but he who desires to find the best and most trustworthy helps to the understanding of its various books, either in critical and grammatical expositions of the original, or in that archeological information which by its side-lights throws into relief so much of both its history and its philosophy, will find it necessary to make much allowance for the uncritical character of Mr. Spurgeon's mind; and he who desires either to acquaint himself with the views of reverent but skeptical writers, or with the best works to meet and answer the objections which they have brought against the natural and common interpretations, will look in vain here for any considerable help. The works of the old English divines are Mr. Spurgeon's favorites. In this branch of biblical literature he is an admirable guide; but neither in patristic nor in modern literature is his reading as extensive, or his counsel as helpful. He exalts Matthew Henry and Trapp, but does not mention Augustine and Chrysostom, and gives a secondary place to Meyer, and faint or at least very carefully qualified praise, to Alford. He can not praise too highly Farrar's *Life of Christ*, but passes by Neander with a line, and cautions his readers against Ellicott. In brief, Mr. Spurgeon's idea of a commentary is a book that suggests sermons; his highest praise is "more suggestive of sermons than almost any other we have met with." To one who desires to gather a library of commentaries for this purpose his list and accompanying notes will prove very useful. Those who desire material for the real study of Scripture, as a large proportion of our Bible students do, will have to take Mr. Spurgeon's advice with considerable allowance.

THE ATONEMENT.¹—This volume consists of ten lectures. The author, a clergyman of the Congregational or Independent denomination, in England, holds the orthodox view of the atonement, as a real sacrifice for sin, in opposition to those who view it as a simple example of divine love, provided for the moral influence it would exert upon the race. He can not be said so much to occupy a place midway between the extreme and the moderate Calvinists, as to maintain a view which combines them both. The inexorable claims of Divine justice he urges with great intellectual

¹ "The Atonement." The Congregational Lecture for 1875. By R. W. Dale, M. A. Birmingham. A. S. Barnes & Co. 1876.

and spiritual vigor, and with none of that old Roman hardness which has sometimes brought this phase of opinion and experience—for it is both—into disrepute. But the chief value of his treatise lies in the first six lectures. In these he considers the Scripture testimony to the atonement; he does not content himself with a mere collocation of proof texts; he takes up the New Testament writers and considers their testimony *seriatim*, Christ's, Peter's, John's, James', and Paul's. This presentation of the scripture teaching is both comprehensive and liberal; he recognizes the metaphysical use of language; he consistently seeks to learn the spirit, refusing to be forestalled in his search by the mere letter; and those who dissent from the theories presented in the latter part of his work, or who regard them, as we do, as too abstruse and metaphysical to be practically profitable, will yet recognize in the first half of the book, an admirable survey of the New Testament teaching, and so an exceedingly useful collection of materials, out of which the student can construct his own theory. This peculiarity of his book renders it valuable, not only to the student of dogmatic theology, but still more so to the Bible student, to whom we heartily commend it.

OUR LORD'S THREE RAISINGS FROM THE DEAD.¹—That must be a fortunate congregation which has the benefit of Hugh McMillan's ministrations, if it is regularly treated to discourses like those which have formed the substance of the various books bearing his name. A man whose natural abilities are of the highest order; with the mind of a philosopher, the imagination of a poet, and the eye of an artist;—Mr. McMillan, if we may judge him by his published works, has few if any peers among those interpreters of divine things, who read the handwriting of God not less in nature than in revelation.

The three chapters of the book before us—based upon as many sermons preached in London—are simple expositions of the character and significance of the three chief miracles of our Lord—the raising of Jairus' daughter, the raising of the widow's son, and the raising of Lazarus. The author's aim is not merely to present a defense or explanation of miracles, upon ordinary grounds, but to lead the mind to their acceptance by so truly defining their place in the economy of the divine administration, and so clearly interpreting their deep meaning, as to remove all occasion for unbelief.

In accomplishing his purpose, he makes nature—the visible medium of the divine power—his ally; and the things unseen are made more plain in the light of things seen. Potency is added to the author's argument, by the fact that he regards the miracles not merely as a series of wonders divinely wrought, but, to use his own words, as "acted parables—truths dramatized or acted before the eye, instead of spoken in the ear."

¹ "Our Lord's three Raisings from the Dead." By Rev. Hugh McMillan, LL. D., F. R. S. E. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1876.

ENGLISH DRAMATIC LITERATURE.¹—Professor Ward is well equipped for the task he has undertaken. He is a student of history and a lover of the stage. With the real events used as the basis of any historical drama, and with the past history of the stage as distinct from that of the drama, he proves himself well acquainted; and he does not disdain to point an analogy, by a reference to a modern actor, or to seek variety of illustration, even in the slightest modern plays. Perhaps a general idea of the character of the work can best be conveyed by giving the titles of the nine chapters into which the two volumes are divided. After an excellent introduction, the first chapter sketches "The Origin of the English Drama;" and with the possible exception of the chapter on Ben Jonson, it is the best in the book, giving a clear and concise narration of the rise and fall of the mysteries and moralities in England. This is followed by "The Beginnings of the English Regular Drama." With the third chapter "Shakespeare's Predecessors" he abandons the simple narrative form and adopts another—a sandwiching together of biography and criticism. He takes up an author, gives us his life, then the list of his plays with some account of each, concluding with a few general critical remarks. With the chapters on "Shakespeare" and "Ben Jonson"—to which we shall have occasion to refer again—the first volume comes to an end. The second volume contains chapters on "The Later Elizabethans," "Beaumont and Fletcher," "The End of the Old Drama," and finally, "The Later Stuart Drama" with which the book concludes and in which there is a general review and summing up.

Chief among the defects of the work, is the comparative lack of original criticism. The author seems afraid to trust his own judgment; he leans upon others; he rests with content under the shadow of a great name; he quotes, and occasionally almost compiles—always giving due credit, for even the slightest suggestion, to the authority from which he has derived it, his honesty equaling his modesty, and his diffidence being accompanied by a lively recognition of the labors of others. In the German school of critics he has great confidence, and he evinces a ready familiarity with their multitudinous lucubrations. There are frequent references to the *Fahrbuch*, and the names of Schlegel, Ulrici, Gervinus, Bodenstedt and Elze, recur continually. With Lessing he appears to be less acquainted. Free use has been made of the stores of raw material heaped together by the comprehensive Klein, but there are few or no quotations from Spanish or Italian authors. The French critics receive far less attention than the German; in the second volume are a few references to the '*Cours de Littérature Dramatique*' of St. Marc Girardin.

A passage of Guizot is actually translated from Humbert's German version. But little mention is made of any American criticism. With

¹ "A History of English Dramatic Literature to the death of Queen Anne, by Adolphus William Ward, M.A., Fellow of St. Peter's College, Cambridge; Professor of History and English Literature in Owen's College, Manchester." 2 vols. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1875.

some of Mr. Richard Grant White's Shakespearian work, the author is spasmodically acquainted; and mention is made, in a note, of the editions of Shakespeare by Mr. Hudson, and Mr. Furniss. He either ignores, or is ignorant of, the essays of Mr. Emerson, Mr. Lowell and Mr. Whipple: and once, he speaks of Ticknor as the "English" historian of Spanish literature.¹ This slighting of French and American critics is of more importance in an author as diffident as Professor Ward, than it would be in a man of marked self-reliance. When an historian leans upon others, the strength of his staff is a matter of moment: and we can not therefore but regret that Professor Ward has lent an attention—which seems to us exaggerated—to the word-weighting of some modern English critics, and to the theories evolved from the inner consciousness of some Germans. The disadvantages of this self-distrust and its accompanying reliance upon the broken reeds of criticism, is especially apparent in the chapter on Shakespeare, which, from its subject and its length, must be considered the most important in the book. At this late date it is needless to say that in English dramatic literature, Shakespeare occupies a position more unique and isolated even than Molière in French or Goethe in German dramatic literature. Molière is set between Corneille and Racine, and Schiller stands by Goethe's side. But Shakespeare is alone; and by the chapter devoted to him, a history of English dramatic literature might well expect to be judged. It would hardly be just, however, to judge the whole of Professor Ward's work by this one most unsatisfactory chapter. Perceiving, apparently, the full difficulty of finding anything to say at once new and true upon ground so carefully gleaned, he has chosen to evade the difficulty by making the chapter substantially a chronologically arranged summary of Shakespearian criticism, not without value, but by no means to be accepted as a substitute for a study of the poet's plays.

The chapter upon Ben Jonson is much more original, and far better, than that on Shakespeare. Prof. Ward warms to his work, and even dares to take up weapons against M. Taine in defense of his favorite:—and Jonson is undoubtedly the author's favorite among all the English dramatists, for most of whom he has scant sympathy. And this is a defect graver than his timid conventionality. For Jonson and for Shirley, he has real liking, but not for their contemporaries. He shakes, and rattles the scattered bones of the old plays, studying their anatomy, and criticising their structure, much as though they were interesting specimens of fossil remains. Never does he succeed in clothing the bare skeleton with the flesh and blood of humanity to show us what manner of man it had been in the past. Prof. Ward is also intolerant of the lusty life of those times. He has no patience with the coarseness of the age. He would have all literature revised by the worthy Bowdler. Again and again he dwells upon the brutality, and grossness, of the Elizabethans. Again and again he rings the changes upon a general charge of coarseness. We can not but think this

¹ Vol. ii., 241.

lavishing of invective unnecessary. Lamb and Hazlitt, Lowell and Whipple—to mention but a few of the many who have treated this period directly or incidentally—found no occasion to dwell upon each speck of dirt on the drama. In a few bold words M. Taine sketches the rough picture of the uncouthness of the theatre: “Remember they were hardly out of the middle age, and that in the middle age, man lived on the dung-hill.”¹

Strange to say Prof. Ward treats the dramatists of the Restoration with more lenity than the Elizabethans. He visits them with less indignity and less indignation. Any one unacquainted with them except through Prof. Ward’s volumes, could hardly fail to suppose that the dramatic authors of Shakespeare’s day were more immoral and indecent than the shameless playwrights of Dryden’s day.

With the deduction of the various defects noted, there remains much to be praised in Prof. Ward’s work. It is, at all events, the best history of English dramatic literature that we have, or are likely to have, for some time to come.

RECENT GERMAN BOOKS.

THE ARABIAN PHILOSOPHY.²—Whewell, in his “History of the Inductive Sciences,” disparages the services of the Arabians to science quite as much as others have extolled them. Speaking of “the untenable nature of the higher claims which have been advanced in favor of the Arabians,” he says, “there is no Arabian name which any one has thought of interposing between Archimedes the ancient, and Stevinus and Galileo the moderns;” and, to sum up all, he adds, “the great obligation which science owes to the Arabians, is to have preserved it during a period of darkness and desolation, so that Europe might receive it back again when the evil days were past.

Professor Dietrici so far confirms this view as to say, “the Arabs, like all Semitic peoples, failed in scientific development. Single facts and discoveries, they seized upon with penetration and cleverness, but never attained to any organic arrangement of all sciences.” But Dietrici shows that Arabian scholars who had familiarized themselves with the schools of Greece, did more than reproduce Aristotle and Plato, and went far toward creating an era of intellectual and spiritual culture emancipated from the iron bonds of Moslemism. This he does by translating and annotating the philosophical works of the best authorities of the tenth century, the culminating period of Arabian philosophy—especially the system of that

¹ Hist. of Eng. Lit., N. Y. ed., Vol. 1, 223.

² Die Naturanschauung und Naturphilosophie der Araber im X Jahrhundert von Dr. Friedrich Dietrici, Professor an der Universität Berlin. 2. Die Philosophie der Araber im X Jahrhundert, M. Chr. von Fr. Dietrici. Erster Theil, Einleitung und Makrokosmos. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich.

famous Brotherhood who made pure knowledge their objective, and sought to compass the universe with their philosophy. Under the two general titles of *Makrokosmos* or *Emanatio* and *Mikrokosmos* or *Remanatio*, Dietrici proposes to exhibit their doctrines of God, the Soul, Reason, Primitive Matter, the World, Nature, the Elements, Space, Time, Motion, Form, etc. His general introduction, like his previous essays upon specific points of Arabian philosophy, is a master-piece of discriminating analysis and of clear and compact statement in respect of the mythological, the theological, and the philosophical schemes of the universe. But the crowning value of the work lies in the patient and skillful unveiling of the Arabian philosophy of the tenth century to the light of modern science; and one is surprised to see how much of the kernel of modern thought lay hidden within oriental and mediæval mysticism. To illustrate this would require an independent article; and we can only refer the curious in such matters to Professor Dietrici's essays, with the assurance of rich and abundant material, presented in a lucid and orderly form.

THE ATOM.¹—That there is a point at which the metaphysical and the physical, the speculative and the experimental, meet and coincide, we fully believe; and therefore we can not be a party to the antagonism of the two systems, which are in reality but complementary parts of the same grand system of the universe and of truth. The higher class of physicists, after refining upon nature to the last degree, have recourse to the metaphysical conception of some unknown, inscrutable power; and the metaphysician, in making the transition from the abstract to the concrete, must draw upon the physicist for terms and forms in which to clothe his spiritual conceptions. The point of coincidence, where thought becomes physical and the physical is turned to thought, Dr. Wieszner would find in the atom—"the common threshold, at which Metaphysics and Physics meet together." His endeavor to make this point of reconciliation visible, or at least to establish its certainty, commands our warmest sympathy and praise; if he has failed, it is not for lack of close, earnest, vigorous thinking, but because he has lost his grip on personality, without which all such attempts must be fruitless—and possibly just because this point of transition from the known to the unknown, the last link that binds the chain to the staple, must forever elude our ken.

Wieszner would make out his case by such definitions of the soul and the atom, as really beg the question between the spiritual and the material. "The soul exists only so far forth as it is *thought*. It is neither a subject nor an object, but an *effect*, the crossing-place of cerebral actions which first bring out the phenomenon of consciousness." On the other hand, he denies to the atom extension, form, and mass;—in short, he so far material-

¹ Das Atom, oder das Kraftelement als letzter-Wirklichkeitsfactor. Ein Versuch Anziehung und Abstossung auf ein gemeinsames Princip, und das abstractum "Kraft" auf seinen concreten Kern zurückzuführen. Naturphilosophische Erörterungen ohne mystischen Hintergrund, von Alexander Wieszner. Leipzig: Theodor Thomas. New York: L. Schmidt.

izes spirit and etherealizes matter that their distinctive characteristics are lost or interchanged, and the attempted harmonizing of the metaphysical and the physical is verbal only. Nevertheless, Wiesznier has done good service by his criticism of leading theories of the universe, and his suggestion of a Cosmogony without attraction and repulsion contains much food for thought. Some of the closing papers in the volume, in the form of meditations, have a charm of style, and though the author betrays more of vanity than of wisdom in attempting a poetic imitation of Faust, one rests in his conclusion of all doubts, strivings, conflicts,—“Resignation—that harvest of all words—Alone can open to us the gates of peace.”

THE PILGRIMS OF THE WILDERNESS.¹—American readers can hardly fail to be curious about a German novel, which relates the early history of the States of New England, the hardships and struggles of the Pilgrim-Fathers and the many conflicts and warfares between the Colonists and the original inhabitants of these States. Rich as American literature is in the sober historical treatment of the Puritan age of New England, our household familiarity with its prominent features makes it the more interesting to see how these are reflected in the mind of a foreign author of the 19th century.

Johannes Scherr does not give us a long and fascinating story as Cooper has done in his charming novels of the Leather Stocking series; stories which seem to transport us to the very scene of action, so that we live and suffer with the people of whom we read. Scherr, on the contrary, keeps us always at a critical point of view, allowing the “story” to occupy a secondary position.

He alludes more to the important facts of English History in the 17th century, and describes in a few short, but clear and vivid pictures the influence of English policy and civilization on the new Colonies in the Western hemisphere.

The great strictness and almost severe honesty of the Puritan settlers, and the finally hopeless and desperate struggles of the Indians, form an interesting contrast and some of the best points of the work. Beside the famous and well known heroes of New England, Miles Standish, Judge Eaton and Roger Williams, we find some excellent and characteristic figures in the book such as those times and the settlements of the most diverse nations were apt to bring forth. Here, however, we must not look to the novelist for a close reproduction of historical fact. There is a giant-like old Dutchman, living in a blockhouse deep in the woods, he is on the most friendly terms as well with the Puritans as with the Indians, and seems to be as old and strong as the trees around his solitary abode. He is the “*deus ex machina*,” wherever he and his ever powerful gun are needed, and with all the roughness and steadiness of an old hunter he combines real kindness of heart and gentle feelings. These show themselves in his

¹ Die Pilger der Wilderness, von Johannes Scherr. Leipzig: Ernst Julius Gunther.

self-sacrificing love for an adopted son, by the name of Thorkil Wickingson. Thorkil is a descendant from those Northmen who once attempted a settlement on Rhode Island, and though he was partly brought up among the Indians, his European descent and his superiority over those around him, make him the hero of the little love story which is strangely interwoven with descriptive scenes and historical reflections.

Two English noblemen, father and son, who have acted a very important part in the conspiracy against Charles I. fly to America, hoping to find refuge and protection at the Home of the Pilgrim-Fathers. They take with them the younger man's daughter, a charming girl, by the name of "Lovely." She follows them everywhere and bears bravely with them all the trials of a flight and severe persecution. Once when in great danger, she, her father and grandfather are saved by Thorkil and his adopted father, and after many sad experiences and trials, the young people become husband and wife. Their best help and protection however comes from an Indian girl, who also loves the "golden haired" Thorkil, but knowing that resignation will be her lot, works for the happiness of her friend and rival and finally kills herself with a dagger belonging to Thorkil. The charm with which this romantic little love story is related compensates for the apparent improbability of such an act of unselfish friendship. One of the finest parts of the book is the description of one of those Indian ceremonies, which were partly warlike and partly religious and generally preceded the death of their prisoners.

RECENT FRENCH BOOKS.

THE MODERN LIFE AT THE THEATRE.¹—With the exception of M. Francisque Sarcey, there is no one among the dramatic critics of Paris, whose articles are more worthy of republication in book form than M. Jules Claretie. The excellence of his criticism is additional evidence in favor of the theory that the best work in any particular study, is not produced by those who have "cribb'd, cabin'd, and confin'd" themselves within the bounds of that one specialty alone. While M. Claretie has given especial attention to the study of the stage and its history—as his bright life of Molière attests—he is a man of great versatility—at once critic, essayist, historian, novelist, and dramatist. He has made searching investigations into the history and biography of the French Revolution; his Life of Camille Desmoulins is now announced for immediate publication in an English translation in London. He has utilized his researches among the records of the revolution, in an historical novel, "Les Muscadins," part of the action of which he has

¹ "La Vie Moderne au Théâtre." Causeries sur l'Art Dramatique. Deuxième Série. Par Jules Claretie. Paris: Barba; New York: S. French & Son. 1875.

recently reset in a play of the same name, produced with success at the *Théâtre Historique* of Paris only a few months ago.

The present work is one of a kind much rarer in English literature than in French: Morley's "Journal of a London Playgoer," and Lewes' "Actors and the Art of Acting" are the best, and almost the only, specimens we can now recall, in English, of a class common enough in France, and not at all without its influence for the better upon the tone of the theatre. It contains in chronological order, selections from the dramatic criticisms which M. Claretie has contributed to various journals since 1868. This second series is much more interesting than the first, published in 1869, and covering the time from the Universal Exhibition of 1867, to the summer of 1868; not only are the works criticised of greater value, but the author's style—always forcible and often of epigrammatic terseness—has mellowed, and is characterized by more felicities of expression. M. Claretie is very just to M. Feuillet, seeing his vices but giving him due credit for his virtues. He lifts up his voice firmly against the insidious and seductive immorality of M. Feuillet's later works; while he dwells upon the charm of *Le Village* and *La Partie de Dames* and upon the strength of *Dalila* and *Rédemption*. But for *Fulie* and *Le Sphinx* he can hardly find words severe enough. *Julia de Trécœur* the novelette from which *Le Sphinx* was taken, had a "strange charm which affected the head like the odor of tuberoses; it caused a sort of sickly intoxication" (p. 349). *Le Sphinx* on the other hand is a poor play, belonging to M. Feuillet's second manner.¹

Recognizing the stage-skill and theatrical tact of M. Sardon, the author detects in him a want of sincerity, or rather an undue willingness to float with the current. Any feeling of admiration for '*Rabagas*' could not of course be expected from a writer who did not hesitate to avow his liberal principles under the empire; and it is apropos of this play that the critic's contempt for the dramatic author's time-serving effort to veer, and shift, to catch every changing breath of public opinion, finds vent in the bitter taunt that M. Sardon might indeed be "called a barometer dramatist. He rises or falls . . . with the weather. . . Turn by turn liberal or reactionary, according as liberty or reaction goes above par and pays a profit to him who traffics in it" (p. 234). An injudicious approximation of *La Famille Benoiton* to *La Contagion* of M. Emile Angier gives M. Claretie an opportunity to acknowledge the external similarity, adding that "M. Sardon's play, compared with M. Angier's, seems like an article in a cheap newspaper placed side by side with an article—I

¹ "Où il paraît vouloir réagir contre lui-même, forcer son naturel féminin et produire des œuvres ardentes et mâles, et où sous prétexte de rompre avec ses propres traditions, il pousse la passion jusqu' à la névrose et le sans-gêne jusqu' au déshabillé. Entendons-nous : avec M. Feuillet ce déshabillé même garde toujours une grâce qui veut être décente et qui n'en est peut-être que plus capiteuse. Ce peintre habituel des adultères du *high-life* met des gants glacés pour tenir ses pinceaux ; mais ses couleurs, qu'il trouve le moyen de parfumer, ont cependant une crudité bizarre qui les rend tout aussi chandes et grisantes que celles du plus profond réalisme" (p. 348).

mean a good article—in a standard Review” (p. 177). He has great admiration for the firmness and strength of the author of ‘*Le Fils de Giboyer* ;’ and M. Angier’s plays are really healthy and hardy—more so than those of any of his contemporaries. Of the vivid and striking series of modern comedies which he has given to the stage of France, M. Claretie writes with just enthusiasm.

For Alexandre Dumas *filis*, and with whom the author is linked in friendship, and to whom the book is dedicated, M. Claretie has evidently the warmest personal feeling. Recognizing fully the literary ability of M. Feuillet, the scenic skill of M. Sardou, and the robust worth of M. Angier, it is, however, the powerful, but unconvincing, work of M. Dumas which he most willingly discusses. A partisan of M. Dumas’ theories with regard to the possibilities of the stage as a substitute for the lecture hall,—or even of the dissecting-room—M. Claretie is not blind to the bad morals of some of M. Dumas’ plays, and to the bad logic of others.

The first series of *La Vie Moderne au Théâtre* concluded with a review of *Les Idées de Mme. Aubrey* and the second series includes, besides keen criticisms of *Une Visite de Noces* and *M. Alphonse*, an acute analysis of the illogical ending (by an unworthy *coup de théâtre*) of *La Princesse Georges*, and of the equally illogical overcharging of the vicious woman’s portrait in *La Femme de Claude*. One thing, however, M. Claretie does not see. He knows that M. Dumas desires to draw a moral, but he does not see that the stirring of the dirty depths of degradation caused by one such play as *Une Visite de Noces*, does more harm than the moral to be evolved from any dozen of the most estimable works of fiction in the world can possibly do good.

La Vie Moderne au Théâtre can not but be entertaining to those who take an interest in the activity and welfare of the stage in the one country where dramatic art has always held its own. It contains criticisms upon plays now, or recently, performing in New York, either in the original French, or in English translations. *Rose Michel*, *Les Deux Orphelines*, and even *La Fille de Mme. Angot*—receive due consideration. Although the volume is especially devoted to plays, yet it affords almost accidental glimpses now and then of the players—of Mlle. Aimée Desclée dying in the hour of success, and of Mlle. Croizette, who seems to be bravely struggling to walk in her footsteps. The collected articles which fill the volume, have, in general, been carefully revised; but we note occasional inaccuracies, and even contradictions.¹

But ample atonement is made for these trifling faults by careful indexes to the plays, to the authors, and to the actors referred to in the work.

¹ E. g., at p. 41, the old story that the Comedie Française had originally rejected the ‘Cigné’ of M. Angier, is denied—only to be repeated at p. 170.

ART IN EUROPE.

Two of the recent elections to the full membership of the Royal Academy are a strong contrast in one respect. To Mr. George Leslie the honor comes early, to Sir John Gilbert it comes late. When I say that it comes early to Leslie, I mean considering the times in which we live, when the artistic profession has become so crowded that even the best men are a long time in getting to the top of it. At the beginning of this century a young artist of genius had a fair chance of being an Associate at about twenty-five and an Academician at thirty. Turner was A. R. A. at twenty-five and R. A. at twenty-seven. Landseer was Associate at twenty-four and Academician at twenty-nine. George Leslie was born on the second of July, 1835, elected Associate in 1867 at the age of thirty-two, and Academician in June this year, a few days before his forty-first birthday. I may mention as a fact likely to interest your readers on the other side the Atlantic that George Leslie narrowly missed the honor of being an American citizen, for his father had accepted the post of teacher of drawing at West Point and was there in 1833. The elder Leslie found that his duties as teacher occupied much more of his time than he had expected, and also that the expense of living was not so much below the cost of it in England as he had been led to suppose. Besides these reasons, Mrs. Leslie's health began to suffer at West Point, so they sailed for England in April 1834. The elder Leslie was not born in America, as is often believed, but in London. His father and mother "were Americans" as he says in his Autobiography; "natives of Cecil county in the State of Maryland." Our new Academician has still many relatives on your side the Atlantic who will no doubt take a pride in his success. I have known him personally twenty-two years (how time passes!) and well remember being present in his father's home when the first picture he sent to the Academy came back rejected, an incident common in the lives of young artists which discourages only the faint-hearted. Very soon afterwards young George Leslie's name began to appear in the catalogues, but he did not at first discover the line of work which has led him to prosperity and fame. At one time the influence of the Pre-Raphaelites was strong upon him, and he painted one or two subjects from the middle ages, quite in the Pre-Raphaelite spirit. Fortunately, however, for his subsequent success, he began to perceive about the year 1859 that gracefulness and delicacy of feeling rather than intensity would be his most available qualities, and so he painted with refinement of taste rather than vigor of invention, leaving what may be called strong subjects to artists of different natural endowment. At the same time he abandoned the Pre-Raphaelite principle of coloring (intensity of individual colors) and began to aim at quiet harmonies in better keeping with the character of his subjects. Besides these changes, he introduced into his works a degree of care in composition which made them look less

and less Pre-Raphaelite, and in the course of a few years he became one of the most refined artists in the English school. While these changes were going forward in his manner of work, George Leslie was steadily rising in public favor. Mr. Wallis, the great picture-dealer, said to me in 1866 "G. D. Leslie is the most popular young artist in England." All his works sold easily at good prices and evidently for their mental qualities, as the artist did not up to that date exhibit much power of handling or any distinguished manual skill. Since then he has steadily cultivated his own gifts and I never knew any artist who succeeded better by simply being himself and putting his own nature into his work. A happier career it would be scarcely possible to imagine. Living from childhood under the most favorable influences, never distracted by those contradictory circumstances which make so many of us the playthings of Fate and Fortune, living in the place he likes best, which is at the same time the most favorable to his studies and his friendships, George Leslie has reached, while still in the prime of life, the summit of an English artist's ambition. I remember an old Academician doubting, twenty years ago, whether young Leslie would ever do much, because he was a great talker about art. He was a complete contrast with Walker in this respect, and in some other respects also, yet both succeeded.

Sir John Gilbert began his artistic career under much less favorable circumstances. It is said that he never entered an Academy and that the only instruction he received was a few lessons from Lance, the fruit-painter. In early life he was put to business in the city of London, but after a trial of two years was declared incompetent. An attempt to gain admission to the schools of the Royal Academy having failed, John Gilbert taught himself and got on as he best could. He acquired in course of time a degree of facility as a draughtsman on wood which has scarcely been surpassed in modern times except by Gustave Doré. Quite early in life he painted both in water-color and oil, but was more generally recognized as a water-color painter; he treated that medium however, exactly on the principles of oil. Ultimately he became President of the Old Water Color Society and in that capacity received knighthood. When the Royal Academy rescinded the rule excluding members of other artistic societies, Gilbert was elected Associate, but the full title of Academician has been deferred till now. Some critics consider him decidedly the greatest artist of the present English school—certainly he is one of the very strongest men we have, if all things are considered, fertility and power of invention, abundance of knowledge well under command, comprehensive grasp of material, and mastery in the arrangement of it. Though he paints differently from Rubens, there has never been an Englishman so nearly approaching Rubens in a certain kind of prolific artistic energy.

I told your readers that a French sculptor, Jean Gautherin, had worked his way to success from very difficult beginnings; that after having been an illiterate shepherd, and a poor workman, he had become a sculptor of some

eminence. I was in the Salon a few days ago looking at the statues, when Gautherin joined me with an air of pleasant satisfaction on his countenance. The reason turned out to be that the Government had just bought his St. Sebastian for 14,000f. An interesting detail is that he carved the whole statue in the marble himself with the living model before him. Sculptors generally only work in clay, or at most give finishing touches to the marble which has been prepared for them by workmen. Gautherin is not the only example in the Salon of perseverance under apparently insuperable difficulties. M. Herpin, a landscape painter, got a medal last year and is a regular exhibitor. He is occupied the whole of the week in a profession which leaves no room for the practice of the fine arts, and all his painting is done on Sundays. Lalauze, an etcher of remarkable skill, certainly one of the most accomplished draughtsmen in Europe, was a clerk in an office a few years ago and taught himself drawing in the nights. For a long time, being a married man, he could not prudently relinquish his clerkship, but as soon as etching began to be fairly profitable he did so. The old rigid line between amateurs and artists is becoming less insurmountable as art is more generally understood, and at the same time the barriers between different departments of the fine arts are oftener and more easily overstepped. The greatest of French sculptors, Paul Dubois, author of the noble figure of Charity in this year's Salon, painted a picture of his two sons which is certainly one of the finest portrait-pictures in the exhibition. He had painted it for his amusement, or from paternal affection, when a friend, an eminent painter, called upon him and, seeing it, urgently recommended him to send it to the exhibition. There was no time to lose, a frame was ordered at once, and Dubois finished his picture in some haste. It won the "Prix du Salon." I have not space in these brief notes to attempt anything like a review of exhibitions, but may say that the general impression left upon me by this year's *Salon* was a very favorable one. People are constantly repeating that there are no works of mark, because there are no great sensations, but one reason why sensation pictures become rare is that there are too many clever men, so that ability surrounds you on all sides, and you are no longer in that state of inexperience which makes you easily capable of astonishment. The public taste seems to me in a very healthy state. It is impossible, in these days, after seeing so many exhibitions, to retain that half-childish capability of being astonished by works of art which is in itself such an easy source of pleasure, but the modern public is by no means deadened to what is really excellent; indeed I do not believe there has ever been a time when thoroughly sound work of a quiet unsensational character had so good a chance of being appreciated. One or two works of a directly opposite kind have attracted attention also, it is true, as for example the "Quai aux Fleurs" of M. Firmin Girard, which has all the worst faults of the English Pre-Raphaelites, and for which he asked the modest price of 90,000f. M. de Nittis, too, one of the clever men of the present day, has caught attention by a combination

of brilliance and minuteness with very odd unconventional composition. An old French artist told me that the fashion was turning now very much in the direction of light-colored pictures, and so it is. I do not think this a bad thing for the art, for when light-colored pictures are fashionable, artists go more for their subjects into open daylight, while a fashion of blackness leads them to imitate dirt-darkened pictures in galleries.

I hardly like to conclude without a protest against the practice which is becoming more and more common, that of publishing caricatures of all the best-known pictures. A new periodical, called "Zig-zags," is illustrated exclusively with these caricatures. It does not require very much wit to make them, but they often succeed in establishing an association of ideas which it is very difficult to get rid of. The reader may remember Byron's lines

She walks in beauty like the night
Of cloudless climes and starry skies,

and Tom Hood's caricature-illustration of them which represented a negro woman, with a great black face and a dreadful grin, shading her delicate complexion with a large rhubarb leaf. The caricature was successful, and it established an association of ideas which spoils Byron's verses forever. So it is with pictures. When the caricaturist has mocked at a serious work of art, either his mockery is witty or it is not. If not witty, it is wearisome, if clever it clings to our recollection of the original work and spoils it.

P. G. HAMERTON

SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS

THE NUMBER of the *Philosophical Magazine* for July contains an interesting letter from Dr. Huggins, which is a translation of a note addressed by him to the French Academy, in reply to the strictures of Secchi, upon the conclusions, from spectroscopic observations, respecting the motions of certain stars, noticed in the last number of this REVIEW. Mr. Christie, of Greenwich, has recently communicated to the Royal Society the results of later observations, which agree in a very satisfactory manner with those previously made by Dr. Huggins. The earlier determinations showed considerable discordances, but it is now stated that these were due, for the most part, to the apparatus, which was imperfect in some particulars. A list is given, in the note, of observations of twenty-one stars made at Greenwich, together with the results obtained by Dr. Huggins for the same stars. Mr. Christie says of this list that among these stars there are only two in respect to which there is any material disagreement in the determinations, and for both these Dr. Huggins had expressed himself as dissatisfied with his results. More recently still the displacement of the Fraunhofer

lines in the spectrum of Venus has been observed at Greenwich, and the motion indicated by it agrees with the actual movement of that planet. The author of the letter further says that his observations were made with a full recognition of the possibility of error from the source pointed out by Secchi, as well as from other causes, and that precautions were taken which made it certain that they did not essentially affect the value of his conclusions.

IN A VOLUME entitled "Der Venusmond," published in 1875 in Braunschweig, by Dr. F. Schorr, the question of the existence of a satellite of the planet Venus, which was often discussed in the last century, but had been almost forgotten, was revived, and a number of singular observations collected which show that something has several times been seen in the neighborhood of the planet that had strongly the appearance of an attendant body. Some of these appearances were ingeniously explained by the Abbot Hell, near the close of the century, as resulting from a reflection of the image of Venus herself from the surface of the cornea of the observer's eye and the concave nearer surface of the telescopic eye-piece, forming thus a secondary and diminished image, but there were others which could not be accounted for in this manner. In an interesting communication to a recent number of *Nature*, Rev. T. W. Webb discusses the notices collected by Schorr, adding a remarkable observation of his own, in which an appearance exactly similar to those previously reported was seen on one occasion. The fact that, except in these few instances, the most skillful observers using the best instruments, have failed to see anything like a satellite, even under the most favorable conditions, seems conclusive against its real existence. On the other hand, that something having the appearance of a satellite has been seen, is unquestionable, as it is supported by the accordant testimony of several observers of acknowledged eminence. Mr. Webb suggests, as an explanation of the mystery, a reflection of the planet's rays from the atmospheric strata, a kind of mirage in fact, by which a secondary image was formed simulating a satellite. Such an occurrence is not without a parallel, and the author cites an observation of Brewster, in which the crescent form of the moon was seen duplicated from this cause. Examples of a similar multiplication of the image of the sun are not wanting, and the explanation suggested appears to furnish a satisfactory solution of this curious problem.

AN INEQUALITY in the motion of the moon in longitude, hitherto unnoticed, has been discovered by Professor Simon Newcomb, from a comparison of the positions of the moon given in Hansen's tables, as corrected, with those obtained by actual observation at the observatories of Washington and Greenwich. The error thus detected is small, and is found to have a period of 27.43 days, the moon, in the course of a revolution about the earth, being a little in advance of its computed position in one half of the circuit, and a little behind in the other half. The minute discrepancy could only be discovered by a careful comparison of a long series of obser-

vations with the calculated places in the most perfect of the lunar tables. The cause of the irregularity is as yet unknown, but it is suggested, by Professor Adams, that it may be in some way connected with the effect of the figure of the earth upon the moon's motion.

SOME YEARS since Professor Edlund published a memoir showing from several independent modes of experiment, that an electrical current, passing through a metallic wire, caused an expansion greater than that which was due to the heating effect of the current alone, from which he inferred that a portion of the elongation of the wire must be ascribed to a specific effect of the electricity. The amount of the change was small, and was different for wires of various materials. Somewhat later the question was investigated anew by Streintz, who employed an entirely different mode of procedure. His results confirmed those of Edlund, in general, though the amount of voltaic expansion observed was different in some cases. Quite recently a new series of experiments has been made by Exner, in which the wire under examination was kept as nearly as possible at a constant temperature by immersion in water. Under these circumstances the amount of expansion produced by the current was almost inappreciable, from which he concluded that it had no real existence, and that the effects observed in the previous experiments were illusory. In explanation of his results Streintz had assumed that the voltaic expansion was a secondary effect, due to a directive action of the current upon the heat oscillations produced by it, a kind of polarization, causing them to produce a greater effect in the direction of the length of the wire. In a recent review of the subject, Edlund adopts this suggestion, and shows, that in Exner's experiments, where the heat was absorbed by the water as fast as it was produced, no effect of polarization sufficient to influence the length of the wire was possible, and hence that a negative result was to have been expected. He considers therefore the results of Exner as not in the least affecting the validity of the conclusions derived from his own experiments and those of Streintz.

As a REMEDY for the poisonous action of lead or mercury, M. Melsens proposes the use of iodide of potassium, which has been found very efficacious. It has the effect of bringing the metallic compounds into a soluble condition, which facilitates their removal from the system, and causes the unfavorable symptoms to disappear. When given in small daily doses it is also found to be an excellent preservative against the poisonous effects of these metals upon those employed in working with them in various processes in the arts.

ARTHUR W. WRIGHT

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THE ORIGIN OF PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION IN ENGLAND.

WHEN the painter Haydon ended his troubled life, the picture on which he was engaged was "Alfred and the first British Jury." In that day perhaps few were struck by the grotesque incongruousness of the title. It probably struck but few that, if Alfred brought together any jury, it was at all events an English jury. It struck but few that to any Englishman from the days of Alfred till deep into the eighteenth century, a "British jury" would have conveyed no meaning but that of a jury of Welshmen. But this is not the main point. The more wonderful thing is that any body could ever believe that Alfred invented trial by jury, or indeed that, in the sense in which it was meant, any body ever invented anything. It is no slight historical error to believe that Alfred, out of his own head, called into being an institution of which the germs may be traced ages before his time, but of which the finished shape is not to be seen till ages after his time. Still this is less wonderful than the general misconception of supposing that any institutions are called into being in this way out of the brain of a single man. Yet no belief has been more common in all times and all places. Critical historians have remarked over and over again, that the mythical position of Alfred in English history, as the supposed inventor of everything, is exactly parallel to the mythical position of Servius at Rome, and of Lycurgus at Sparta. It might perhaps have been dangerous to doubt the claims of Servius at Rome, or those of Lycurgus at Sparta; and we would not rashly affirm that it may not be a breach of the law of England to doubt whether Alfred invented

the English constitution as a finished work out of his own head. It is certain that such was the belief of Blackstone, and whatever Blackstone says goes with many a lawyer for law. The passage is worth quoting :

“ When therefore the West-Saxons had swallowed up all the rest, and king Alfred succeeded to the monarchy of England, whereof his grandfather Egbert was the founder, his mighty genius prompted him to undertake a most great and necessary work, which he is said to have executed in as masterly a manner: no less than to new-model the constitution; to rebuild it on a plan that should endure for ages; and out of its own discordant materials, which were heaped upon each other in a vast and rude irregularity, to form one uniform and well-connected whole.”—*Commentaries*, iv, 410. Ed. 1809.

Such were the notions of a West-Saxon king of the ninth century which were held by the legal oracle of the eighteenth, notions which his editors went on reprinting as late as 1857, with the feeblest protest against the venerable fable. In the face of this, it is some comfort that of later years it has almost become a proverb that “constitutions are not made but grow.” But it is only very lately that men have begun fully to take in how very slowly they grow. I am writing for American readers, and some American readers may perhaps be inclined to throw in my teeth the fact that the Federal constitution of the United States, though not the work of one man, was the work of one set of men—that it was written down in a single document, and that it has lived on for nearly ninety years without any substantial change. But a wider view looks on the constitutions of the English-speaking nations on both sides of the ocean as simply parts of one whole; and in this wider view the constitutional work of Washington and his fellow-workers was not the creation of anything new. It was the shaping of what was old into such new forms as altered circumstances needed. It was a work answering to the work of the days of Henry the Second, of Edward the First, and of William the Third. It was a work which differed from theirs only in this—that the circumstances of the case required the change to be more formal and systematic, to be recorded in the definite shape of a constitution, instead of being left to be gathered from a number of separate statutes and separate administrative acts. The broad outlines of the old constitution are preserved in the new. The form of the executive is changed; the form of the second chamber is changed; because circumstances called for such a change; but the three great powers of the state remain in the new system as in the old, and, in a wide view of historical politics, the points of likeness

are far more striking than the points of unlikeness. The new system, like the old, has one legislative body which is chosen by the direct voice of the people, and another legislative body which is not chosen by their direct voice. That the same system has been imitated over and over again in other lands may be set down as a witness to the practical excellence of the elements which England and America have in common. But the American constitution itself stands on another ground. It is not an imitation of the English constitution; it is the thing itself, with such changes as new circumstances called for. The development of that constitution, the steps by which it grew up out of elements common to the whole Teutonic race, is a historic possession in which the men of the United States have an equal right with the men of Great Britain. The work was the work of the common forefathers of both. The germs which we see in their first rude form in the oldest England on the European continent, have grown, without any breach of historical continuity, into the political institutions alike of the second England within the isle of Britain and of the third England beyond the ocean.

Let us take for instance one point of which I have already spoken. The legislative bodies of the United States, of most—I believe of all—of the several States, consist of two Houses. The fact is so familiar that we hardly think about it. We almost take it for granted as the natural form of a legislature. It is assumed that there must be one House chosen by popular election and another which comes in some other way; whether by hereditary succession, by nomination, or by some less popular mode of election, does not matter for the moment. This form of legislature has been imitated in endless states, both monarchies and commonwealths, and we have just seen the greatest of European commonwealths, after trying an Assembly of one chamber, deliberately fall back on an Assembly of two. But it is certain that, in most of the cases where the English and American system of two chambers has been imitated, the second or upper chamber has been found to be the weakest part of the constitutional system. It is ever the first to give way when any violent strain is brought upon it. The reason is palpable. It is weak because it is artificial. It is weak because it does not come of itself, but it is simply an ingenious device which it is thought will tend to the better working of those parts of the constitutional system which do come of themselves. For we may fairly say that in any form of free government the executive branch and the popular branch do come of themselves. That is to

say, there may be questions as to the best form to give them; but they must be there in some form or other.

But a second Chamber is not thus a matter of necessity. The State may work better with it, but it can get on without it. Being thus an artificial creation instead of an indispensable element, a luxury of constitutional government and not a necessity, it has not the same firm ground to stand upon as either the executive or the popular branch. But it is at once plain that, while a great number of other second chambers have risen and fallen around them, the House of Lords of the United Kingdom and the Senate of the United States have gone on untouched. And the reason plainly is because neither of these is an artificial creation in the same sense as the Upper Chambers which have risen and fallen in France and Spain. The English House of Lords in the strictest sense came of itself. A long course of historical causes gave it its present shape; but neither Alfred or any other man invented it out of his own head. The second chambers, both of the United States and of the separate States are, as I have already said, not imitations but continuations. They are at most transplantations of the English constitution in forms modified by new circumstances. But mark this further—a point which I have insisted on in other writings, but which I must here insist on again—that in a Federal State, the Senate or other upper chamber is not a mere artificial institution. It is not a constitutional luxury, but as necessary a part of the constitutional system as the executive or the popular branch. In a single state, whether monarchy or commonwealth, the question of a second chamber is simply the question whether the work of legislation will be better done with it or without it. In a Federal state the two chambers are equally necessary. One is needed to represent the body of the united nation, the other to represent the several States in their separate character. If a Federal legislature consisted only of a Senate or only of a House of Representatives, one or the other of the necessary elements of a Federal system would be overridden. And this truth has been recognized by the close reproduction of the American Senate in the democratic Federation of Switzerland, and by as near an approach to it as monarchic forms will allow, in the Imperial Federation of Germany. These two last may be called imitations; but they are imitations in a good sense; they are reproductions of an institution which experience has shown to be necessary in a Federal state. But though the Senate was thus a necessary feature of the American Federal Constitution, we may be pretty sure that the authors of that Constitution

would not have invented it of their own heads. No such institution was to be found in any earlier Federal system, not in that of Achaia itself. Its introduction is in truth the great point of superiority which the American constitution has over all earlier Federal constitutions. But we may be sure that its existence is directly owing to the existence of the English House of Lords. The authors of the American constitution, in transplanting and modifying English institutions, saw that the English institution of a second chamber was one which, with the needful modifications, was the very thing which was needed in the circumstances in which they found themselves. It makes no difference that the constitution of the American Senate, and many of its duties, are quite different from those of the English House of Lords. Its constitution and its duties are hardly more different from those of a modern House of Lords, than those of a modern House of Lords are from those of a House of Lords some centuries back. The special functions of the modern House of Lords, the functions which are imitated in so many European second chambers, have all come of themselves. Its constitution, its functions, have gradually been given to it by the events of English history. They were never deliberately invented or ordained by any particular man at any particular time. Circumstances have given the English upper chamber the special duty of acting as a check upon the acts of the popular chamber. Circumstances have given its transplanted American form the further duty of representing the separate existence of the several States. But in each case the new and special functions of the upper chamber have been laid upon it by the force of circumstances. The duty of checking the acts of another assembly would have seemed no less strange to a House of Lords some centuries back, than the duty of representing the separate being of the separate members of a Federal body. There was no moment in English history when men said, "It will be a good thing to have an Upper House to check the acts of the Lower." There was no moment when they said, "It will be a good thing to have an Upper House" for any reason whatever. The system of two Houses was not the result of the design or deliberation of any man or of any body of men. There was no moment when Englishmen voted that two Houses would do the work better than one, or three, or half-a-dozen. The system of two Houses came of itself. It was the result of a series of accidents, of a series of historical causes. And another series of accidents or historical causes gave to each House the particular functions which they

have in the existing systems of the United Kingdom and of the United States.

In short, when we apply the words "second chamber" to the English Upper House or House of Lords, we are reversing the chronological order of things. In most countries the phrase is quite accurate. The Senate or other body of the kind, if not second in actual date, is at least second in idea. The popular chamber is taken for granted; then comes the question whether there shall be another chamber, and if so, what form it shall take. So during the Protectorate of Cromwell, when the ancient succession of Parliaments stopped for a moment, first came the little Parliament and other such devices; then came the Parliament of 1657 in which, besides the House of Commons, there was "the *other* House." The name was doubtless used to avoid as yet using the words "House of Lords;" but it is not to be forgotten that, according to the older use of the English language, the words "*other* House" exactly translate the more modern phrase of "*Second Chamber*." But when we go back to the historical origin of English Parliaments, it is most certainly the Lower, the more popular chamber, which is, in point of date, the Second Chamber. It would be using words which are rather too modern to say that the House of Commons was added to the House of Lords or grew up by the side of it. For the beginnings of representation belong to a time when the formal phrases "House of Lords," and "House of Commons" had not yet come into use. But it is perfectly correct to say that the representative element in the English Parliament was added to, or grew up by the side of, the element which is not representative. The non-representative element is undoubtedly the older, and the representative the newer. And in this way the House of Commons which grew out of this representative element is, in strict historical truth, a Second Chamber alongside of the House of Lords, which grew out of the non-representative element. But the representative body was not added in order to be a check on the acts of the non-representative body, nor was it devised according to any other theory which might make two Houses seem more fitted to do the work of legislation than one. The whole thing came of itself. It grew bit by bit, according to the immediate needs of successive generations. That there should be two chambers, and not one or more than two, that one of these should be representative and the other not representative, is all the result, not of any abstract theory, not of any set purpose of any kind, but of that web of causes and accidents which makes up the history of England.

I have myself at different times found something to say about the origin and constitution of English Parliaments; but the whole study of such matters is put on quite a new basis since the appearance of the *Constitutional History*, of Professor Stubbs. It has been no small satisfaction to me in a repeated study of his book that, though I have found a vast deal to learn, I have found but little to unlearn. On the only point where there seems to be any important difference between his views and mine, I feel that the difference is more apparent than real. And when apparent or real, it does not affect the matter immediately in hand. If I hold that the Witenagemót, the great national assembly up to the Norman Conquest, and for some time after it, was in theory a gathering of all freemen of the kingdom, this seems at first sight to differ widely from the Professor's doctrine that the Witenagemót was always a select body of the chief men. But when I allow that as a rule, only the chief men attended, and it was only on some special occasions, when the heart of the nation was deeply stirred, that there was any large general attendance. And Professor Stubbs allows that his select council was sometimes enlarged by the presence of large popular bodies. With these admissions on each side, there does not seem to be much practical difference between his view and mine. But be this as it may, in drawing the history of representation, we should both start from the same point. Whatever was the theoretical constitution of the Witenagemót, it was at least not an elective body, not a representative body of any kind. In popular language an elective and a representative body are held to be much the same; but the two words "elective" and "representative" are not to be used as if they meant the same thing. If a king summons to his councils men taken either from all the orders of the nation, or from all the geographical divisions of the country, such an assembly may be fairly called representative, even though its members are selected by the king himself. The object of such an assembly would be to represent the various orders or districts, to let the king know their wishes, feelings, and grievances. Doubtless representation is far more perfect when the representatives are chosen by those whom they are to represent; still, such a body as I have conceived may fairly be called a representative body. Such a body is quite different from a council, each member of which is summoned in his personal character, without any thought of the representation of particular orders or particular districts. On the other hand, it needs no proof that an elective body need not be a representative body. It may be freely and popularly chosen, but

chosen for some other object than that of representation. It is important to make this distinction, because there seems little reason to doubt that the representative element in the English Parliament was not elective in its first beginnings, but that it gradually became so.

Without entering on any questions as to the theoretical constitution of the ancient English Assembly, there are two points about it which we may assume with perfect safety. These are, that it was not an elective or representative body of any kind, and that the Norman Conquest made no immediate formal change either in its constitution or in its powers. The practical change was great beyond words; but it was only a practical change. With this last point I have very lately dealt at great length, and I will here assume the results. The ancient Assembly went on changed in its character but unchanged in its form. If it seemed to change its name, it was only because the Old-English names were translated into French and Latin. The *colloquium*, the *parlement*, was simply the "deep speech" which the king had with his Witan, expressing first merely the fact of meeting, it gradually, like most words of the kind, came to mean the Assembly itself and its members. The business of an ancient Assembly was, according to a phrase often found in early documents, to "talk with the king," to hear what he had to propose or to ask, and to give him an answer. Such a process implies discussion among the members of the Assembly, and we find records of such discussions older than the Norman Conquest. But whatever talk the Witan had among themselves, they were only making ready for their decisive talk with the king. The memory of this earlier kind of speech is kept up in the name of the Speaker, the member who speaks least in discussions within the House, but who alone speaks in the name of the House, when the House itself has to speak to the king or to any one else. Parliament, in short, was not a new body which supplanted the Witenagemót; it was simply one name for the Witenagemót which, in the end, supplanted all others.

But, on any theory of the constitution of the Witenagemót, the difference between its constitution and that of a modern Parliament, or a Parliament of any time since the thirteenth century, is clear at first sight. According to any theory, the constitution of the ancient Assembly was in practice fluctuating and uncertain. According to any rational theory, it contained no element that was formally representative or elective. I say "formally," because a little thought will show that an informal representation, and even election, is quite possible. If I am right in holding that the Witenagemót, the Assembly

of the whole kingdom, was, like the smaller Assemblies of the shire, the hundred, and the township, a primary Assembly, in which every freeman had, in theory, a right to attend, the remark which Niebuhr makes about the Roman tribes will no less apply to the ancient gatherings of the English nation. Each Roman tribe had one vote, whether all its members or only a handful of them were present in the *Comitia*. Niebuhr remarks that those who actually attended might well be, in practice though not in form, the representatives of those who stayed at home, commissioned by them to give the vote of the tribe in a particular way. This does not apply in all its fullness to any assembly except those where the votes are taken by tribes or other such like divisions. But it does apply in some measure to every primary assembly. The richer or more zealous man who goes may easily be the practical representative of his poorer or less zealous neighbours who stay away. He may easily be their mouth-piece, commissioned by them to set forth their grievances and their wishes. And this in truth applies whichever theory of the assembly we accept. Whether the king's thegn went directly as a king's thegn, or simply because a king's thegn was likely to have wealth and leisure to enable him to go, in either case he might, if he was a popular and most worthy man, be the practical representative of his absent neighbours. But, on no showing, was there any formal election or representative. And if they thereby be the right one, there could not be any.

I have therefore always maintained that the non-representative element, the aristocratic element, in the English Parliament, not only represents, but is, by direct and unbroken succession, identical with the old primary assembly of the English people. Its character has wholly changed; but it has changed through very simple causes. It has become aristocratic, because it was once in the extremest degree democratic. It has become the assembly of a class, because it was once open to all classes alike. In a large country a primary assembly is really less democratic than a representative assembly. If the national assembly consists in theory of every man in the nation, it will in practice soon come to consist of a very small part of the nation. It will consist of those only who have wealth and leisure to take long journeys to attend its meetings. A primary assembly works well, and keeps its democratic character, in small communities like those of Uri, Unterwalden, Glarus, and Appenzell; but a primary assembly of all Switzerland, even a primary assembly of the canton of Bern, would soon come to be far less democratic than the present representative assemblies. In this way, as I have often tried

to show, the primary assembly of all England naturally shrank up into a mere gathering of the chief men, simply because none but the chief men had time or means habitually to attend. We have evidence that this was the ordinary character of a meeting of the Witan; we have equally evidence that on special occasions, when the meeting was held in a great city, or when some great national excitement drew men together from all parts, the dormant popular character of the assembly became again a reality. To this natural cause we must add another, namely, the working of the practice of summons. In all ordinary circumstances the king would fix the time and place of meeting; and, when attendance was uncertain and fluctuating, it was obviously a wise course on his part personally to command the attendance of those for whose presence in the assembly he specially wished. It is only in the common working of human affairs that a summons of this kind, at first perhaps often looked on as a burden, should grow into a privilege and a right. And it is no less in the ordinary working of things that, when it had once become a privilege and a right, it should become a privilege and a right at once hereditary and exclusive. It was held that the right which had been given to the father could not be denied to the son. It was held that those who had not the right of summons had not the right of attendance, and that no one had a right to present himself in the national assembly except those whom the king specially invited or commanded to come thither. Add to this that every step by which the habitual attendance of the assembly lessened had a natural tendency to lessen it still further. There would be less and less to tempt the ordinary freeman to come; he would be less and less welcome if he did come; and after the Norman Conquest these tendencies would be so strong as effectually to keep him away.

It is in this way then that I hold that the primary assembly of the whole nation gradually and insensibly, without any formal shutting out of any class at any particular moment, shrank up into an assembly of a single class, the hereditary and exclusive House of Lords. The essence of peerage I hold to be the personal summons to Parliament. Round that everything else which distinguishes the peer from the commoner has grown. His formal precedence and titles, his personal privileges of various kinds, the honorary rank, titles, and epithets which courtesy gives to his children, are all accidents which have grown round the essential substance of peerage, the personal summons to Parliament. I have tried to point this out in other writings, and I have tried also to show that, what-

ever may be the evils of the hereditary peerage of England, it is the one thing which more than any other has saved England from far greater evils. It is mainly because England has had a peerage that she has never had a nobility. The peers are those among Englishmen who have never lost the right, once common to all Englishmen, of personal attendance in the assembly of the nation. Earls and bishops have never lost that right; the more modern orders of peerage have been admitted to it.

A great deal of what I have been now saying I have said before in other shapes. I am concerned with it now only as something which, from my point of view, must be taken for granted in order to understand how the representative element in Parliament grew up alongside of the non-representative element. It must be taken for granted in order to understand how it came that there should be two Houses of Parliament, rather than three, as in France, or four, as in Sweden. We have now to trace out the causes which determined what classes of men should be called to Parliament, either personally or by representation, and which also determined into how many Houses those classes of men should be grouped. For it should be remarked that these two last questions are distinct. The course of events had to settle that, not only Earls and Bishops, but Barons, Knights, and Burgesses should all have their place in Parliament. The course of events had also to settle that no other separate classes, the lawyers or the clergy, for instance, should finally keep a place there. It had also to settle how these classes should be finally grouped. It was not in the eternal fitness of things that they should form separate Houses at all; they might have all sat together, like the Estates of Scotland. Or again, there might have been as many Houses as there were classes or orders. Or again, if some classes were to sit together, it was not a matter of necessity that they should be arranged as they actually were. No law of nature ordered that the barons should sit with the earls, and that the citizens should sit with the knights. The course of events, the working of circumstances, the effect of special causes and special accidents, had to settle all this, as they have settled everything else in English history.

One of the chief sources of difficulty in tracing the early history of parliamentary institutions is that we so rarely get anything like a formal description of the constitution of our national assemblies in their earlier stages. No exact law fixed their constitution, and custom was, in the nature of the case, fluctuating. The ordinary assemblies of the Conqueror's day consisted, according to the English

Chronicle, of Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls, Thegns, and Knights. But the great meeting which he gathered at Salisbury to rule that the King of the English should be the king of a nation, and not merely the feudal lord of his personal vassals, was an assembly of all the land-owners of England, whether they were the king's men or the men of any other lord. There we get the first glimpse of two Houses, the first faint shadow of Lords and Commons, in the distinction which the Chronicle draws between the Witan and "the land-sitting men." By the time of the Great Charter the assembly has taken the definite shape of an assembly of the king's tenants-in-chief. The greater tenants are to be summoned personally; the lesser are to be summoned in a body by the sheriffs of their several shires. The right, the duty, the privilege, the burthen, of personal attendance clearly belongs, no longer indeed to every freeman or to every freeholder, but to all who hold any landed estate, great or small, directly of the king. And among those who held directly of the king were some who held very small estates indeed. They might come; it was their theoretical duty to come; but were they likely to come? Was there much to tempt them to come? The Charter itself sets forth a principle which is implied in every rational constitution, but whose setting forth is none the less significant. It lays down the rule that those who stay away are bound by the acts of those who come. Those acts largely consisted of grants of money, and the very notion of a grant of money, in form at least a free gift, implies the principle that those only are bound by the grant who consent to it. It was necessary then to declare that the consent of the order bound all its members; that a man could not refuse his contribution to a tax or his obedience to a law, because he was not present at the assembly which decreed it. But the system of representation, above all when election was added to representation, made this principle clearer still, when the tax or the ordinance was agreed to by men acting in the name of the several shires—above all, when those representative men were chosen in the popular courts of the several shires, the right of the present to bind the absent became still less open to dispute.

One of the most instructive features of the constitutional writings both of Sir Francis Palgrave and of Professor Stubbs, is the way in which they have shown the close connection between our national and our local institutions, between Parliament and the elements which grew into our judicial institutions. The House of Commons and the jury, the elements which grew into the court of justice, in truth sprang from the same source. The House of Lords is the

original popular assembly of the nation shrunk up, through the causes which have already been described, into an exclusive body. The House of Commons consists in truth of the lesser popular assemblies, the assemblies of the shires, brought together by representation. But how then did representation come in? How came it that a few men from each district came to act on behalf of all the men of that district, and how came the assembly of such representatives to act on behalf of the whole nation? Representation plainly arose, not out of any theory, but out of a practical need. In a primary assembly there is always the danger of insufficient attendance. Even in democratic Athens men had sometimes to be driven to the assembly. In Domesday and the Old-English laws, absence from a lawful *Gemót* is not uncommonly dealt with as a legal crime. Here too again the principle of summons comes in. In order to secure a sufficient attendance, some members of the assembly must be specially summoned to attend. And, as before, the summons gradually comes to operate exclusively. When the practice of summons is once fully established, those who are not specially summoned, in the first stage practically stay away, and in a second stage they are held to have no right to attend, even if they wish.

The jury, and the recognitions out of which the jury sprang, are in truth examples of this rule. The judgement, the verdict, is that of the country, of the neighbourhood. But the country, the neighbourhood, is represented by certain selected men—how select does not matter at this stage of the argument—who are commissioned to act on behalf of the whole. So in the Old-English assembly of the shire, the *Scirgemót*, the reeve and four men of each township were bound to attend. The original object surely was not to exclude any others who had a right to attend, but simply to insure both that there should always be a sufficient attendance, and that the assembly should contain members from all parts of the shire. Without such a rule, either the assembly might have been too small to transact business, or large parts of the shire might have been left unrepresented. The necessary attendance of one official and four non-official members from each township hindered both these evils; but it tended to confine the assembly to those who were thus specially summoned. Others were likely to stay away, or to go only when there was some business which specially concerned themselves. They went as suitors, witnesses, plaintiffs, defendants, rather than as themselves members of the court. So under the Angevin kings, perhaps earlier, a process essentially the same was followed when the king needed to

enforce any ordinance. It was followed when he needed information on any matter before putting forth any ordinance. Juries, after exactly the same type as the judicial juries, sworn knights, chosen knights acting for the whole body of the men of their several shires, were summoned to declare right and to do right, whether for the enforcing of a forest law, or for the gathering of a tithe against Saladin. Parliamentary representation is nothing but this same principle applied to the national assembly. The greater tenants-in-chief are personally summoned; their attendance is a personal affair between themselves and the king. The lesser tenants-in-chief are summoned in a body by the several sheriffs. But who can insure that they will come? Who can insure that there will be any attendance at all? At any rate who can insure that every shire will have some one to speak in its name? A tax laid on by the men of a few shires only might be received with very little favor in the other shires. When the principle of representation had once been established in the Scirgemót, the remedy was easy. The sheriff might summon the tenants-in-chief in a body; but that summons would be a vain form, unless he took care that some of them actually came. It became therefore the business of each sheriff to provide for the attendance of some of the men of his shire, four knights, two knights, four lawful men, a representative body of some kind. The number and the quality of the representatives settled themselves in the course of time; the main point was that in every national assembly, besides the great men who were summoned personally, there should be some of the lesser men who were summoned in a body, and some of them from every shire. Thus the whole body of the tenants-in-chief was present by representation; every Scirgemót in the land was present by representation; each corner of the land had some one present who knew its interests and wishes, and who, if need were, might speak for them.

Here then is representation; but it was representation which did not of necessity imply election. The chosen knights or lawful men were not necessarily chosen by the local assembly. They might be named by the sheriff; they might be taken by seniority, rotation, or lot. In either case the main object was gained; the shire had some of its men in the national assembly. But, as the scholar in whose steps I am following has taught us, though representation does not necessarily imply election, yet it has a great tendency to grow into election. No way of appointment was so obviously fair as that those who were to appear in the place of the whole shire should be chosen by the voice of the whole shire. At an early stage then of

the history of representation, the select knights began to be chosen by the Scirgemót, or, as we may now better call it by its French name, the *county court*. And, as soon as election by the county court was established, a great step was taken, a step which, as usual in English history, was at once a step forward and a step backward. Election by the county court was election by a body which was not confined to the king's tenants-in-chief. Without going off into any doubtful discussion as to the origin and constitution of the county court, we are at least safe in saying that it contained all freeholders, great and small, whether they held of the king or of any mesne lord. Election by the county court was election by as popular a body as could be found at the time; the choice of members of the national assembly by such a body was no small return towards the ancient popular constitution of the Meeting of the Wise.

Thus, step by step, through the reigns of John and Henry the Third, the principle of parliamentary representation went on advancing. Before the accession of Edward the First, it was fully established that knights chosen by the freeholders of each shire were an essential part of that assembly of the nation which had now taken the definite name of *Parliament*. The steps by which representation grew are easily traced; it is less easy to trace a no less important effect which must have been the direct consequence of representation. We see that all besides the chosen representatives soon ceased to have any claim or right or wish to attend in their own persons. But we can not trace the exact stage in which this claim and right and wish died out. Some traces of a larger attendance than that of the representatives may be seen even under Henry the Third; but the practice was doomed as soon as representation in the form of election was fully established. It must be remembered that, as a rule, men did not wish to attend. Attendance was burthensome and expensive; the chosen knights who appeared on behalf of the whole shire had to be paid for their services at the cost of the whole shire. When the assembly was held in a town, as became more and more the rule, the last traces of personal attendance would doubtless be seen in the appearance of the citizens of that town. And we actually find traces of the personal appearance of the citizens of London down to a very late time. The tumultuous assemblies which elected Edward the Fourth and Richard the Third were doubtless utterly irregular, by that time we may say utterly illegal. Still they kept up the tradition of the days when the citizens of London had taken a direct part in the election of kings and in other national

acts, a tradition which was a living and practical thing during the wars of Stephen and Matilda, and which was not wholly forgotten in the time of Henry the Third. But, as anything regular and practical, as representation came in, personal attendance went out. To appear in Parliament in any character but that of the chosen representative of others became the privilege of those who were personally summoned to appear. It became in short the privilege which distinguishes the Peers of England from the Commons.

Thus the ancient, but for a long time shadowy, right of every freeman to appear in the national assembly of his country was gradually exchanged for what had become the far more practical right of appearing by the representation. The form which that representation had taken was the representation of the assemblies of those local bodies out of the union of which the kingdom had grown. The representation of the nation was a representation of organized bodies, of organized communities. Little as most of us think of so doing, we proclaim that fact every time we utter the familiar name of the House of Commons. Every shire was a *commune*, a *communitas*, and it was as a *communitas* that it was represented in the general assembly of all such bodies. But it was gradually found that, besides the shires, as shires, there were other communities growing up within them which had no less claim to be represented in the like fashion in the general assembly of the kingdom. In the course of the thirteenth century the importance of the cities and boroughs of England had become so clear that, first Earl Simon, then King Edward, deemed that a full Parliament of the realm ought to contain citizens and burgesses from the cities and boroughs, as well as knights from the body of each shire. When this great change was wrought, a change whose praises and the praises of whose founders I need not here sing again, all the essential parts of a modern Parliament had come into being. In a Parliament of Edward the First, no less than in a Parliament of Victoria, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the Commons, were already brought together in essentially the same shape as they are now.

But this was by no means all. It was settled that in every Parliament there should be two great orders, those who attended in answer to the personal summons, and those who came as chosen representatives of the shires and boroughs. But a whole crowd of points had yet to be settled. I do not mean such points as have been disputed in later times, some of which are not settled yet. I

do not mean such questions as the apportionment of representatives to population, such refinements as giving to a larger shire or town more members than are given to a smaller one. Points like these were not likely to present themselves to the founders of our first Parliaments. Ideas of this kind could not fail to come in with the course of time; but they were not likely to be thought of till a much later stage of political development. Nor was it any part of those who called together the first Parliament to settle what we now call the elective franchise, to decree how each community was to elect its representatives. That was a question of the internal constitution of each community. In the shires indeed no such question could well arise; the immemorial constitution of the shires was the same everywhere. But in the towns, whose privileges had been gained at different times and in different ways, the internal constitutions were very various. Thus, in course of time, a variety of borough franchises arose, some as oligarchic, others as democratic, as they well could be. But all these questions belong to a much later time. The work of the days with which we are now concerned was to settle the relations between the various classes of men of whom an early Parliament consisted. I use the word "classes" advisedly; for, alongside of the idea of the representation of local communities, there was the other idea of the representation of orders or estates. The representation of estates was the leading feature of those continental assemblies of which the States-General of France were the most famous. They consisted, as every one knows, of three estates, clergy, nobles, and commons; and the phrase of the Three Estates, with exactly the same meaning, became a familiar phrase in English parliamentary history. I need hardly stop to refute what has been so often refuted, the notion that the Three Estates of England are king, lords, and commons. The mistake is by no means a new one; but there would be no need to mention it here, were it not that the mistake itself is highly instructive. No such mistake ever arose in France; because there the theory of the Three Estates was thoroughly carried out from the first meeting of the States-General to the last. In England the mistake could and did arise, because the theory of the Three Estates never was fully carried out. I will not stop to explain yet again that in England there never was any estate of nobles in the foreign sense, that the very institution of the peerage hindered such an estate from growing up. The English Commons included, not only the citizens of chartered towns, but the knights who, anywhere out of England, would

have counted as nobles, and who might actually be the descendants of Peers. The Estate of the clergy we had, but its highest members sat in the national council in another character. The result of these and of other combining causes was that all attempts to make the clergy a regular parliamentary estate of the realm broke down, and left in truth only two estates, Lords and Commons. The peculiar constitution of the English Parliament, the constitution which has been transplanted to, and imitated in, so many countries, was simply the result of an accident. The clergy failed to take root as a separate estate; two estates only remained, and the relations of those two estates gradually settled themselves in a way which no one could have foreseen in the days of Edward the First. Nay more, judges and other lawyers received the summons to Parliament as well as lords, clergy, and commons; and a fourth estate of lawyers might very easily have grown up. Merchants too, as merchants, distinct from the communities of the cities and boroughs, often made grants of money to the king in a way which might easily have been the beginning of a separate estate of merchants. But no estate of lawyers or of merchants ever came into full being. The estate of the clergy died out of all strictly parliamentary life. The Lords and Commons alone lived on and flourished. Certain men, the holders rather of a hereditary office than of a mere hereditary rank, formed one estate, one House of Parliament. The rest of the nation, including the children of the holders of that hereditary office, formed the estate which was represented in the other House.

We are thus brought round to the phrase from which we started. Historically the Commons are "the other House," the House which has grown up beside the elder House of Lords. It was only step by step that the Commons won their right to perfect legislative and political equality with the older body. This is shown by a thousand incidents, a thousand phrases, in the history of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It is shown most of all by the fact that, among the various changes and fluctuations and reactions of our political progress, a Parliament without Commons was sometimes seen, even after representation had made considerable advances; but a Parliament without Lords was never heard of till the time when there was soon to be a Parliament without a king. It is shown too by a more abiding result, namely that, in some of the powers which the Lords inherit from the primitive Meeting of the Wise, the Commons have never won a share. The Commons soon made themselves the equals, and they have in the end become more than the equals, of the Lords,

both in their direct legislative functions and in their supervision over the administration of the government. But the other great powers of the primitive assembly have always remained in the hands of the Lords alone. The Lords are judges; the Commons are not. The Commons can act as judges only by a special use, some may think it an abuse, of their legislative functions. They can, in union with the Lords, pass a bill of attainder or a bill of pains and penalties; they can not sit in judgement on an impeachment or on an appeal from the king's courts of law and equity. In this respect, amid all the fullness of their powers in other ways, the Commons still keep in fact somewhat of that lowlier position which they still keep in all matters of outward ceremony. Such anomalies, such fluctuations, form a natural part of the story in any country where constitutions really grow and are not made. While our parliamentary constitution was still a series of experiments, everything was irregular. The bishops and earls sat by immemorial right. But the other peers were for a long time a fluctuating body. Some other prelates of the Church were always summoned besides the bishops. But the number varied; this or that abbot was summoned to one Parliament and was not summoned to another. So some barons were always personally summoned besides the earls. But the number varied; it was one step which ruled that he who had been summoned once was entitled to be summoned for the rest of his days; it was another step which ruled—if we can hold that it is ruled—that the right goes beyond the grave and extends to his heirs for ever. So, when the representation of the shires had been fully established, the knights of the shire became a fixed body like the earls and bishops. A shire, as an integral part of the kingdom, could not be passed by. But, though after 1295 no Parliament was held which did not contain some representatives of cities and boroughs, yet they too were a fluctuating body; a borough was often called on to send members to one Parliament and was not called on to send them to the next. Nor was this always the result of the caprice of the king or the sheriff, whether in the case of abbots or of boroughs. Both abbots and boroughs often begged to be released from an attendance which they looked on as a burthen rather than a privilege. It was only step by step that the constitution and the powers of the two Houses settled down into their final shape. It was only step by step that they settled down into the shape of two Houses at all.

The wonderful thing of all, the thing which is most distinctive of English history, the thing which makes the widest gap between the

English parliamentary constitution and any constitution which goes purely on the principle of estates, is the position of the knights of the shire. Anywhere else, all or most of them would have been reckoned as nobles. They, the lesser barons, might have thought to have far more in common with the greater barons than with the citizens and burgesses who in the end became their fellows. And sometimes the earls seemed inclined to draw, as they were fully entitled to do, as wide a line between themselves and the barons as could be drawn between the barons and the knights. But the strong power of the Crown, the official character of peerage, the abiding life of popular institutions in England, all helped to draw the line at the point where it was drawn. Two classes of the ancient Witan kept their immemorial right; beyond their ranks the king summoned whom he would. Where the personal summons was the one privilege, the one distinction, it soon came to be the one mark of nobility, so far as we can speak of nobility at all in a country where all the children of the peer, where the younger children of the king, are simple commoners. The baron received the personal summons; the knight did not. This soon made a wider gap between the baron and the knight than any which could be drawn between the earl and the baron, or between the knight and the citizen. If the baron and the knight had much in common, the knight and the citizen had much in common too. The county court brought them together; for the borough election was in some sort made in the county court. The knights of the shire and the burgesses of the boroughs were alike chosen by virtue of a writ received by the sheriff, and both were included by the sheriff in a single return. For a long time it was by no means clear, what would be the constitution of Parliament, of what classes of men it would consist, and how those classes would be grouped together. In the end, things shaped themselves according to the principle of personal or collective summons; barons sat with earls among the Lords, and knights sat with citizens among the Commons.

Thus there arose a House which I venture to call strictly official, a House composed of the bearers of offices which passed partly by hereditary succession, partly by ecclesiastical election, a House where each man sat in his personal character, and not as the representative of others. This House by direct succession represents, or rather is, the ancient Witenagemót of England. It is the Witenagemót, changed by the working of circumstances from a democratic into an aristocratic body. Beside it arose another House where office,

hereditary succession, election in the ecclesiastical sense, had no place, where no man sat in his own personal right, but only as the man whom one of the smaller local assemblies had chosen to represent them in the general assembly of the whole nation. This younger, this lower, House has, step by step, become the chief power in the state. Instead of being "the other House," alongside of a more powerful body, it has reduced that once more powerful body to be a mere revising and checking power on its own acts. It has become itself the true council of the nation, while the House greater in age and dignity has become "the other House" or "Second Chamber." A system which has thus grown up through the complicated and fluctuating course of English history has been by a natural process transplanted to the English-speaking Confederation of North America. Proved there to be absolutely necessary for the right working of a federal system, it has been further transplanted to democratic Switzerland, and even to imperial Germany. In all these lands it has taken real root, as being the result either of historic causes or of proved necessity. In other lands, where it has not been transplanted but artificially imitated, where it has not come of itself, but has been consciously devised, where it is no political necessity but at most a political luxury, it has failed to take the same deep root, and it has shown itself the weakest part of every constitutional system. And, if in any of the federal states the later tie of confederation should ever be exchanged for complete consolidation, that is to say, if the less perfect tie should ever pave the way for the more perfect, the special necessity for the existence of the Senate or the *Ständerath* will pass away with it. The question will then simply be, as in France or Spain, whether the work of legislation is likely to be better done by one House or by two.

I have tried in this article to trace the development of parliamentary representation in a kind of abstract way, to trace out the general course of things, while dwelling as little as may be on particular events, names, and dates. Such a sketch I thought might bring out the real nature of the process more clearly. But such a sketch as this I mean to be taken simply as an introduction to the detailed narrative of the whole process in the Constitutional History of Professor Stubbs. It is there that the whole matter will be found worked out with a power and thoroughness with which it has never been worked out before.

TRANSCENDENTALISM IN NEW ENGLAND.¹

NEW ENGLAND, although she has always lived in a corner, can not complain that she has been left to herself, or that her light has been hid under a bushel. She has had too much tongue of her own to allow her merits to be wholly concealed at any time, and in these latter days there is little need for her to blow her own trumpet, since all the world is talking about her, and her poets and philosophers are holding for her the place which her peddlers won for her years ago as mother of the universal Yankee Nation. Certainly the culture and thought in our America which have the best claim to universality, and are known abroad as well as at home, hail, directly or indirectly, from New England. Edwards and Franklin, in the last century, began the literature and philosophy which have since flowered and fruited in Channing and Bushnell, Prescott and Hawthorne, Bancroft and Motley, Whittier and Longfellow, Bryant and Emerson, and their peers. Mr. Frothingham's interesting and instructive volume suggests, not only in its subject, but in its name, that the time has come for a larger and deeper study of New England culture as a whole. The name of History, which he gives to his survey of Transcendentalism in New England, clearly signifies that he thinks that he has the proper point of view as well as the requisite materials for treating it historically. History can not be written satisfactorily without a certain distance in time from the actors and the events recorded, and if it does not require, that distance should lend the same enchantment to the view which poetry, especially epic poetry, requires, it is essential to history that it shall be studied and written when the years have allowed the new growths to shoot up to their full stature,

¹ "Transcendentalism in New England." A History by Octavius Brooks Frothingham, Author of "Life of Theodore Parker," "Religion of Humanity," etc, etc., pp. ix, 395. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1876.

2. Freedom and Fellowship in Religion. A Collection of Essays and Addresses Edited by a Committee of The Free Religious Association. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1876. pp. 424.

3. Christenthum und moderne Weltanschauung, von Dr. Fr. Ehrenfeuchter. Göttingen, Vandenbroeck und Ruprecht's Verlag. 1876. pp. 416.

and to bear their fruit and their seed in the general harvest. Perhaps biography may be well written, when the personal life that is recorded reaches its climax or its close, but biography can not rise to the dignity of history, until individual character can be interpreted in its general relations and the individual can be seen somewhat in the light of universal civilization and humanity.

Mr. Frothingham certainly approaches his subject from the historical point of view, and his first eight chapters, which contain 217 pages, are sufficiently careful, scholarly and impartial to justify his title even with the critical readers who may question the historical status of the closing chapters, which treat of men and women, the oldest and most distant of whom they may remember, and some of whom they constantly meet in the street and parlor, and read in magazines and newspapers. Yet we must not forget, that where the connecting thread of the characters is an ideal philosophy, instead of a romantic impulse or a popular agitation, the historian's task is easier, and the work to be done has a certain unity of idea, that does not need to wait for the clearing away of the smoke of battle, the calming of passions, and the adjustment of complicated interests. If, moreover, as the author evidently thinks, Transcendentalism has already run its course, and done its work, the time has surely come for writing its history; and the very persons who as men and women, or as authors, editors, poets, historians and the like, have still a hopeful career to run, may be treated in so far as they have been Transcendentalists, in the historical light upon the merits and interest of their finished course. Mr. Frothingham ascribes the rise of the Transcendental Philosophy to Immanuel Kant, who was born at Königsberg, Prussia, April 22d, 1724, and died there February 12th, 1804, after having published in 1781 the "Critique of Pure Reason," which professed to define the fundamental conceptions, the universal and necessary judgments, which transcend the sphere of experience and are therefore "transcendental;" yet he regards Mr. Emerson as having started the "epoch making" movement in New England Transcendentalism by his sermon in the pulpit of Second Church, Boston, September 9th, 1832, in which he announced that he could no longer conscientiously administer the rite of communion, and that he was about to resign his pastoral office. Thus we have about an hundred years since the Transcendental Philosophy was set forth by Kant, and nearly fifty years since the successor of the younger Ware, in that oldest but one of Boston Puritan pulpits, took his memorable stand against the ancient form of communion, and maintained that it was not the body

of Christ that was to be eaten, but that "he only meant that we should live by his commandment." Strictly speaking, it is forty-four years since Emerson preached that memorable sermon, or what is usually reckoned as a generation and a half, a period long enough in these intense times and among our rapid people for a movement so marked to show what it means. Mr. Frothingham has handled his subject too fully and too well from his own point of view, to allow us to try to do this work over again, and not choosing to fill the space here given us with quotations, it is better to take a course somewhat different and far less speculative than this, and to treat New England Transcendentalism more in its general and practical relations, with an eye to the quarter in which it arose, the form it took, and the influence it had. Thus the book under review may be better understood and more fairly criticised.

Where in America ought we to look for an intellectual and religious movement like that of Transcendentalism, but to the seat of the oldest American culture in New England, and to the vicinity of the oldest seminary of New England learning in the State of Massachusetts? In fact, this Transcendentalism is the mind of Boston and Cambridge in a certain stage of development. The Cavalier thought of Virginia did not tend to that style of reflection, if fond of reflecting in any way; the Quakers of Philadelphia were more given to practical, than to speculative, questions in religion, radical though they were in respect to ecclesiastical rule; and the Presbyterians and Episcopalians of New York dwelt more upon settled doctrines and institutions than upon theoretic divinity. The New England Puritans were from the beginning trained to look upon theology as the great study, and their first seminary, Harvard College, was but the beginning of a theological school. The soul and its relations with God and with the eternal state, this was the absorbing subject of their meditation, and in this respect the new school of transcendentalists were not unworthy successors of the old Puritans. The new times indeed had brought new standards of judgment, and before Transcendentalism began to appeal to the pure reason, the rigid rule of the ancient creed and theocratic church had been broken. Yet the Puritan spirit in a certain sense still pervaded the community. The clergy were the dominant class, the supernatural authority of Christianity was generally recognized, and the old Calvinism in a manner remained, not indeed in its severer dogmas, but in its spiritual teleology or its disposition to refer everything to the divine sovereignty or to the will of God. Emerson himself, with all of his

reverence for the human soul, does not forsake the creed of his fathers so far as referring all issues to the supreme good is concerned, and uncertain as he is of what is to become of men, he is sure that what is best will come to them at last.

In tracing the development of Puritan thought in New England, we must not separate it from the thought of Christendom, and especially not from the thought of England, the mother country. Mr. Frothingham gives us a full and valuable survey of its connections with the mind of Germany, France and England, although he passes somewhat slightly over the ideal tendencies in England before the time of Coleridge, and he hardly touches upon the power of the old literature of England over the fresh life of New England culture. But is it not true that the New England people have always looked upon themselves as part of the great English race and especially as heirs of the literature of England? The old Puritan fathers never for a moment thought of giving up their English birthright, and Winthrop was as loyal an Englishman as any that the "Arabella" left behind her when she sailed from Yarmouth, in 1629. The later New England scholars were in a certain sense still more English; and even in their passion for progress, they laid claim to their old inheritance. Thus in what may be called the Renaissance in literature among the New England Puritans in the nineteenth century, there is clearly a tendency to restoration as well as a spirit of progress, and the new culture went forward more bravely from being backed up by the old masters of thought. There are certainly ideal elements in Spenser and Shakespeare, in Bacon and Hooker; and although both in England and America the rigid Hebrew rule of the literal Scriptures, which followed the palmy age of the Elizabethan literature, discouraged the Greek freedom, and for a century and a half from the Pilgrim exodus, the muses were put into straight-jackets, they still insisted upon being heard, if they could not go on with their old dance; and the latitude men of old Cambridge with such philosophical lights as Whichcote, Smith and Cudworth joined with such poets as Bunyan and Milton to give proof, that the old Greek fire ran in the Puritan line.

Our New England literature was very poor during that period, and the strength of its later revival is due somewhat, undoubtedly, to the sense of escape from that long and hurtful repression. It is well that the Massachusetts Congregationalists are republishing the works of the early Puritan preachers, and they deserve careful study, yet there is no great likelihood of our finding in them any new proofs of mastery of the language of Milton or of the thought of Leighton.

There was plenty of originality in those men and their work, but it was not especially of the literary kind. They were shaping out a new society, modeling a new world, and this is originality enough, as the result showed, when this new life spoke out its meaning in science and in song, in statesmanship, heroism and eloquence. There is need of a more thorough study of the later literature of orthodox Congregationalism, from Edwards to Bushnell, and it will be found that in solid thought and telling expression they are a match for their antagonists.

It is worth our while to note in what quarter the new Puritan life showed itself in spite of the old restrictions. It was not an opinion, but a policy, not a dogma, but a purpose, that began what may be called the revival of culture in New England, and while it created the liberal school, stirred the old theocracy into new life. It is not fair to limit the honors of generous thinking or of manly freedom to any one class or coterie, but we may justly say that to one congregation in Boston an eminent place may be assigned in the new movement; that Brattle Street Church which was opened December 24, 1699, under the ministry of Benjamin Colman, was for nearly a century and a half the favorite shrine of the civic manhood and the classic culture which presided over Cambridge and Boston, and this congregation virtually connected the Brattles and Leveretts who were its founders with John Hancock and the heroes of the Revolution; and after more than a hundred years inaugurated the classic revival under Buckminster and Everett. Brattle Street Church did not begin with any new creed, but it affirmed a certain liberty of the pews, and a certain dignity of the laity, and with its large infusion of the spirit of the England of 1688, it marked the rise of the new citizenship from under the old theocracy. This church may perhaps cease to exist, and the new edifice is now closed, but the liberty and culture of Massachusetts are its monument; and its decline like its rise was proof of the new forces rising into life. Our best wishes for its second rising.

For the new life that supplanted the civic honors and the classic eloquence of Brattle Street Church, we must go out of the regular line of Puritan sanctuaries and turn towards Federal Street and to the edifice which was first occupied by a Presbyterian congregation under the Rev. Mr. Annan, and became Congregational under the Rev. Jeremy Belknap, in 1787. Here William Ellery Channing came June 1, 1803, the successor of Rev. John S. Popkin, whose short ministry followed Dr. Belknap's twenty years course. This young Channing brought with him from Newport to Boston the germs of what

may be called the "newness," that has given that city of notions its name in the world. In that fine brain and little body, he held the rare essence, the marvelous personality, that was to make all things new in Puritan Boston, and in the end to stir the whole nation and make Europe and Asia echo his name. What the secret of his power was, it is hard to define, and we may safely say that the man himself was greater than anything that he taught, and that his opinions and even his eloquence of diction are no adequate explanation of his spell. Perhaps it is best to leave the explanation among the mysteries of the soul, and to say that as in poetry, so in religion and ethics, there is a certain genius within all thought and action, as the seed within the flower and that his gift was the genius of humanity.

If nature delights in crossings, there may be something in the fact that his church was a cross between two sects, and he himself was a cross between two communities. In that transformed Presbyterian church, he preached his gospel of humanity, and he brought with him to conservative Boston something of the stubborn individualism of Rhode Island and Roger Williams. Boston has always been used to east winds and has thriven upon them, but there was something quite new in that sea breeze from Newport beach with its murmur of ocean surges, bringing with its air the warmth of the gulf stream and the fragrance of the tropics to temper and sweeten the northern gales, with its whisper of gleaming sails and dashing keels bearing the commerce and the companionship of all climes and people. Channing was the soul of Boston Liberalism in all its phases, and no doctrine that tempted sectarian limitations ever shut him out of the fellowship of truthful and earnest men. When in 1815 he virtually accepted the Unitarian name, it was not to make a schism or to excommunicate the other side, but to insist upon Christian fellowship between believers, and when in 1826, and afterwards, the Unitarian denomination was settling its policy, he came before the world with Milton and Fenelon as his master spirits, and struck at the despotic materialism of the age in his sentence upon Bonaparte. He chose Milton and Fenelon none the less as the heroes of his essays because they, like himself, spoke under difficulties and they like himself were prophets of the dawn among the night shadows.

Mr. Frothingham regards Dr. Channing as a Transcendentalist in sentiment, but not in theory; and he is right if being a Transcendentalist in sentiment means having a transcendent sense of the worth of the human mind and of its capacity to accept what is good and true. He is right, too, in pronouncing Dr. Channing not a Trans-

centendalist in theory, if faith in the miracles and in the mediation of Christ is opposed to that theory; yet Coleridge carried this faith still further than Channing, and remains at the head of the English Transcendental school. Channing did much to encourage the Transcendentalists in their search for truth, and he gladly attended private conferences in which they predominated, and he held these sometimes at his own house. The last time that I remember seeing him was at one of these meetings in the parlor of his worthy parishioner, Jonathan Phillips, at the Tremont House, Boston; and I can recall the fervor with which he there argued against the Pantheist theory, with its fatalism and its denial of the rise of evil in perverse will and its treatment of evil as merely the absence of good. I can recall too how slight and fragile he looked when he came in, and what a great power rose out of small surroundings, when he took off his cap and his wrapper, and his eye and his voice reported his modest, yet commanding greatness to the assembly. He passed away before Transcendentalism had fully interpreted its position, and soon after the *Dial* and Brook Farm had begun their career. We must look to another of the Boston pulpits for the man who was to succeed him as the master spirit of the new lights, to the Second Church, in Hanover Street, which Ralph Waldo Emerson left in 1832, to be for nearly half a century the dominant lay preacher of New England liberalism, with a fair share of hearers throughout the country and the world.

Emerson is so rare and original a nature, that it is idle to try to explain him by his position and circumstances. He is himself and nobody else, and the power of his personality and genius defies all analysis or definition. Yet it is not difficult to understand what it was that brought him out from the old line of thought and usage, and started him upon the new path. No man of the Cambridge school was more strongly bound by his position and record to the Puritan ways than he. He was the eighth clergyman in orderly succession from one of the founders of Concord, and in 1829, eighteen years after the death of his father, the minister of First Church in Boston, to which John Cotton ministered in 1633, he himself became minister of the Second Church, which had distanced the First Church in rigidity under the rule of Increase and Cotton Mather, and shown less abatement of ecclesiastical order than of dogmatic severity under the milder administration of Dr. Lathrop and the younger Henry Ware. In the third year of his ministry he came to open issue with his people as to the obligation and usefulness of the rite

of communion, and they refused to yield the established usage to his conviction, and reluctantly accepted his resignation. The sermon, which is for the first time published in Mr. Frothingham's volume, gives the only explanation that we have of his state of mind at this time. It is full and satisfactory as a view of his reading of the New Testament and his interpreting of the theological questions of that day, yet wholly inadequate as a disclosure of his inward experience and intellectual culture, or as a study of the highest truth on the gospel and the church. It is well-written and carefully reasoned, but not marked by profound thought or rich study, with little recognition of any view of Christ beyond the negative criticism of the time, which regarded him as a finite creature and a teacher and exemplar. He shows no trace of having studied with Augustine and Hooker or even with Swedenborg and Schleiermacher the incarnate Word, the Witnessing Spirit and the Living Church; and Christ's commandments, rather than his divinely human personality, stand to him for the power of his life. No wonder that he felt the discomfort and the inconsistency of continuing to treat with virtually divine honors a being who was to be looked upon as little if any more than man, and that he stepped out from the pulpit and the communion table into what was to him the larger freedom of the library and the lecture-room. Yet, in all probability, his distaste for ritual observances was the occasion rather than the cause of his secession. His disposition was too recluse, and his mind too individual, to make him wholly happy in pastoral care and routine preaching. Without in the least disparaging his devotion or questioning his kindness, we may easily see that he did not cross his destiny when he left his round of visits, his two sermons and lecture a week, and the set paths of clerical service, for the free range of nature and books, the solitude that favored his best thought, and for the choice circles that were willing and delighted to take a few essays or lectures as a full year's work. Whatever he might have been as a preacher and pastor for these forty years it is not easy or wise to conjecture, but we are willing to take him as he has been and is, a light in our living thought, and a master of our culture, by no means out of the line of the prophets, although not in their school.

Mr. Emerson's withdrawal from the ministry drew a great deal of attention, yet it excited little antagonism, especially because he made no war upon existing opinions or usages, but he quietly followed his own convictions. A somewhat powerful movement then encouraged the more conservative liberals whom he left, and the younger

Ware and Palfrey, who had gone from the best pulpits of Boston to chairs in the Theological School at Cambridge, were cheered by classes of unusual numbers and promise. There does not seem to have been any signal outbreak of the radical spirit among the theological students of that day at Cambridge, and those who remember Theodore Parker among them in 1834-6, at table and in the recitation-room and the debating hall, recall no sign of his subsequent revolutionary spirit, except, perhaps, the heat of his argument and the rush of his expression. With some students who had ideal tendencies, and who sympathized with transcendental thinking, Coleridge was the favorite name, and the *Aids to Reflection* and *The Friend*, had more attraction than the text-books of the school. There was indeed much questioning of the place of miracles in Christian evidence, but little if any positive denial of their reality; and the rise of the new school of spiritual philosophy, under the lead of James Walker, gave great comfort to many who were seeking for the foundations of Faith, not in tradition or in miracle alone or mainly, but in the spiritual world, and the spiritual faculties that are conscious proofs of its reality. Mr. Frothingham does justice to Dr. Walker in giving him so prominent a place among the leaders of spiritual thought, and he is right in affirming, that he accepted the cardinal principle of the Transcendental school, in asserting the existence of moral and religious capacities within the soul, and in insisting upon "a philosophy which comprehends the soul, a soul susceptible of religion, of the sublime principle of faith, of a faith which "entered into that within the veil." He taught also, that "every man is born with a moral faculty or the elements of a moral faculty, which, on being developed, creates in him the idea of a right and a wrong in human conduct." Yet Dr. Walker did not have full fellowship with the school of Transcendentalists, and he was less of a follower of Kant and Hegel than of Reid and Butler; in fact, every way more English than Germanic in the shape of his mind and the habit of his thinking, more a champion of laws and institutions than of abstract ideas and personal intuitions. He was moreover a preacher of positive Christianity, and he affirmed the fact of redemption through Christ, and the power of prayer in his name. He had, and has still in his posthumous fame great power, and that school of young liberal Christian preachers which had Starr King for its shining light, paid him the highest deference as their religious teacher, and Mr. King expressly ascribed his turn in life from business to theology to Dr. Walker's sermons and lectures.

All the while the Transcendental school with its virtual radicalism

and its come-outer spirit, not always latent, obviously grew, and great was the excitement when Emerson in 1838 was called to give the sermon before the graduating class of the Cambridge Divinity School, a sermon which, incendiary as it was then called, would raise little wrath among the conservative Christians of our day, and might be given with wholesome effect any where so far as its strictures upon the hum-drum and monotony of preaching are concerned. In fact the seven graduates who invited the preacher, meant rather to claim liberty than to encourage laxity, and of the three of these who still remain in the pulpit, one is an old fashioned Unitarian and the others are respectively a devout and intellectual Swedenborgian and a learned and influential Episcopalian. All the more by opposition, the newness grew and *The Dial* in 1840 brought together under Margaret Fuller and Emerson the sages and the singers of the new light and the new departure.

The four volumes of *The Dial*, which are now a rare treasure, are full of gems, as Mr. Frothingham shows by copious extracts, and he who would recall that coterie of choice spirits, both men and women, will do well to study those living and varied pages. Yet Emerson himself in the main keeps up the life that recorded the hours on that dial plate, and his essays are the standing proof of what set those wheels going. He is the most pronounced man not only among the Transcendentalists of New England, but among the ideal thinkers and writers of America, and he is quoted more widely by authors especially than any other man. Mr. Frothingham calls him the *seer*, and so in his way he is, for he sees the things that he is looking for, as no other man sees them, and he has a marvelous open vision for the soul and its life within and its schooling without, and for the truths and the characters that mean most for the soul. But he is *sayer* as well as seer, and his gift of utterance is no small part of his genius. He is not particularly eloquent and never logical, yet his word makes its own way by a witchery, as irresistible as the spell that rounds and enamels the pearl, gives light to the diamond, blood to the ruby, and drops so much of heaven into the sapphire's blue. He is not in all respects a satisfactory teacher, much less a sound theologian. But take him for what he is, the master of self-culture and literary taste, the Stoic of the nineteenth century, who discourses from the Porch of Zeno after free range in the gardens of Plato, and he is as indispensable as he is inimitable; and we are all ready to stand up for him against the whole host of Philistines in the old world and the new. It is not going over to the Philistines for us to say, however,

that the Stoic element predominates too much over the Platonic in his thought to suit the most wholesome and generous culture, and that he exacts too much of each man by himself and in himself to meet the needs of our average human nature or even of the most gifted natures. Plato was far more cognizant of our human frailty and limitation than this Yankee Zeno; far more ready to own the lapse of each soul, and the drift of the race from the supreme good and to affirm the need of social communion as well as self-discipline to secure wisdom and welfare. The Republic of Plato with all its extravagances is prophetic of the Church as well as of the State, and answers better than the Concord individualism to the wants of man and the results of civilization. Nor is it ill-natured to hint at another defect of Emerson's teaching that borders upon that isolation—his somewhat hard way of dealing with the short-comings and infirmities of our poor human nature, its sickness and its stumbling and leaning. He is a Greek of the early type in his love of health and beauty and genius, and his discourse begins and ends with the beatitude, Blessed is the perfect man. Does he not sometimes send us back for light and comfort to the great teacher who began in another strain with hope for the imperfect and the offer of grace beyond any pride of self-culture, when he opened the Sermon on the Mount with "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven," and made the sense of dependence and the need of fellowship the key-note of that kingdom.

Mr. Frothingham gives a minute and interesting account of the various persons who gathered about the Transcendental leaders, and he allows us to infer what were the influences that drew them together. They appear to have found a common attraction in the vital principle of the new school and to have been kept together by a certain pressure upon them from the old conservatives. The idea of the intuitive faculty, faith in the inner light, was the living spring about which they gathered; and the charming fountain was all the more winning to young seekers especially, because the sticklers for tradition and precedent tried to keep them away at the ancient pumps. The movement was mostly within the ranks of the Massachusetts liberals in theology, and it enlisted the large number of earnest men and women who did not believe that the acceptance of a modified negative creed was the last word of progress. They believed in the open soul as much as they believed in the Bible, and perhaps more; and in their reading of the Bible some of them held views of the office of the Spirit in interpreting the letter of the Bible, that were more

in unison with the ancient Catholic and evangelical faith than the current liberal views, which rested evidence mainly upon miracles. In fact the Transcendentalists had interior affinities with the universal church, and in some respects they were far more orthodox and catholic than their antagonists. The thinkers in Europe, who were nearest to them in essential tendencies, lived within the historical church. Indeed Coleridge openly abandoned his Socinian theology when he accepted the Transcendental philosophy, and became the leader of the Broad Church in England, while the German idealists from Schleiermacher to Hegel have done a great work in winning the educated classes to Christianity and the church. Had the leaders of the New England Transcendentalism found themselves in Berlin or in London, instead of in Boston, they might have been led to different results; and as the actual results show, they have done a great deal to give catholic and cosmopolitan largeness to the somewhat limited conventionalism of the theology and philosophy of our noble Puritan capital. Boston and Cambridge are pleased now rather than offended by having their generous affinities with all comprehensive thought clearly set forth; and they will not quarrel with us for saying that the worth of their culture does not depend upon the correctness of their dogmatic interpretations, and that genuine liberality is not limited to any theological school. James Walker was a careful reader of the latitude men of old English Cambridge in the seventeenth century, and what friend of his will believe that those men were not teachers and exemplars of spiritual liberty? Is there any thing ungenerous in suggesting that Benjamin Whichcote, the leading spirit of the Broad Churchmen of his day, did as much for spiritual emancipation with his associates during the forty years of his public career, from his inauguration as provost of King's College, Cambridge, in 1644, to his death in 1683, as William Ellery Channing accomplished with his associates, from the time he accepted the Dexter lectureship at our Cambridge in 1812, to his death in 1842? May we not say, that the two movements were in some respects alike, and that Channing would gladly have kept more to the church fellowship of those elder Cambridge scholars, and that he never parted with the Christ of the gospel, nor surrendered his birthright in the historical church of his fathers?

It is true indeed, that Boston Transcendentalism did not, in its early contact with established convictions and usages, tend much towards conciliation, or look much like catholicity. Mr. Frothingham presents with considerable distinctness the two persons in whom the

movement took its pronounced militant form, George Ripley and Theodore Parker, without whom it might have been limited to the walks of literature and philosophy. These two men never were very intimately associated, and they differed very much in mind, in disposition and in purpose, yet they are brought closely together in the history of their period. They seemed to play at cross purposes, indeed, in their leading directions, for Mr. Ripley went from his Boston pulpit to Brook Farm, in West Roxbury, in 1841, while Theodore Parker began at that very time to give lectures on theological subjects in Boston, and in 1845, he went from the West Roxbury pulpit to found the Twenty-eighth Congregational Society in Boston, at the Melodeon. Very likely these two movements interpreted each other, and the quiet scholar, whose broad and profound studies had led him to form opinions, which the dominant society of Boston did not approve, left behind him more spirits ready for new religious association than he was aware of, and thus unconsciously prepared the way for the flaming preacher of the Melodeon. Yet Mr. Ripley had not the desire or the convictions which Mr. Parker carried to his work. He was not a radical, but a constructive thinker. He held views in some respects quite conservative. He took great comfort in what he regarded as the marrow of historical Christianity, and he made no secret of his preference of such a thoughtful manual of spiritual religion as Barclay's *Apology* over the critical sharpness of Norton's "Statement of Reasons." Mr. Ripley was pastoral, affectionate, and devout in his disposition, and far from being revolutionary in his tendencies. Under different associations he might have taken a different course, and without undertaking to speak for him or to interpret his mind, we may easily conceive of his sympathizing with such philosophers as Coleridge, and such theologians as the brothers Hare and Frederick Maurice, and of his taking more satisfaction in their church fellowship than in that of the disciples of Belsham and Priestley, who had so much to do with forming the early tendency of Massachusetts liberalism, however little they have been followed by the later school.

It seems strange to us now, that a man of Mr. Ripley's quiet disposition and studious habits should have made such an abrupt change in his career, and started an enterprise so wholly novel and out of keeping with his education and companionships as the Brook Farm Association. The explanation may be the easier, if we remember that wherever new movements in thought appear, these movements tend to show themselves in practical shape, and every faith has its

practical fellowship, as the whole tenor of that time both in Europe and America showed. We must remember also what Mr. Frothingham hints, that Boston society in that day was not encouraging to new social undertakings within or without the nominal church. Strong as the attachment of the dominant conservatives was to their faith and to their Christian institutions, their religious fellowship was more civil and literary than it was ecclesiastical; the congregations gave to the term Society more emphasis than to that of Church; church membership was quite secondary to social and civic position, and the last idea to be entertained was the idea of basing new and serious plans of associate industry and education upon distinctly church relations. Then too the dominant liberal conservatism had its own forms of excommunication and its way of dropping and cutting and burning in spite of its boasted charity and genuine kindness and its honest abhorrence of the ancient fanaticism of the gallows, the fagot, and the guillotine. How to combine and to fortify the new spirits of light and progress, this became a pressing practical question, and Brook Farm seems to have been in part the result of a movement which appears from its constitution and laws to have started far more with the purpose of securing the rights and welfare of the individual than of building up any consolidated communism. Without undertaking to criticise the plan or the working of this Association, we must be content with saying, that it seems to have begun with claiming for each member privileges that could not be allowed without harm to the corporation in the end; as for example in requiring that all labor should be rewarded alike, however skilled or unskilled, and in promising to all shareholders interest on their shares without liability to taxation. But as the movement now stands in the light of history, we must regard it as a noble aspiration rather than as an economical achievement; and while we can not ignore the rare energy and self-sacrifice that were shown by the ruling spirits, we most prize them for their prophecy of the good time coming, when by just methods labor, skill and capital are to meet in practical coöperation, and social science is to join with Christian faith in the future of civilization. As things are tending now, the Brook Farm movement has more serious regard among thoughtful men of Christian convictions, than it had thirty years ago, and the mind that moved the farming and scholarly brethren of Benedict, the artists of Cluny and the thinkers of Port Royal, to live and labor together for the glory of God and the welfare of mankind, still lives and reads lovingly every record like this story of Transcendental brotherhood.

Theodore Parker took a different course from that of his Brook Farm neighbor. He went into Boston when Mr. Ripley came out, and instead of committing himself to a select few, he gave himself to the whole world of yearning, restless seekers. For twenty years, from his famous South Boston sermon, April 19th, 1841, to his death in Florence, May 10, 1860, he was the war spirit of Boston and Massachusetts reform. Those of us who knew him, and respected him with full knowledge of his entire career and of his rare gifts and virtues, are perhaps able to see the threads of power and of weakness that ran through his life. One who sat with him at the Commons Table and debated with him in the Divinity School Chapel over forty years ago, and who has stood by his grave in the Protestant Cemetery at Florence, can speak the honest conviction, that Parker was always an eager and laborious student, a truthful seeker, an untiring worker, a humane and devout man, yet never fully master of himself, never able to keep his fire down within the heat most favorable to his light and peace. He was always in a flame, and for the twenty-six years after he went to Cambridge, the fever seemed to have been gaining upon him till he died. His literary diet did not help his malady, for he devoured books enough to spoil any other man's digestion, and talked of them while he was eating his dinner. His work did not give him wholesome weariness, such as develops health and secures repose, for in every sermon he was fighting all the evil in the world and often battling with the great giants of Boston, hand to hand, not without a certain feeling that public opinion was in his keeping there. His recreation did not refresh him, for it took him east and west, north and south, with his lectures to listening crowds, and with the books in his carpet bag, that took ease from his travel and often drove sleep from his pillow. He taught great truths and urged humane principles, but he was not one of the great presiding lights of the race, the fixed stars of the firmament. His career and his works are full of extravagance, and the bitter and almost merciless assailant of the ruling statesmen and theologians of his day, the pessimist critic of the age, he was in his vision of the future the wildest of all optimists, and his heaven was open at last to every reptile and beast of nature as well as to every monster of history.

Such was his trust in the sweep of divine mercy and the demands of justice from all creation upon the Creator. His estimate of himself and his mission was extravagant, for, humble-minded as he was in some respects, and ready to do the poorest man service, he yet seemed

to think himself sent to make all things new and to stamp his name upon the ages.

Mr. Frothingham, who is author of a valuable biography of Theodore Parker, does not seem to anticipate for him the high place in letters that has been claimed for him, and while convinced that much might be done for his permanent influence by properly condensing his works, he believes that "there is no likelihood, that such a task will ever be performed, and therefore his writings must be placed in the ranks of occasional literature, valuable for many days, but not precious for many generations." It is to be hoped that a better destiny is in store for his name, and that a judicious selection will present his great excellences anew to our people and keep his words alive. They who care little for his philological and dogmatic criticisms, and who do not wish to see again his assaults upon political antagonists or his caricatures of the Christian Church, may well wish to preserve for themselves and their children the best of his fine descriptions of Nature, his loving sketches of human life, his strong appeals for justice and humanity, and his devout and lowly confession of his need of God and of his trust in his providence here and hereafter. Perhaps the very traits that his biographer may not much sympathize with, especially his intense sense of the personal love and the prevailing power of God, may give him new value with the mind of our generation, which is so much tempted to put inexorable law in the place of the Creator, and in the immanence of spirit in Nature to lose thought of the transcendent and Almighty Father whom Theodore Parker never denied.

We have not much space left for treating of the intellectual form which Transcendentalism took in New England, and of the influence which it left, but happily there is no need of any great length in discussing these aspects of the subject. Mr. Frothingham is not very full nor wholly satisfactory in presenting the Transcendental philosophy in its completeness, nor does he make wholly clear, what its essential principles are in certain important respects. He says indeed: "Transcendentalism was a distinct philosophical system. Practically it was an assertion of the inalienable worth of man; theoretically it was an assertion of the immanence of divinity in instinct, the transference of supernatural attributes to the natural constitution of mankind." These words give a fair general description of certain features of the modern ideal philosophy, and do not affirm any peculiar characteristic of the New England school. In fact it is not certain that the New England school of Transcendentalism had any distinct-

ively original features, and perhaps the best face is put upon its originality when the freshness and variety of its literature are set forth as in these words: "Such a faith would necessarily be protean in its aspects. Philosopher, critic, moralist, poet, would give it tone according to cast of genius. It would present in turn all the phases of idealism, and to the outside spectator seem a mass of wild opinions; but running through all was the belief in the Living God in the soul, faith in immediate inspiration, in boundless possibility and in unimaginable good." Here is a statement of what the author regards as the crowning principle of the thorough Transcendentalist, who was not content with believing that man has a natural capacity for receiving supernatural truths when presented by revelation without the power to unfold them naturally by process of mental and spiritual growth: "The pure Transcendentalist went much further. According to him, the seeds of truth, if not the outline forms of truth, were contained in the soul itself, all ready to expand in bloom and beauty, as it felt the light and heat of the upper world." All this if true is not new, and there is little if anything in the speculative philosophy of their thinkers that had not been anticipated by their German and English predecessors of the ideal or mystical schools, in their various attempts to go to the foundation of things and make Thought adequate to Being.

Emerson is quite himself in his style and illustrations, but his essential ideas are found, as he is probably ready to allow, in the great masters whom he has studied. He is indeed quite an original in every way, and he makes familiar truth his own by tracing it to the fountain head. But in Zeno and Kant and Fichte, we find his severe ethical rule, and in Plato and Spinoza, there is more said of the over-soul than in his pages; perhaps in Plato a far more sound statement of the truth on that subject or of the connection of each soul with God, than in the pages of the Concord seer. The whole Transcendental movement in New England rested apparently more upon Spinoza than upon Kant, and it was more an affirmation of the immanence of God in the universe than a critical statement of the laws of thought. George Bancroft was apparently the most loyal student and disciple of Kant; and Dr. Frederick H. Hedge did much to make the philosopher of Königsberg known among us, while his own mind took more satisfaction in Schelling and Hegel, and he has lately found light even in the pages of Schopenhauer, that champion of the Will as the Absolute. Theodore Parker seems to have made Plato his oracle, but he drew freely from all the modern masters of philosophy and was at home in Spinoza and Hegel, and delighted greatly in the theologian, Baur,

who aimed to bring the new philosophy to bear upon Christian doctrine. Mr. Alcott, if he had any master, seems to have most prized Jacob Boehme, and in this respect he has anticipated the rise of quite a powerful school of thinkers who claim with this Teutonic philosopher to know divine things empirically from the light of spiritual senses, as nature is known empirically by the natural senses. Margaret Fuller took more to the poets than to the philosopher, and sometimes thus she had her philosophy through poetry and she found Spinoza in Goethe and Kant in Schiller.

There were certainly memorable limitations in the philosophical thinking of this school. They were too exclusively idealists, and they had very inadequate notions of the nature and office and training of the will, and they apparently regarded the will more as a choice of the judgment, a decision of the mind, than as a force of itself quite as essential and characteristic as the intellect, and capable of being carried up into as lofty spheres. Then again they had an imperfect conception of society and of the history in which it is evolved, and of the Art which is its expression. They were a somewhat meditative, lonely, introversial, separatist people. Their literature turned more upon the soul than upon its hearty, wholesome life among men. They made poems, but few of these are songs of impassioned love, or lyrics of flaming loyalty or communion. They said much of Art and did little to promote it, except in the choice of words and the sense of beauty in nature and in criticisms of books and persons. They did not accept the great historical fellowship in which Art has its motive, nor did they acknowledge that intense force and systematic training of the will which give the artist his peculiar power. They raised up many amateurs, but few artists, few composers of music, few conspicuous painters, sculptors, architects. No strong drama has come from them. They had powerful writers and preachers, but these generally got their fire outside of their school, and they were kindled into their glow by contact with the real world under teachers of a very different stamp. Their preachers tended to quit the pulpit for the lecture-room, and are still doing so under the new state of opinion and turn of purpose. In fact the awakening of the will power by the new spirit of New England life, especially by the call upon the golden youth to save the nation from treason, and to follow the flag to the war, made a great change in the whole culture of the day; and while the old ideal was not lost, other elements came into play, and it may be that Transcendentalism itself has not lost, but been exalted, and invigorated by this heroic phase. Art showed

itself when the blood began to tingle with martial fire; and the only building which Harvard University has erected in the spirit of Art, is the Memorial Hall which commemorates her fallen heroes, and embodies the force which her own graduates have put into architecture under the new incentives. The sculptor Story, who is probably to be regarded as a scion of Transcendentalism, shows something of this transition, and as he feels the new fellowship of historical and national life, he has passed from bookish subjects to living facts, and he is likely to live to do great things for his art here among the people to whom he belongs, and who are sorely in need of such masters of expression as he. Klopstock and Winkelmann are put at the head of modern German thinkers in the book which we have named third upon our list, and surely our modern American awakening needs the art of the latter as well as the poetry of the former to secure its victory. If Greenough began and Crawford continued our American sculpture, and thus brought the spirit of Greek art to bear upon our new life, there is more to be done in this line, and there are subjects enough for the best genius and the boldest hand.

Mr. Frothingham does not claim any great vigor for Transcendentalism at the present time, and he speaks of it very much as a fact of the past, yet he is too good a scholar not to see that thought is often most quickened when it seems to die; and that the ideas that make the life of coteries, and sects, and schools, by no means disappear with these. In fact purely ideal movements are never matured until they appear in new forms of life and action; and it is not well to insist upon keeping opinions at a certain stage in set form and association. New England culture is constantly showing this truth; and the various sects that have divided her people may be regarded more as transient stages of thought and experience than as final forms of fellowship. The Arminian period with its civic temper and classic study, the new Liberalism with its ethical and humanitarian tendencies, the Transcendental movement with its ideal and radical elements, have probably culminated, and neither of them commands the mind and heart of the present generation, while all of them have been of decided use to the community, and have left much of their power in public opinion. Dr. Rufus Ellis maintains that the old schism is healing, and that the division between New England Congregationalists is likely to cease in the course of fifty years, a period about as long as since the schism began.

It would be interesting to have a full and fair survey of modern New England culture in this generous spirit, and to have our own

scholars and thinkers presented as comprehensively as the German leaders of the great awakening in the last hundred years are presented by Dr. Ehrenfeuchter. What a list he gives and what kindred American names they suggest! Klopstock, Winkelmann, Lessing, Herder, Goethe, Schiller, Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, with all their fore-runners in culture, and with all their influence upon the subsequent times, especially their influence upon Christianity and the Church. He treats at length the relation between their effort to break through the hard, dry legalism which surrounded them, and to vindicate the rights of the mind and to secure the wholesome life of society, the science and the art of nature and human life, with the prevailing ideas of religion; and he aims to show that culture has been constantly tending towards Christian principles, and that the reconciliation of science with faith, and of letters and art with theology must come. Of course the leaders in this culture movement have been in great part idealists, and only until lately have the materialists shown their heads in high places in German thought. Those names may not be fully matched by our American authors, but they have had essentially their counterparts here, and surely our New England view of the universe may be made to illustrate Christianity as well as the German *Weltanschauung* which is before us now. One difference between the two lists is, that there is less of the sect spirit among the Germans than among us, and Transcendentalism there appears in the Lutheran, the Reformed, and even the Roman Catholic church, and was not driven into a corner as with us.

Undoubtedly the spread of the ideal philosophy has been one cause of its apparent decline, and the sect of Transcendentalists has disappeared, because their light has gone every where. Indeed there is something in ideal views that is impatient of mere meditation, and that delights to associate with practical men, and to deal with the real business of life. Men like what is unlike themselves. The Northman goes South and the Southron goes North. The sailor sighs for the land, and the landsman dreams of the open sea. So, too, the idealist, who lives among his fellows who tend to brood over their own minds, runs gladly away into the busy world and he finds there that instead of renouncing his ideas or his intuitions, he can bring them into fuller play.

The Brook Farm Reformer ventured nobly upon his plan of association, but he did not part with his faith or his virtue, when he entered a broader association, and inaugurated a school of literary criticism which has purified the tastes and enlightened the judgment

of millions of readers, and when with an associate of former years he edited the great cyclopedia of useful knowledge which is a blessing to our whole people, and what has been fitly called a "portable university;" nor has the genial and graceful youth, who kept his cheery temper amidst the Brook Farm toil, lost his high heart by working at a larger service and dispensing light and joy to the great host of readers who surround his "Easy Chair," and sometimes find bits of grave wisdom among his sparkling sentences. Those men and their companions have done a great deal to enlighten and lift up the world, and they are not renegades from their first love. Their old associates are found in all walks of life, and not a few among them have gone into the conservative and historical churches without renouncing the old ideal. It is safe to say, that in one respect, they are all very much alike, and they who have ever had an earnest sense of the worth of the soul and the reality of "the vision and the faculty divine," as the Transcendentalists had, carry with them a certain freshness through life, and never bow the knee to Mammon or any of his minions. Household life, too, has been the better by the infusion of the ideal element, and many Transcendental maidens who followed their sister superior, Margaret Fuller, into matrimony, have made good report of the light at their fireside, without her tragic end.

Meanwhile great changes have come over opinions. Mr. Frothingham does not try to conceal the tendency that draws so many away from ideal convictions toward the new school of materialism. Even here, however, he finds hope and quotes Tyndall with favor, where he affirms the persistence of the imagination, emotion and the moral sentiment with their right to create ideal worlds of which the natural world is image and symbol. There is another change, which the author does not recognize, and this is the decided increase of church feeling and life, to the disadvantage of the transcendental movement. Mr. Frothingham evidently lays little stress upon the positive gospel and the historical church, which have been practically the reconciliation of the strife between the ideal and the materialist schools, and which now call so many serious thinkers to the ground of rest and the spring of spiritual power. His history is impartial and undogmatic, without partisan bitterness or insinuation, yet he never shows any strong sense of the worth of the Christian church; and his introduction to the volume of essays upon Freedom and Fellowship in Religion, is a direct and special plea against the value and stability of Christian institutions, while the essays generally are in the same strain, and some of them expressly renounce the Christian name. In

this respect he and they are evidently at issue with the deepest philosophy and the most comprehensive humanity of our time. The true wisdom trusts in the Incarnate Word; the strength of ethics is in the Holy Spirit which came with that Word; and the beautiful art which builds diverse natures into loving unity, and carries humor as well as pathos into every sphere of sentiment, lives in that divinely human fellowship, that kingdom of God among men which sages as well as saints have called the Universal Church, and which no sects can divide or destroy. How the present quarrel between science and faith, culture and Christianity, is to be reconciled, we may not clearly see, but it is very sure that there is something in both spheres that belongs to us all, and that God himself is over them both. Can a better close to this article be made than in the words of the author of "Christianity and Modern World-viewing?" "In fact he who has known what the kingdom of God is, has found the true key which unlocks the knowledge of the subject, so much discussed among us, the relation of culture and the church. As little as we may expect that these two will ever be exactly adjusted to each other, so much the more certain we may be, that they will find their reconciliation in the study of the kingdom of God which lies above them both."

The History of New England Transcendentalism belongs to both of these spheres, culture and the church, and it is a part of that movement which must bring them both together in God's own time and way. It is not a little remarkable, that the author of this History, Mr. Frothingham, and the man who holds the first place in his roll of honor, Mr. Emerson, are both sons of clergymen and of clergymen who were pastors of the same Puritan Church, the First Church of Puritan Boston. Their culture had a church root and it may at last bear church fruit.

JOURNALS AND JOURNALISM IN ITALY.

AS Italy now has, and always will have, a considerable number of centres, so journalism, and political journalism in particular, ought to conform itself to this special characteristic of the country. In spite of the fact that the government resides in the city which was called in former times *caput mundi*, and which, even at this day, is the capital of the Catholic world, or of the church which believes itself to be universal, Rome is as yet very far from absorbing in itself the whole of Italian life. Rather be it said that those who visit the Eternal City and do not content themselves with its monuments, ancient, mediæval, and modern, and who do not merely cast a hasty glance over the crowds of people which move to and fro in its streets, remain struck with no slight astonishment and surprise at seeing how in Rome itself there exist several centres which live an isolated life, as it were, and indifferent, nay, and quite independent of one another, are very far from forming with their *ensemble* an organic whole, harmonious in all its parts. There is, for example, a Papal city which depends to a greater or less degree upon the Vatican, and which considers as a heretic or barbarian race all such as think best to live in disobedience to the Vatican. There is a military world, which, in no less degree than the ecclesiastical, lives in its own quarters, does not associate with any other than the army circle, and is taken up only with such interests as occupy the service. There is a bureaucratic world which, as is to be expected, exists also at Rome and, living in very narrow circumstances, has not succeeded in being received into Roman society, and has the same standing in the city as a colony would have. There is a diplomatic world, subject to constant changes and keeping near the surface of society. It imparts an elegant varnish to life at the capital but does not penetrate very deeply into it, and dwells at Rome as it would in a provisional residence. Finally there is the world of Romans, properly so called, more terrified than pleased at the honor and responsibility of possessing the political capital of the kingdom of Italy, which responsibility seems to them like a burden suddenly put on their

backs, endured rather than sought. In the midst of such difficult conditions, it becomes the duty of the Italian government to put forth herculean exertions to create a suitable seat of government, and to persuade the world that Rome is the Italian city from which the remainder of the peninsula can best be ruled. But, aside from internal difficulties, the Italian government has the enormous disadvantage of finding in the environs and close by the walls of the city the wilderness of the Campagna Romana, which furnishes so much delight to painters, poets, archæologists, and tourists who flock to Rome in quest of the countless vestiges of a civilization now no more, but which, be it added, is a constant source of sorrow and discouragement to every genuine lover of his native land who longs to see her filled with vital strength. The Pontifical government, as a representative of mediævalism, has every interest to remain isolated from modern life and civilization. Therefore this vast Campagna, though uninhabited and pestilence-breeding, very far from causing it any annoyance, was a source of pleasure because looked upon as a bulwark and fortress against all the invasions of civilization. Fortresses are excellent as isolators in social life : they stand a perpetual threat that a state of war and mistrust shall be permanently maintained. In such a posture of affairs, it is with extreme difficulty that social life attains a full and free development. Now the effort of the government should be to establish more numerous relations between Rome and the other provinces of the peninsula, greatly to improve the Campagna, and to attract to itself a larger number of dissidents by forming a very strong and homogeneous nucleus which, without crushing other very old fashioned elements, would allow the new and more enlightened class to take a leading position. The government may be likened to a sculptor who persists in working a material that rebels against his efforts, and who, from a shapeless block of hard, uneven marble, with far more energy of will than force of genius, at last succeeds in carving out a figure, full of the motion and life of art. Now, to measure its exertions fairly, we ought not to base our judgment upon our observation of the separate acts of this or that man, but to consider the unity of purpose which directs, inspires, and moves the sum of its deeds. In this regard, we are aware that strangers who look on from a distant point, can judge and appreciate the work better than we ourselves, who, watching from day to day the slightest matters and conscious of short-comings and errors of detail, easily lose the thread of our own governmental affairs. The foreigner, in directing his attention to the grand sequence of events, is more

occupied with the *ensemble* than with the particular incidents which compose it. Hence, his appreciation of results may well be far more just than our own.

We have deemed it our duty to take into consideration these conditions, and, in fact, they are peculiar, both of the whole country and of Rome, in order to explain the far from brilliant state in which journalism at the capital now is placed, when the relative size and prosperity of Italy are remembered, to show how it happens that Roman newspapers are neither very widely circulated nor very influential, and furthermore to make it understood how in that city its own journals are not very much read. We except two governmental journals, the *Opinione*, which, with greater or less zeal, has always been the steady and tolerably faithful spokesman of the ideas of the governments which have successively directed our external and internal policy, and the *Italie*, published in the French language, which, as the special interpreter of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, is understood to maintain above all things pleasant political relations between Italy and France. These newspapers, by their privileged position, have acquired a singular degree of authority which renders them in very great request in the other Italian provinces, the first having of course a wide circulation among governmental employés, the second among the diplomats and strangers residing in Italy.

The *Opinione* is with the *Gazetta del Popolo*, published at Turin, one of the oldest journals in Italy. Having been founded at about the same time as the Piedmontese constitution was formed, it has remained for more than twenty-five years the sagacious supporter of the liberal and moderate policy of the Italian government. All the ministries have found its support to be of real influence, and it has constantly received a subvention. The manager of the *Opinione* is Giacomo Dina, a lawyer by profession, and at present deputy in parliament. By race an Israelite, Signor Dina is a man of decided culture, and his mind, though not of an elegant turn, is remarkable for its far-seeing sagacity. He is ready at political polemic, and the *Opinione* has, under his direction, attained a circulation of ten thousand copies. The *Italie* was founded by the celebrated Princess Cristina di Belgioso at the time when the Franco-Italian alliance was at the height of its popularity. The subvention which it enjoys comes as may be imagined from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Though written in a French that is utterly impossible, its columns are tolerably well furnished with political and miscellaneous news. The *Italie* cannot have a circulation exceeding three thousand copies.

At present it is under the management of Augusto Cesara, a Lombard journalist.

Among the journals published in Rome which have, however, a wide circle of readers outside of the city, we would mention *Il Fanfulla*, which is a species of Italian *Figaro*. One portion of the paper gives the intelligence of the day and is indeed full of interesting news, another is devoted to the comic department, whose columns are witty and striking. The staff of editors contains a considerable number of writers who, for the most part, are not lacking in vivacity and *esprit*. All these collaborators disguise themselves under pseudonyms. Amusing literature seems to be the branch especially cultivated by this journal. Of course it has political opinions and these are the views represented by the moderate party. It laughs with a good honest laugh, though sometimes it becomes somewhat malicious and even shows a disposition to persecute. Its laugh sounds rather hollow when raised in accordance with superior orders. More than once has the *Fanfulla* encountered public disapprobation as the just reward for its excesses. In view of certain of its improprieties, some one has nicknamed it the "Official Buffoon." It was in Florence that a merry band of writers set this journal on foot rather in jest and on trial than with serious intent. Of the number were the present director of the paper, Signor Avanzini, whose *nom de plume* is E. Caro, Signor Piacentini, the manager of the *Gazzetta Ufficiale*, who signs himself Silvius, and Signor Cesana, already known as editor of the *Italie*, who conceals himself under the pseudonym of Tomaso Canella, the modest hero of one of his own romances. Besides several others, we may single out for mention the witty author of a number of dramatic proverbs, Baron Federico De Renzis, at present a deputy. That part of the journal called "High Life" is from his pen. The pseudonym of Fantasio conceals the identity of another deputy and dramatic author, Signor Martini, while Yorick and Collodi are the respective disguises of the advocate Ferrigni, and of Signor Lorenzini. Moreover, all these writers have a hand in a joint chronicle signed with the name of Fanfulla, who is a well-known and interesting personage in the novels of Massimo d'Azeglio. The new journal suddenly came into favor with the ladies of our country who, generally speaking, confine themselves to a rather narrow range of reading, and, by its decided merit, it has met with great success. Its circulation, however, is by no means uniform, but fluctuates from year to year, being liable to rise and fall considerably, varying between twenty and eight thousand copies, since it counts far more upon adventitious

sales which are made in the streets than upon the regular subscriptions.

A post of honor among Roman journals deservedly belongs to the *Diritto*. Its birth-place is Piedmont and it first saw the light in the capital of the former kingdom. It already counts twenty years of activity both at Turin and at Rome, whither it was transplanted at the same time with the seat of government. Signor Lorenzo Valerio, the founder, was one of the most ardent members of the opposition in the old parliament of the Subalpine kingdom. The *Diritto* formerly bore a different title—the *Giornale della Democrazia Italiana*. In the early period of its existence, it was under the management of the advocate Annibale Marazio, now member of parliament, and in those days advocated the policy of Urbano Rattazzi. After 1861, it was successively conducted by the deputies Sanna, Bargoni, prefect of Turin, Mauro Macchi, and Giuseppe Civinini. At present date, the property of the engineer Clementi Maraini, it has for some years been the special organ of the parliamentary party of the centre presided over by the deputy Correnti. Within a few months, it having been by the assistance of the centre, in particular, that the left has come into power, the importance of the *Diritto* has so much increased that it now speaks with the authority of a quasi-official journal, or at any rate of a journal somewhat in the confidence of government. The circulation of the *Diritto*, after having been in past years exceedingly insignificant, has of late redoubled and reaches something like four thousand copies.

Besides the journals already mentioned and the *Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno*, published at Rome, there exist in the city several others, as the *Capitale*, a demagogue sheet, the *Bersagliere*, at the present moment the special organ of the Minister of the Interior, Giovanni Nicotera, though formerly an unruly and badly written exponent of the views of the opposition, and the *Popolo Romano*, which undertakes the special defense of the interests of the capital city. The *Libertà*, under the management of Signor Arbib, is a moderate journal. Displaying tolerable skill in editing, but in the possession of very little influence, this newspaper, in spite of the very great moderation of its opinions and its success in obtaining advertisements, has very few readers. The well-known *Osservatore Romano*, exponent of ultra Catholic views, is edited by the Marchese Baviera. It is often quoted beyond the limits of Rome, which is more than can be said of several other sheets of minor importance. Journals interesting only to specialists need not be mentioned here.

The capital of the kingdom of Italy, transported from Turin to Florence, and from Florence to Rome, drew after it a certain number of journals. Not a few, on the other hand, have been left behind to live a somewhat more provincial life on the banks of the Po and of the Arno.

At Turin remained the old *Gazzetta del Popolo*, founded and formerly directed by Felice Govean, whose present successor is Giambattista Bottero. This little journal composed in the popular style is the active and determined foe of the clergy, and goes, with its widely-diffused circulation, into all the small cities and also into the numerous villages of Piedmont. The number of copies it prints varies from one year to another, sometimes rising to twenty thousand, at others falling off to only twelve thousand. Much less widely-read is the former official organ of the government of the Sardinian kingdom, the *Gazzetta Piemontese*, now the able exponent of independent views and of those of the constitutional Piedmontese opposition. Valuable on account of its political ability, it is rendered more so by the literary department it embraces, which is under the supervision of a distinguished critic and author of comedies and romances, Vittorio Bersezio. It has a very small circulation, about three thousand copies. The *Gazzetta di Torino* is conducted by a certain Marchese Calani. This newspaper is of a rather frivolous kind, and is fond of publishing sensational intelligence, and when this is not to be found, of inventing it. It affects democratic and philanthropic ideas, and circulates about five thousand copies at the outside, which are in great part sold in the streets. The *Conte di Cavour* advocates moderate opinions, but possesses very little influence, as it is little read. Besides a number of Catholic papers which have a wide influence among the clergy, there are published at Turin two famous comic pictorial journals, the *Fischietto* and the *Pasquino*. As there is little to be said respecting these publications we will proceed at once to notice the journals appearing in the city of Florence.

Florence has two great and two small political journals, namely the *Nazione* and the *Gazzetta d'Italia*, the *Gazzetta del Popolo di Firenze* and the *Opinione Nazionale*. This last is nicknamed, from the class of persons among whom it is popular in Florence, the "Chambermaids' Journal." It is widely diffused among those of the *popolo minuto* who have a liking for its trivial range of subjects. It does not enjoy any credit. The other little journal is merely the echo of paltry scandals and of the insignificant *dispetti di campanile*. Its circulation does not exceed twelve hundred copies. A journal that

is written with a certain ability is the *Gazetta d'Italia*. Being printed on a large sheet, it furnishes a great deal of news, and it aspires to hold among us a position similar to that held by the *London Times*. In its ambitious efforts to figure as the interpreter of public opinion, it attains no other end than to prove the lack of solidity which marks the character of its editor, Carlo Pancrazi, whose fickleness and excesses are too often noticeable. As a journal acting as the exponent of moderate views, it had hitherto received a subvention from the government until the new ministry on its succeeding to power withdrew it. Thereupon the *Gazetta d'Italia* became what it still is, the enraged antagonist of the new administration, against which it has unscrupulously heaped up every species of calumny and scandal. Its circulation varies between three and five thousand. Of all the journals published in Tuscany, the *Nazione* is the one most distinguished for excellence of style and dignity of tone. Nevertheless, it has hardly one thousand subscribers on its books, and outside of Tuscany it is but little in request. At the present moment it is under the editorial charge of a man of high literary culture. Celestini Bianchi, whose genius is remarkable both in the world of politics and in the field of journalism, is a distinguished deputy in parliament, where he advocates the views held by the liberal party of Tuscan moderates. To this highly-respectable party belong Bettino Ricasoli and Ubaldino Peruzzi. The *Nazione* is, of course, their Florentine representative among the newspapers. The *Lampione* is the title of a comic journal published in Florence. It is pictorial, and its exceedingly humorous illustrations proceed from the pencil of Matarelli, a painter of high repute. The Jesuits publish in the Tuscan capital their famous review, the *Civiltà Cattolica*. It appears every fortnight, and its views, it need hardly be added, are those of the ultra clerical party. The liberal catholic party, also, has a review of its own, edited by the Genoese Marchese Salvago. This publication bears the title of *Rivista Universale*. There are also two important literary reviews, both of larger size, and both more widely read. The former of these is the *Nuova Antologia*, conducted by the economist, Professor Francesco Protonotari, the other, entitled the *Rivista Europea*, is edited by the writer of this article. Both periodicals appear monthly, but their aims are somewhat different. The *Antologia* follows the special purpose of presenting an interesting series of articles from the pens of the best living Italian *literati*, while the *Rivista Europea* aims to establish a closer relation between the authors of Italy and those of foreign lands as well as to make

Italians better acquainted with the periodical writers of the latter. The efforts made by each of the conductors of these publications tend to give importance and to impart interest to their respective reviews, but the circulation which the periodicals have gained does not yet bear a just proportion to the exertions put forth.

It is, at any rate, evident that as a publishing centre Florence has attained an importance which far exceeds that of Rome. So at Milan there prevails activity in the publication of journals which is much more general than that noticeable in any other city of the kingdom. It is, we must add, no small advantage to be able to say, "This is the city of Italy where there is the most reading, good or bad." There are two publishers who, of themselves, issue four or five journals, and have been so fortunate as to find means to render them thriving, or to give to them all a sufficiently extensive circulation, thus making it advantageous to continue their publication. The two publishers alluded to, are Signor Sonzono and Signor Treves. To the latter gentleman, moreover, we must do the justice of recognizing the noble exertions he has put forth to render some of his publications works worthy of the wide renown which the Italians enjoy in art. The *Illustrazione Universale*, edited by him and appearing once a week, has nothing to fear even if put in comparison with the most elegant pictorial journals published in England, France, and Germany. The same publisher issues an Italian edition of the well-known Paris journal of travels, the *Tour du Monde*, a series of readings for the family called the *Musco di Famiglia* and a little *Universo Illustrato*, intended to come within the reach of little purses. Very ordinary both in the literary and in the artistic department are all the publications of the establishment of Signor Sonzono. What comes from its press, though not of a weighty nature, is still very widely diffused. For instance, the same concern issues the *Secolo*, which among Milanese journals is the most widely circulated and read. Its conductor, Signor Teodoro Ernesto Moneta, has made his paper the champion of democratic ideas, and has seen fit to let it represent unvarying opposition to the government, whether the latter be good or not. The *Secolo* is hawked about the streets, and a great many copies are thus sold off, one by one. Morally speaking, its credit does not stand very high. But the numerous copies struck off show that it pays. A somewhat more serious character is that displayed by the *Pungolo*, a journal under the direction of a Venetian advocate, Signor Leone Fortis. The views which it defends are indeed liberal and tend to be of a democratic kind, though held with

moderation. The *Pungolo* opposes itself to the inroads of the ideas, or rather the interests, of the great *bourgeoisie* and of the middle stratum of Milanese society. The circulation of this paper is rather variable, sometimes as high as fourteen, sometimes as low as eight thousand copies.

The diffusion of these Milanese publications seems to be in inverse ratio to their importance and serious character. The light and frivolous journals enjoy an extensive popularity and the large number of copies sold would seem to indicate that their influence is very considerable. The *Perseveranza* of Milan is beyond question the most serious and the most important journal of Lombardy. Undoubtedly it enjoys high credit and its opinions are much valued by a very intelligent circle of readers. Yet it is a fact that the circulation of this excellent publication does not surpass, if it attains, a limit of three thousand copies. Founded in 1859 to represent the public policy of the moderate, liberal aristocratic party in Lombardy, the *Perseveranza* was, at the outset, conducted by Pacifico Valussi, then for some years by Ruggiero Bonghi who finally became minister, and now for two years it has been directed by Doctor Carlo Landieriani. If among all the journals which see the light in Italy we were to choose the one which most resembles the *Journal des Débats* of Paris, we should single out the *Perseveranza*, both on account of the high character of its general contents and the candor and moderation of its views. Yet another journal of moderate political views should be mentioned here, namely the *Lombardia*, edited by Signor Viviani. This paper, which has a circulation of only about a couple of thousand copies, publishes the official acts for the province of Milan.

In Venice there is published but one good newspaper, the old *Gazetta di Venezia*. This, though by no means a popular sheet, is really a very good one. It stands on the same footing as the *Perseveranza* of Milan and the *Nazione* of Florence, with which it divides the suffrages of intelligent readers. The other journals issued in Venice are of a spiritless kind, though full of small gossip and frivolous stories. The *Stampa*, the *Rinnovamento*, the *Tempo*, belong to this inferior class of journals, of which it ought to be said that the more they are read, the less esteem do they deserve.

If the statements just made are true of the condition of newspapers in Venice, they are none the less so when they are repeated in reference to journalism in Naples. The *Gazetta di Napoli*, for example, is a journal of the best class, and has, furthermore, the advantage of being inspired and partly edited by Signor Bonghi, but yet it enjoys

much less of popular favor than the fiery little journal entitled *Roma*. Two deputies belonging to the left, Pasquale Billi and Giuseppe Lazaro, make this trifling publication the exponent of democratic views. In Naples, also, are issued the *Piccolo Giornale di Napoli*, and another *Pungolo*. The former is conducted by the deputies Chiaradia and Zerbi, both of whom defend moderate political opinions, and the latter is directed by the deputy, Comin, a member of the moderate democratic party. Palermo is not wholly unfurnished with trustworthy journals, but when we have mentioned three of a relatively serious character, we come to a class of inferior and decidedly pestilent sheets. The three alluded to are the *Giornale di Sicilia*, an official newspaper, the *Corriere Siciliano*, moderate, and the *Precursore*, democratic. The soil of Sicily breeds a great number of little journalistic fungi, which send forth their poisonous exhalations and which form the unwholesome food of some readers among the ignorant and debased portion of the common people. In Genoa the advocate Papa has for more than twenty years conducted the excellent *Corriere Mercantile*. Moderate in its political opinions, this newspaper enjoys great esteem, and especially in financial and economic discussions is its credit very high. Near this is published the official *Gazzetta di Genova*, besides two spirited journals of the opposition, the *Movimento*, a sort of republican sheet, and the *Caffaro*, which promotes the opinions of the constitutional opposition. The latter sheet is conducted by Giulio Antonio Barrili, who has distinguished himself by very meritorious literary performances. His novels and poems are admired for their grace and elegance.

Though the number of journals already mentioned is considerable, we feel that it is desirable to call attention to a few more which enjoy some credit, and have a wide circulation in the provinces where they are published. The *Gazetta Livornese*, appearing at Leghorn, and advocating moderate political opinions, has attained a high rank among Tuscan provincial journals. At Cuneo is published the *Sentinella delle Alpi*, at Alessandria the *Avvisatore*, at Vercelli the *Vesillo*, and at Novara the *Vedetta*. Ivrea and Varallo have each its political newspaper; in the former town is published the *Dora Baltea*, in the latter the *Monte Rosa*. The *Monferrato* and *Patriota* are issued, the one at Cuneo, the other at Parma, in which city is also published a *Gazetta*. The *Panaro* of Modena, and the *Corriere del Adda*, appearing at Lodi, should be noticed here. The *Corriere Cremonese*, the *Sentinella Bresciana*, the *Gazetta* of Bergamo, the *Arena* of Verona, and the *Gazetta* of Treviso ought not to be omitted from the list, to

which we may add the *Giornale* of Udine, the *Gazetta* of Ferrara, the *Gazetta delle Romagne*, published at Bologna, the *Corriere delle Marche* of Ancona, and the *Giornale* of Barletta. Two Sicilian newspapers, the *Gazetta* of Messina, and the *Gazetta* of Catania, may be mentioned in connection with the *Corriere della Sardegna* issued at Cagliari.

This long list of journals, and a much longer one might easily be drawn up,—what does it prove? That in Italy there exist a considerable number of centres, not merely of administrative activity, but especially of political life, and that there is a decided local opinion differing to a greater or less degree from the views of public affairs prevailing at Rome. To govern well, it is the duty of the ministry to take into account the local opinion, which may be ascertained from the study of the newspapers reflecting it. Previous ministries, intent upon the steady effort to unify and organize the kingdom, have not paid very great attention to the views maintained here and there in the minor centres of Italian political life. The first ministry of the left, in succeeding to power, seems, on the other hand, to be deviating from the course hitherto pursued, and local opinions are rightly becoming the object of its diligent attention. To relieve the Heart of Italy from the incubus of the Papal government now weighing it down will be an indispensable reform. Yet, when this shall have been effected, the conviction ought none the less to prevail that he who provides for Rome does not provide for the whole of Italy, and that the wilderness of the Campagna should no longer isolate the capital from the remainder of the kingdom.

PHILIP GILBERT HAMERTON AND HIS WORKS.¹

HELLIFIELD-PEEL is an old embattled tower still standing in Craven. It is at least four and a half centuries old, and furnishes striking evidence of the honest and substantial work achieved by the master builders of the fifteenth century. It was first occupied by Lawrence Hamerton, a leading man of his day. Several representatives of his family were the recipients of royal favor. Two or three were made knights, one a knight-banneret, and others were distinguished in a lesser degree. Sir Richard Hamerton, who died in 1480, married, as his second wife, a daughter of Thomas, Lord Clifford and Westmoreland, and sister of John, the bloody Lord Clifford, who fell at Towton field.

Sir Richard's son, Sir Stephen Hamerton, was made a knight-banneret in 1482. He rode with the Earl of Northumberland to meet King Henry VII. in his progress to York. The grandson of Sir Stephen, of the same name, was one of the leaders of the great northern insurrection against Henry VIII., called the "Pilgrimage of Grace." He and his associates equipped an army of forty thousand men, and first encountered the royal forces on the banks of the river Don. Just as the conflict was about to open, a flood arose and forced back the contending parties: in the interval of quiet the royal troops were strengthened by reinforcements, and a dissension among their leaders induced the insurgents to break ranks and disperse. Sir Stephen, being hotly pursued, was taken a prisoner, a short distance from his house at Hellifield, and was subsequently carried to London and confined in the Tower. At length he was tried at Westminster Hall, and, having been adjudged guilty of high treason, was executed at Tyburn. All his estates were, of course,

¹ "The Painter's Camp," 1862. "Thoughts about Art," 1862. "The Unknown River," "Etching and Etchers," 1868. "The Etcher's Hand-book," 1868. "Contemporary French Painters," 1868. "Painting in France after the Decline of Classicism," 1869. "Wendholm," 1869. "Chapters on Animals." "The Sylvan Year." "Intellectual Life," 1873. "Harry Blount," 1875. "Round my House," 1876.

confiscated to the crown. On that very day when Sir Stephen was beheaded, his only son died of a broken heart, and was buried in York Minster. The tower and manor of Hellifield were subsequently recovered by a nephew, in the time of Queen Elizabeth; but the remainder of the vast estates, a list of which is given in Whitaker's curious "History of Craven," was never restored to the family.

Gilbert Hamerton, the grandfather of our subject, was born at Hellifield-Peel, but, in his maturity, lived on a beautiful estate which had belonged to his mother, the Hollins, near Burnley. He died there, at an advanced age, leaving behind quite a numerous family. A younger son, born at the Hollins, was brought up to the law and achieved honorable reputation and success. He practiced as a solicitor in a small town called Shaw, near Oldham, where he first met and became strongly attached to a young lady, whose father, then deceased, had been a cotton manufacturer, but with only moderate profit to himself. Her maiden name was Anne Cocker, and she inherited from her father a small estate, which, indeed, had passed through several generations of the family. Her mother was a Crompton, descended from an ancient family called Crompton of Crompton, at the present time reputed to be very wealthy through success in business.

Philip Gilbert Hamerton, the sole offspring of these parents, was born on the 10th of September, 1834, at Laneside, near Shaw, Lancashire. His mother, an interesting lady, of gentle manners, but with a decided will of her own, died a fortnight later; and the boy was therefore placed with two maiden sisters of his father, who watched over his infancy and childhood with an almost maternal tenderness. These ladies were persons of high breeding and intelligence, and did everything that it was in their power to do, for the welfare of their charge. They taught him how to read, and took care that he was well grounded in English and French. He progressed rapidly, and at the age of five years and a half, he began the study of Latin. About the same time, he amused himself with drawing and composition, and when he was eleven years of age he imagined that he had a definite literary ambition.

His father died in 1844. His health had always been robust, and he was looked upon as an adept in most physical exercises. As has already been intimated, he had some reputation in his profession; his intellect was superior and of the practical sort, but he was wholly insensible to art and to the finer kinds of literature. The only books that he ever read, outside of the law, were geographical or historical

in character. He had no taste for poetry, and would never look into fiction.

After the death of his father, Philip, who was then ten years of age, came under the guardianship of his father's eldest sister. She was an English gentlewoman, perfectly well bred and refined in feeling and taste, but she possessed little of the culture which implies mental labor. Nevertheless, she took the highest pains with the education of her nephew, and sent him to school, first at Burnley, and afterwards at Doncaster.

As a pupil he seems to have progressed fairly enough in everything save Greek and Latin. He cherished a singular abhorrence of these languages, and whatsoever he learned of them in one day he readily forgot in the next. His mind was anything but classical; he was of the north and had no sympathy with the Greek or the Roman past. He took an intense interest, however, in the past history of his own country, particularly in the northern portion of it. He read, in boyhood, all of Scott's poetry, and was so immensely influenced by it that, at the age of eleven, he looked to Scotland as a sort of romantic paradise. It is worthy of mention, in this connection, that Mr. Hamerton's views relative to the importance of studying the classics have undergone a radical change since his earlier manhood. He now believes in taking them up as a part of general literature. Writing of Education, in the "Intellectual Life," he says: "The only thing I regret about Latin is that we have ceased to speak it. The natural method, and by far the most rapid and sure method of learning a language, is to begin by acquiring words in order to use them to ask for what we want; after that we acquire other words for narration and the expression of our sentiments. By far the shortest way to learn to read a language is to begin by speaking it. The colloquial tongue is the basis of the literary tongue. This is so true that with all the pains and trouble you give to the Latin education of your pupils, you can not teach them as much Latin, for reading only, in the course of ten years, as a living foreigner will give them of his own language in ten months. I seriously believe that if your object is to make boys read easily, you begin at the wrong end. It is deplorable that the learned should ever have allowed Latin to become a dead language, since in permitting this they have enormously increased the difficulty of acquiring it, even for the purposes of scholarship."

His studies, so far as Latin and Greek were concerned, being in a backward state, the boy was sent, for a year, to be drilled exclusively in these two languages, by an excellent scholar, the Rev. T. Hinde,

vicar of Featherstone, who had married a sister of his father's. The reverend gentleman was famous for fitting backward young men, and was withal so good a "coach" that he could make the most hopeless dunce pass a very respectable examination at Oxford. His method of imparting instruction was an extremely simple one, and his principle was always to go back to the rudiments. He began, as it were, education over again, and filled up every hiatus, insisting most on those elementary facts which a somewhat advanced pupil often forgets. For one whole year, Hamerton worked, in the morning at Latin, and in the afternoon at Greek. That he, so young, should have consented to such discipline, and do nothing else whatsoever as a serious study, speaks well for his docility and temper.

During this season of work, he lived in lodgings in the village, and gave whatever spare time he was able to command to writing English, and to painting. He was always encouraged in the habit of literary composition, and a poem written when he was twelve years of age, won a prize at the Burnley Grammar School, and was subsequently put into print.

Meanwhile, his aunt still lived at the Hollins. Thither Hamerton returned, after his year spent with Mr. Hinde, and had lodgings in the fine old gabled mansion. Mr. Hamerton has frequently declared that this residence at the Hollins had a great influence upon his future destiny. The neighborhood is singularly beautiful, not to say exceedingly picturesque. Behind the mansion, and running through rocky hollows, is one of the loveliest streams in Lancashire: and here along its course Hamerton used to wander, and either studied or painted amid its pleasing inspirations. Here, almost, was originated his interest in art, as well as his earnest desire to pursue it as a profession.

But not yet had he marked out for himself any definite mode of life. It was his guardian's wish that he should go to Oxford. He was prepared for entrance, and would probably have gone there, but for one difficulty. At that time, a student was obliged to sign the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England before entering the university. Hamerton could not honestly do this, and was therefore deprived of whatever advantages there may be in a collegiate education. The London University was then so little known in Lancashire that it never occurred to him as being an alternative. Certain of his friends endeavored to persuade him to enter the legal profession; but this he could not do, for his father had oftentimes expressed the desire that whatever profession he chose, it should not be the legal

one. His father and his two uncles were solicitors, and not one of them liked his profession.

As his chances of going to college were diminished, his interest in art largely increased. With the consent of his guardian he resolved to be a landscape painter, and, having previously made the acquaintance of a good landscape painter in the Lake District, a Mr. Pettill, he went to London in December, 1853, to study in his studio. He made rapid progress under his instructions, but failed to remain with Mr. Pettill so long as would have been good for him.

While in London, Hamerton became acquainted with quite a number of distinguished personages. Mr. C. R. Leslie, the Royal Academician, was exceedingly kind to him, and so was Robinson, the Academician engraver. At Leslie's house he was quite intimate, and often spent there his leisure evenings. Through Leslie the young artist became acquainted with Rogers the poet, and indeed, with nearly the whole of the best literary and artistic society in London.

From the close of 1853 to 1855, Hamerton simultaneously pursued his literary and artistic studies. During the interval he traveled in Scotland and became enamored of Loch Awe, which has always seemed to him a sort of earthly paradise, notwithstanding the severity of the climate. About this time he wrote a poem called "The Isles of Loch Awe," and published it, along with minor pieces and sixteen wood cut illustrations, on the attainment of his majority. This volume, of some four hundred pages, is now out of print. At first it had a very small sale: but since then some two thousand copies have been disposed of. The leading poem is a mixture of the old legends about the Isles of Loch Awe, with descriptions of scenery. Mr. Hamerton has very modestly said of these early productions that "they were very favorably received by the press, and some of them are still remembered; but on the whole they were rather studies in poetry than real poems."

In the year 1855, Hamerton went to Paris to study painting and the French language and literature. In Paris he came under the influence of a distinguished English painter, William Wyld, who, to some considerable extent, had previously been his master in practical art. For a while Hamerton worked in Wyld's studio; but the chief influence of the latter was exercised in innumerable conversations about art and in the bestowing advice and direction. Though the pupil undoubtedly derived much benefit from the master, they found themselves unable to agree about certain artistic matters. They differed mainly in temper and feeling about nature and art, though

of course the superior knowledge and experience of the one was recognized by the other. Hamerton's taste led him to the wildest of scenery, Wyld's to gorgeous scenery ornamented with palaces and princely life. The latter was completely enamored of Genoa, Venice, and Como: the former reveled in the majesty of Loch Awe and the northern moors.

The very meagre success of his volume of verse, published in 1855, rather discouraged Hamerton in literature. Before this time, he had turned his hand to literature in a small way, and had received a favorable notice. In 1850, he had contributed a series of articles on "Rome in 1849" to the *Historic Times*, and these were considered to be good writing by the editor of that paper, who, however, was ignorant wholly of their author. In the next year, he published a small treatise on heraldry, which was void of both literary pretension and value. About this time, also, he tried to write articles for the more important reviews; but as often as he sent them off they were respectfully declined and returned. He began soon to entertain the belief that authorship was deceptive, and that there was certainly no royal road to literary fame. His efforts to win public recognition by his pen seemed to himself pure failures; and, as if this were not enough to discourage average ambition, his work in art was not at all up to the standard of the exhibitions. His future sky looked dark enough: and it is, perhaps, no breach of confidence to say that Mr. Hamerton has freely acknowledged that the years 1856 and 1857 were, so far as literature and art are concerned, more full of depression than any other years of his life. While respecting the man, nobody seemed to care one whit about the results of his occupations. Nevertheless, he went on with his studies pretty vigorously, though not so vigorously as he would have done with more encouragement from without.

About this time, he was in the habit of painting a good deal from nature. In one of his happy moments, he conceived the idea of encamping upon the scene of his artistic labors, and, in September, 1856, he actually began his camp life on the moors that divide Lancashire from Yorkshire. Here he stayed and worked alone in a hut which he had invented, and officiated besides as both housekeeper and cook. The moor folk looked upon him as a sort of hermit, or even a lunatic. They showed him but few tokens of respect, and would not allow that he had the minutest qualification of a gentleman. Notwithstanding all this, Hamerton enjoyed the situation. "Whoever would realize my position here," he says, in *A Painter's Camp* "should read *Jane Eyre* over again, and pay particular attention to her description

of the moor country. I am at the highest point of the mountain road from Burnley to Heptonstall, about two hundred yards from the border line of Lancashire. I enjoy my rambles on the moor exceedingly. I like the long lines of these hills, with their endless variety and sweet subtlety of curve. They are not mountains, nor have they any pretension to the energetic character of the true mountain form ; but they have a certain calm beauty, and a sublime expression of gigantic power *in repose*, that we do not find in the loftier ranges. If I were not determined to study in the Highlands of Scotland, I could find work enough in these Lancashire and Yorkshire highlands to last my life. They are deficient, however, in the grand element of *water*; and that is a sufficient reason why I have no business to remain here very long, when thousands of noble effects are passing every day upon the great northern lakes unobserved and unrecorded."

In the following year, he encamped five months in Scotland about Loch Awe, and in the intervals between severe tasks, began the composition of one of his most characteristic and successful books. Writing in the *Painter's Camp* of the peninsula of Innistrynick, which juts into Loch Awe and is joined to the mainland only by a low green meadow, submerged when the waters rise, he says : "I have chosen this place as a kind of depot and centre of operation, and taken it on a lease of five years. It is so rich in fair natural pictures that I shall travel probably very little for the next year or two, till I have painted the best of them. The old hut is erected here, and will be moved about from place to place on the island, as its services may be needed." Mr. Hamerton had another reason for taking his "island farm" on a lease, which his bashfulness will not permit him to divulge.

During his sojourn in Paris, he had formed an attachment for a young lady, Eugénie, the daughter of M. Frédéric Gindriez, who had been Prefect of the Doubs, but had resigned his position when the Bonapartist government was established. M. Gindriez was also a member of the National Assembly, as the representative of the department of Saône-et-Loire. He was a person of great courage, both physical and moral, and of perfect political honesty. The *coup d'état* of 1851 drove him into exile in Belgium, but he returned and was not afterwards molested. He did not live to see the reëstablishment of the Republic.

In 1858 Mr. Hamerton married the daughter of this brave and disinterested man. She possesses the highest qualities of a wife, and is, indeed, a lady of prepossessing manners and of many accomplishments. Though a French woman, she has a thorough knowledge of

English, and is well versed in English literature. A few years ago, she wrote a novel, "Jeanne Laraguay," which was published in London by Chapman and Hall; and subsequently, "The Mirror of Truth and other Marvellous Histories," published by Seeley and Company. Mrs. Hamerton enters into her husband's studies and occupations with the deepest sympathy, and at the same time performs the duties of a housewife with scrupulous exactness. A family of promising children has blessed the happy union.

Immediately after his marriage, Mr. Hamerton went with his wife to live in a house on the island in Loch Awe, or more properly the peninsula of Innistrynick. With the exception of occasional visits to London and Paris, they remained on their "island farm" until 1861.

Of his life in the Highlands of Scotland Mr. Hamerton has given us a succinct narrative in the "Painter's Camp," which was published in 1862 in conjunction with the "Thoughts about Art." The "Painter's Camp" won for its author a great deal of public attention, and the sensation which it produced was something quite unique. Not unlike the "Adventures of Robinson Crusoe," or the "Swiss Family Robinson," it brought to maturer minds, as those do to all, the flavor of breezy out-of-door experiences, an aroma of poetry and adventure combined. Though abounding in art and art-discussions, the book commends itself to those even who have not the slightest technical knowledge of the subject. "In my opinion," says the author, "a snail is the perfect type of what an artist upon his travels ought to be. The snail goes alone and slowly, at quite a rational pace; stops wherever he feels inclined, and *carries his house with him*. Only I fear that the snail does not give that active attention to the aspects of nature which ought to be the constant habit of the artist." Such is the key-note of Mr. Hamerton's artistic practice; and these few lines, more than any others which we can recall, will give to the uninitiated a very fair notion of the contents of the "Painter's Camp." Its descriptions of scenery are vivid, the spirit is fresh, and the narrative itself is graceful.

Leaving Loch Awe, in 1861, Mr. Hamerton removed to France, and for a while lived in Sens, a small city "seated on the right bank of the river Yonne, opposite a large island with many houses upon it. There are two bridges going to the railway station, and a picturesque straggling street. The city itself is entirely belted by magnificent avenues, chiefly elms, which here in France grow to a wonderful height, with astonishing freedom and grace." Mr. Hamerton thus describes his "camp" at Sens:

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 "I have had a camp on the heights for the autumnal months, guarded by a promising youth, who had just come out of prison when I engaged him, and enlisted for a soldier when I wanted him no longer. One morning, on going to my work, it struck me that Jacob looked unusually grave; and, indeed, he had a long story ready about somebody who had fired upon the painting-tent. Surely enough, the tent was riddled with shot; but I felt inclined to believe that Jacob himself, who had a gun for his protection, had been, by accident or carelessness, the real author of the injury. A much more serious annoyance was the number of spectators, who thronged from all parts to see the tent; and they all made exactly the same remarks that the Lancashire peasants used to make. The Lancastrians said, 'He's makin' a map'; the Burgundians say, '*Il tire un plan.*' The Lancastrians said, 'Isn't it cold of a neet?' the Burgundians say, '*Il doit faire froid la nuit.*' The Lancastrians said, 'It's tinkers'; the Burgundians, '*Ce sont des chaudronniers.*' In the course of two months and a half, thousands of people came to see the tent, and, as they all said exactly the same things and asked exactly the same questions, their visits were less amusing to me than to them."

The new comer painted more at Sens, than during any other equal period of his life, and several of these pictures were exhibited in the Royal Academy, London, where he has since been frequently represented.

After the publication of the "Painter's Camp," and "Thoughts about Art," their author had about as much encouragement in literature as he could reasonably desire. Editors of various periodicals asked him to contribute to their columns, and in response, he wrote articles for the "Fine Arts Quarterly Review," the "Fortnightly," "Macmillan's," "Cornhill," and other magazines of the day. During the years 1866, 1867 and 1868, he was the regular art-critic on the "London Saturday Review;" he then resigned the position because he found the traveling to and fro between his home at Autun and the Royal Academy and the work altogether harassing to his health.

Before progressing further with our biographical data, something ought to be said with regard to the "Thoughts about Art." Mr. Emerson has truthfully remarked that "there is always a selection in writers, and then a selection from the selection." When in 1862 the "Thoughts about Art" was first published, it contained a considerable amount of matter that has now disappeared in the revised edition. This matter for the most part comprised several criticisms of works of art which comparatively few readers outside of the London public

were either likely to have seen, or perhaps cared anything about. There was much, too, in the volume, that was of solely temporary interest. One of the faults of authorship is that it is apt to produce too rapidly and to give to the world too many unripe products. This rule holds particularly true in the case of young writers, who, in their intense eagerness to hold the public, whose ear they have already caught, are led to say many things that, in after years, they will wish were unsaid. As it now stands, the "Thoughts about Art" seems an almost perfect work of its kind; it has been pruned to a great advantage, much that was not worth saying and more that was not worth reading have been bodily taken out, and, on the whole, it is a new book which has deservedly supplanted an older one.

In this noble volume, which is admirably adapted to give a wholesome stimulus to the taste for art and to place it in an intelligent and wise direction, Mr. Hamerton begins by recommending to capable artists the importance of their writing on art. "I do not," he says, "argue that artists should write criticisms. It may be undesirable that painters should spend any of their time or energy in what would in their case be too likely to degenerate into personal recrimination. It is true that literary men attack each other's works from behind the shelter of the anonymous, and a few of the best art criticisms are contributed to the periodicals by artists. But this is not a desirable direction for the talents of an artist who writes. His especial office with the pen is to contribute to the general enlightenment on the subject of art in its relation to nature, in ways which need not involve attacks on his living rivals." The author fortifies his ground by some forcible illustrations, and then proceeds, in a style of peculiar fascination, to treat of the various methods of painting, of the relation between photography and painting, of the place of landscape painting amongst the fine arts, and of a score or more of allied topics.

In the year 1864, Mr. Hamerton removed from Sens, and took a country house which suited him, in the basin of Autun. "It has," he says, "a great deal of land attached to it, which is not in my occupation. The farmer lives near me, and the only land I am troubled with is a large garden and a little wood, both bounded by a clear and rapid stream." The town of Autun is still the place of Mr. Hamerton's residence, and the reader will find it beautifully described and illustrated in the "Unknown River," and also, to some extent, in "Round my House." The following passage, taken from the "Painter's Camp," (enlarged edition) is worthy of quotation in this connection.

"I have said that the boundary of my garden is a stream. Beyond this is a broad meadow, and on the other side of the meadow a larger stream, called the Ternin, from which mine has been artificially detached. The Ternin is a great happiness to me, because full of picturesque subjects along its whole course, and also because there are some deep pools where I take a daily swim in summer. These two pleasures, swimming and the study of nature, were both very great; but the question suggested itself whether it would not be also possible to make the little river yield a third delight. How if I could navigate it? Of course all my neighbors said that was totally impossible; that there were shallows, and snags, and turns, and tree trunks, and branches, and all manner of obstacles. . . .

"The Ternin runs about four miles from my house to Autun, where it discharges itself into the Arroux. The Arroux descends in its turn to the Loire, which it meets at Digoin. The idea of connecting myself with the great system of river navigation, of having access by water to the Loire, the Rhone, the Seine, was something inspiring and magnificent."

In one of his chapters in the "Thoughts about Art," Mr. Hamerton says; "From the earliest dawn of any artistic perception in my mind, the merits of this art (etching) have always been sufficiently clear to me for a sincerely respectful appreciation of it; my first plate was etched in boyhood, and I have been attracted to the art ever since by those great and valuable qualities which, in their combination, are quite peculiar to it. I may however confess, and do so willingly, that my respect for etching has always steadily increased in exact proportion with my knowledge of it, and has never been so great or so well founded as it is to-day." These words are quite sufficient to show to the reader that Mr. Hamerton was justified in his attempt to lay before the public an authoritative treatise on the art of Etching.

Having settled down in Autun, he experimented and wrote much on the subject; and, in 1868, he gave to the public his "Etching and Etchers." It was a very sumptuous volume, and seemed to have been gotten up regardless of expense. Its chief merit was owing, not more to the reading matter that it contained, than to its small assemblage of original etchings, many of which possessed considerable art value. The work was not stereotyped; only a limited edition was printed, and this was wholly exhausted in a brief space of time.

Notwithstanding its cost, the work, in its original shape, exerted

powerful influence on the estimate of the art in England, where it is now much more generally understood and appreciated than it was formerly. In the present year a new edition of the "Etching and Etchers" has appeared. In one sense, it is almost a new work. Much of the extraneous and objectionable matter in the former edition has been removed; a host of errors have been rectified; and the book, taken as a whole, seems now to carry out more fully the purpose of its author. Mr. Hamerton has arranged his matter in five books. The first discusses the process and qualities of the art, unfolds the needs and prerequisites of the etcher, and shows on what contingencies depends his success. The second, third and fourth books exhibit illustrations of the principles previously laid down, and furnish a glimpse of the work of the various schools of Art,—beginning with Dürer, of course, and closing with the later English artists. In the fifth book, the author writes of the interpreters of painting, and about copying in etching.

So much may be termed introductory matter, to be read by everybody. The appendix, which follows, comprises "practical notes;" in other words, nearly fifty pages devoted wholly to an analysis of the methods of etching, by carefully reading which almost anybody, with a fair knowledge of and skill in drawing, may learn to etch after a fashion. A dozen plates, copied by the author from the originals of Rembrandt, Ostade, Callot, Zeeman, Turner, and others, add immensely to the beauty and utility of the volume. We have written this much of the work, because it is, in a certain degree, an artistic event, and, secondly, because it reminds us of what foreign artists have done and are doing in the way of etching, and of what our own artists have not attempted to do.

Soon after the earlier publication of the "Etching and Etchers," Mr. Hamerton wrote "The Etcher's Hand-book" for the special use of artists; and in the same year (1868) appeared his "Contemporary French Painters." In the next year was published the "Painting in France after the decline of Classicism." The last two works named derived much worth from the series of etchings which they contained.

Mr. Hamerton's love of etching greatly interfered with, if indeed it did not detract from, his fondness for painting. During his residence in Sens, he painted seven large landscapes, all of which were exhibited in London. These were "Ben Cruachan," "Kilchurn Castle," "Crossing the Loch," "The Keeper's Cottage," "The River Yonne," "Sens from the Vineyards," and "The Black Isles, Loch Awe." While he was in the Highlands he painted several pictures of

moderate dimensions, faithful to the character of the scenery, but hard and dry in manner, and not at all popular. In fact, his early works were rather studies than pictures. Mr. Hamerton has exhibited, either as etcher or painter, at a private gallery of his own in London, at the Royal Academy, at the French Gallery in Pall Mall, at Manchester, at Birmingham, and other places; but since he entered upon the duties of an art critic he has not much sought to exhibit in public. The best encouragement he ever had as an artist was the warm praise of Mr. Millais, who did not know Hamerton at that time, but expressed a great liking for some of his early paintings. It may, perhaps, be deemed fortunate by the world at large that the gentleman of whom we are writing was encouraged more as a writer than as an artist, and has consequently found his success in authorship. Nevertheless, Mr. Hamerton still paints, and, as we learn, has scarcely ever worked more vigorously at practical art than he is doing in this present year.

In 1869, he completed his "Wenderholme," a story of Lancashire and Yorkshire. It was a much longer production than he really wished it to be, and was thus extended merely to suit the "three volume fancy" of his English publishers. The work did not meet with very flattering success, though in the public press we believe that it was favorably noticed. Mr. Hamerton purposes, at an early date, to prepare a new edition of this novel. It will be much abridged, though not mutilated, and will probably take the form which its author desired it to have from the first.

In the following year, Mr. Hamerton founded the "Portfolio," a well-known artistic periodical now firmly established. He was aided in this somewhat daring enterprise by the senior partner of a firm in Fleet street, who is himself a cultivated lover of the picturesque. The idea and plan of the publication were Mr. Hamerton's from the beginning. The "Portfolio" has made the subject of etching a special and prominent one, and has done much to foster and advance the practice of this beautiful art by giving commissions to many of the best workmen of the day. It has been steadily improving during the last few years, and has gradually increased its circulation.

Several of Mr. Hamerton's more recent works first appeared serially in the pages of the "Portfolio." First among these was "The Unknown River: an Etcher's Voyage of Discovery." An enthusiastic critic, after reading this volume, once said: "Wordsworth might like to come back to earth for a summer, and voyage with Philip Gilbert Hamerton down some 'unknown river'!" Most

readers, we think, have been similarly affected by the book. In the first place, the very title itself is charming, and it seems to say to the heart that, this is the very voyage the latter has always been yearning for. When, a little later on, the reader is told that the "unknown river" is the Arroux, that it winds along in the eastern highlands of France and empties into the Loire, he is somewhat indisposed to believe it. If one should say that the prose narrative is a poem from beginning to end, he would not be very far from the truth. The author is here taking a delicious journey, the most delicious, perhaps, ever taken by a poet, painter, adventurer, these three all in one. But this journey, and the story of it, is quite indescribable. In the opening chapter, the "Unknown River" is a small brook over which a certain dog, Tom, can leap at a bound; in the concluding chapter, it is a broad and stately river. Between these two "points, we have voyaged many days and nights; now slowly, a mile a day; now swiftly on wheels, boat and traveler in a spring cart, past such tangles of tree and rock as even Hamerton could not wind through by water; now by lamplight, a lantern being fixed in the prow, and every tiny leaf, and spray, and thread of stalk, flashing out like silver tracery on each side of the narrow green corridor through which the boat glided:—now by twilight through smooth reaches, and broad still pools; now among rough boulders and rapid currents where the waters 'hissed and twisted like serpents;' now through dark galleries where no land could be seen, only close locked boughs overhead and on each side; now between shores bright with heath and fern and broom, and shaded by gigantic oaks and chestnuts, and silent in uninhabited loneliness; now past hamlets which have not been touched or changed for five hundred years; now past old cities, half ruin, half town, where Gauls and Romans fought great useless fights a long time ago; indeed, we do not know how many days and nights we have journeyed, for it is one of Hamerton's sweet bits of wisdom not to tell us. It is, perhaps, the greatest charm of his style, and in this is close kinship to the charm of an etching, that the effects are produced by few touches; no wearying details; hint and suggestion being set so clearly before fancy, that the picture is filled out instantaneously, involuntarily, almost unconsciously." This charming prose-poem is embellished by thirty-seven etchings from the author's own hand. To endeavor to point out their excellences would be quite a work of supererogation. However, to show that they ought to contain excellences we have simply to record the musical titles of a few of them: "On the Ternin," "Pré Charmoy, Autun'

(the author's place of residence), "Millery," "Towers of Autun," "Genetoie," "The Bridge of Toulon,"—such are some of them. The pictures were etched from nature on the spot, so that we get in them all the truth and vivacity of out-of-door sketches.

The other volumes have originated in the pages of the "Portfolio;" namely, the "Chapters on Animals," illustrated with etchings by Bodmer and Veyrassat, and "The Sylvan Year," illustrated by the author and other artists. The "Chapters on Animals" may properly be called a choice book, and one, certainly, which no trainer of animals, no whipper-in of a kennel, no master of fox-hounds, no equine parson, could have written. It required as its author a quick and sharp observer of nature, who had lived with and loved animal nature, and made friends and companions of the horse, the dog and the bird. Mr. Hamerton has a curious sympathy with the "painful mystery of brute creation," as the lamented Dr. Arnold was wont to term it. He recognizes the beauty and the burden of that life which is bounded by so fine and sensitive a mortality. He finds in the uses of the domestic animal something supplementary to his own manhood, and which develops both the head and heart of the good master. While turning over the pages of the volume, one is reminded of Montaigne whom we always associate with his cat; and never more will one hear the name of Hamerton without thinking of that little polished skull of the terrier which he has preserved for so many years in love of the creatures whom God has made but little lower than man.

Mr. Hamerton's purpose in writing "The Sylvan Year," was to exhibit the value of external nature as a refreshment to a spirit which, though it has suffered greatly, has still strength enough to take a hearty and healthy interest in everything that comes within the circle of its observation. In order to carry out his plan, he introduces in his narrative several fictitious personages and an element of human interest. He has previously made himself familiar with the "Obermann" of De Senancour, a creation once quite popular during the earlier part of the present century, and from it has borrowed, or rather found, the type of his principal character. It must not be supposed, however, that the reader derives similar impressions from the "Sylvan Year" and the "Obermann." On the contrary, we find in the latter that ennui is the dominant note, while in the former it is the feeling of refreshment from external nature.

At once we are introduced to a fictitious personage,—really the author,—named Raoul Dubois, and his son Alexis, who are on the point of retiring to an old woodland estate in a valley known as the

Val Sainte Veronique. They go thither, not to pass time in the forests like animals, but in search of some light of culture to brighten the sylvan year. One of the first occupations of the twain, after their arrival in the Val, is to make an excursion, "something like the outline of a pear, and so getting home again about dinner time." The route lies through a tangled gnarl of forest twigs, reminding the traveler of that frightful picture in Dante's *Inferno* of the suffering human trees. Deeper and deeper they go into the groves, noting the slope of the neighboring hill, the phenomenon of the adhesion of dead leaves, the analogies in human affairs, the wonderful variety of color, and so forth. It is the author, as we have said, who speaks through the mysterious note book of Raoul Dubois; and whoever has read the "Intellectual Life" will find many of its thoughts and fancies reexpressed in the later volume. We are told that culture is obtainable from favorable companionship. "It is the misfortune of public education," says Hamerton, "that our sons are separated from us in their youth and delivered into the hands of teachers who, however conscientious they may be, can not, in the nature of things, take that earnest and complete interest in their whole mental and physical well-being which incessantly occupies the mind of every father who is worthy of the name. The society of people who live with nature, though it may be wanting in the variety of thought and experience that we find only in great cities, has always some element of interest."

Mr. Hamerton, in selecting as a theme the "Sylvan Year," showed fine wisdom; but had he written about it in a heavier and more scientific way, we are fain to believe that the book would have been unpardonably dull. A lover of nature as well as an intelligent observer of her myriad and constantly shifting manifestations, he has touched upon nothing in these pages without making it to appear beautiful: in barren and waste places, as it were, he has found splendor, and the thoughts which he has indited remind us of the scintillations of that mind who found truth in trees, and wisdom in the grassy fields. Like his "Intellectual Life," it contains golden grain upon every page.

Mr. Hamerton has also published in the "Portfolio" biographies of Etty and Constable, which will ultimately reappear in book form. He is now engaged in writing a "Life of Turner," which will be published early next year.

The most successful, the most widely-known, and in very many respects the best of Mr. Hamerton's books is the "Intellectual Life,"

which was published in 1873. Some idea of its popularity may be inferred from the fact that it has been twelve times reprinted, and is still selling, both in England and America. In this country it has proven to be a great favorite, particularly amongst young men, and has, we believe, sold even better than it has across the water. Such success as this is richly merited. Everybody knows the secret of the charm of the "Intellectual Life,"—namely, that it is vitalized with truth, and is helpful in its relation to humanity. We can not conceive of any human mind, born with the irresistible instincts toward the intellectual life, that would not find, in the volume, not only ample food for deep reflection, but also living waters of the sweetest consolation and encouragement. Mr. Hamerton inscribed his "Intellectual Life" to his wife. The words read so exquisitely, and so admirably depict the character of their writer, that to omit to quote them in this connection would be quite unjust. "We have shared together many hours of study, and you have been willing, at the cost of much patient labor, to cheer the difficult paths of intellectual toil by the unfailing sweetness of your beloved companionship. It seems to me that all those things which we have learned together are doubly my own; whilst those other studies which I have pursued in solitude have never yielded me more than a maimed and imperfect satisfaction. The dream of my life would be to associate you with all I do if that were possible; but since the ideal can never be wholly realized, let me at least rejoice that we have been so little separated, and that the subtle influence of your finer taste and more delicate perception is ever, like some penetrating perfume, in the whole atmosphere around me."

In 1875, Mr. Hamerton published a boy's book entitled "Harry Blount," which has had a fair sale on both sides of the water. His last book, bearing the somewhat attractive name of "Round my House: Notes of Rural Life in France in Peace and War," was published in 1876. Although a very recent production and already familiar, probably to hundreds of readers, we think that some further mention of the work will prove of interest to such as have not yet felt inclined to take it up. The book opens as follows:

"It happened a good many years ago that my wife and I set off on a tour in search of a house. I wanted a fine climate, or at least a climate in which I could count upon fine summers, and scenery interesting enough and sufficiently varied, for a landscape painter to work happily in it without going very far from his own home. My wife, on her part, though quite willing to let me have my way in the choice

of climate and scenery, had also requirements of her own with regard to housekeeping. We had lived together in a very beautiful but very out-of-the-way place in the Highlands of Scotland, where we were literally twelve miles from a lemon, and forty from the nearest hair-dresser; whilst at certain seasons of the year there was not (in activity at least) such a functionary as a butcher in the whole country. Here we had learned the lesson, which nobody ever does learn except from actual experience, that a too distant retirement from the conveniences of civilized life, far from being favorable to projects of economy (as the inhabitants of large towns sometimes imagine) is on the contrary a cause of incessant expenditure, as unsatisfactory as it is unavoidable, unless, indeed, you choose to submit to the privations of a Highland shepherd, and live upon oatmeal and diseased meat. I was the more willing to conform to my wife's housekeeping requirements, that I had observed for my own part how a life far from conveniences invades and breaks up the time of the master of the house, how he has always to be looking after details, which a lady can scarcely attend to, and has to sacrifice time in frequent journeys to the distant town, all which may be rather pleasant than otherwise for men who are without occupation, but is vexatious in the extreme to the artist or *homme de lettres*. In a word, the sort of life which we were determined to avoid was what may be called the *colonial*—that life which is led in its full perfection by the holder of a sheep-run in New Zealand. On the other hand, I had never been able to share the spirit of resignation with which so many landscape painters submit to pass their days in the streets of cities, without ever seeing a blue or a purple hill in the distance, or having any more direct impression of sunset splendors than what is to be gained by observing that the chimney-pots of the opposite houses look somewhat redder than usual."

After a long search "by rail and diligence," the couple arrived at "an ancient city, built on a hill which rises between a much steeper hill and a flat plain." There were several fine estates in the plain and the "most beautiful of these estates belonged to a man who lived at a distance, and, consequently, the house upon it was uninhabited. A charming trout stream ran through the property, and another smaller stream, derived from it, bounded the garden, which was large and shady, with broad walks, terraces, and bowers, and a wood of its own with winding paths, and rustic seats in nooks so retired that nothing was to be seen from them but wood and meadow, and nothing heard but the ripple of the swiftly running clear rivulet. The house

was like a shooting or fishing lodge on a small scale, but the space in it had been economized to the utmost, and the rooms were cleverly arranged. There was stabling for eight horses (much more than we needed) and the only inconvenience was that the farm buildings were too near. The farm was let already to a respectable old peasant, so that we had no trouble with land, an encumbrance which I have neither time nor inclination to undertake. Farming is a noble and necessary work, but it is not for students and artists. Only the farmer can farm profitably, and in France he manages it by incessant toil and a wonderful sobriety, frugality, self-denial. It was sweet to me to be once again in a land of hills and trout streams, and my fellow-traveler approved of the little house; so we took it, on a short lease, which has been renewed since more than once. Afterwards we migrated to another house on the same estate, larger but more prosaic, and farther from the stream."

Thus the house was found; and whoever wishes to learn more about it, will need simply to take a night train from Paris, or Lyons, or Geneva, or the morning train from Venice, and get out at Pré Charmoy, Autun. Having quietly settled down in his rural nest, Mr. Hamerton next busies himself about his surroundings, and, in the successive chapters of his book, writes of country society in France, of the rural nobility, of money matters, of manners and customs, of households and servants, and of other closely allied topics. His talks are altogether charming to those who like to obtain pleasant views of their neighbors and to think well rather than ill of them. But one ought not to begin the volume with a mind full of mistaken ideas; as for instance, he must not have measured French civilization and culture by their conformity to those of England or the United States. He, however, who is fond of seeing French life and character not exactly from the Frenchman's point of view, but from that of an adopted citizen, an Englishman thoroughly imbued with French feeling, and in his practices largely conformed to French customs,—who looks always to see the good in his neighbors, and always is glad not to see the evil—will find a picture of French life, in "Round my House," that will be to him both a surprise and a charm.

Such readers, indeed, will learn,—and perhaps for the first time,—that Paris is not all of France; that there is a simple rural life; that it is less invaded by the fashion and the exhibitory expenditures of the cities than that of our own rural districts: that the imbibing spirituous liquors does not always mean drunkenness; that households are managed with an economy and a simplicity exceptional even in a

New England village ; that, in brief, it is not so much the Frenchman as the foreigner who makes Paris what it is. Setting aside the "Intellectual Life," as being, in one sense, a book incomparable with others, we are tempted to look upon "Round my House" as the best and ripest literary production of its author.

This completes the list of books written by Mr. Hamerton, all of which we may say are equally familiar to both English and American readers. In 1866, a second edition of "A Painter's Camp" abridged, was published by Macmillan and Co., London ; and in the following year the Messrs. Roberts Brothers, of Boston, introduced the author to our public, by printing an American edition of the same work. Since that time, Messrs. Roberts Brothers have been the regular and authorized publishers of all of Mr. Hamerton's writings.

Mr. Hamerton has been the recipient of several distinguished honors. In the year 1872, he was elected honorary member of the Burlington Fine Arts Club, in London, in acknowledgment of the value of his writings on art. It merits to be said, in passing, that this association is composed of the leading collections in the English metropolis, and that it elects very few honorary members. He has also been elected honorary member of the Belgian Etching Club, and member of the *Société Eduenne* in France. The Liverpool Fine Arts Club offered, a short time ago, to entertain Mr. Hamerton at a public dinner ; but as yet the proposal has not been accepted. It will then be seen that whatever merits there are in Mr. Hamerton's work have been very kindly and liberally acknowledged. To the American public in particular he has oftentimes expressed his gratitude, for the cordial encouragement which he has received, and admits that it has certainly enabled him to work more fruitfully than he could have done without it. Outside of his immediate family he has few relatives. His guardian died in 1861 ; her sister is still living at an advanced age. He, an only child, and early left an orphan, owes more to these sisters than he can ever tell. Toward both the living and the dead, he cherishes the most profound and reverent gratitude and love.

As we have already remarked, Mr. Hamerton and his family have resided since 1864, in the vicinity of Autun. The ancient town and its environs are much frequented by antiquarians, on account of the precious marbles, bronzes, statues, and mosaics which are frequently found in its soil. Here, by the picturesque Arroux, fragments of Roman wall, rugged and venerable, stand yet with rich branches, heavy with foliage, hanging and drooping toward the stream.

Towers rise here and there ; and one arch of the grand old mediæval cathedral remains. The etcher could not have a more attractive field than this dilapidated town.

Mr. Hamerton's habits of life are quiet and regular in the extreme. He generally employs the early hours of the morning for literary composition, and reserves several of the best and lightest hours of the day clear for practical art. Towards evening he has another literary sitting, after which he dines with his family. He has wisely given up all literary work at night. Once in a while, for the sake of recreation, he takes a run to Paris, or London, or Switzerland : but even these visits are turned to good account, and amid exercise he picks up a good many grains of knowledge. His republican sympathies are very strong ; and he has watched the political events of Europe and America with profound interest, and a strong faith in the growth of liberal principles and institutions. Mr. Hamerton's general appearance is singularly attractive. In person he is well formed and athletic, with a noble head, regular features, a clear and penetrating eye, and a fine beard, which is worn full. The type of his features is decidedly American, rather than English, and his countenance is strongly suggestive of that of George Macdonald, if, indeed, it can not be said to resemble the latter.

Some critics have made what they term Mr. Hamerton's " versatility " almost a reproach ; but the truth is, he could never have done so much work without the relief of a change of occupation. He has often tried, (we state this fact for the special benefit of literary men) in times of pressure, to do more writing by writing all day, but has invariably found that he did not increase the quantity by increasing the time. He has often questioned whether these critics would have him always writing one book over and over again in different forms ? He seeks to vary the substance of his books both for his own sake and for the reader's. Again, the change of occupation is not quite so absolute as some critics seem to think. For instance, from painting to etching, a painter who takes up the etching needle *varies* his occupation but does not take up a trade for which he is unprepared. His education as a painter has fitted him for etching by teaching him drawing, light and shade, and composition. There is even a close connection between writing and painting—so close indeed that one eminent painter remarked once, that they were virtually the same thing. In Mr. Hamerton's writings there is a great deal which is the direct outcome of his practice of art and study of nature.

As a painter, Mr. Hamerton works seriously only in oil, though

for studies he makes use of water-colors occasionally. An article on two pictures of his appeared in *Macmillan's Magazine* for June, 1863. It was not altogether favorable, but eminently just. We quote as follows:

"The pictures are both large oil pictures—seven feet by three—painted last year. The first is named 'Ben Cruachan, with clouds rising—Morning'; the second, 'A Gamekeeper's Cottage, Loch Awe side.' The former is the more attractive picture, especially in tone of color. It was painted mainly with the view of expressing the relation between the illuminated mountain and the intense depth of the lake. Without making any effort at describing it,—an effort at word-painting such as Mr. Hamerton in one chapter of his book has shown to be always unsatisfactory in comparison with form-painting,—I would note down, as the merits which he shows in both pictures, a general character of breadth and largeness of system; the look of size, distance, and light; and chiefly the aim at obtaining, as nearly as may be, true *relations* of light and color with specific *expression* in the objects. To aim at true relations Mr. Hamerton avowedly sacrifices minor truths on occasion; and he modifies the size, position, etc., of his objects, not recklessly but freely, as the picture appears to him to require. In both of these points he assumes a license to which an artist is undoubtedly entitled,—which indeed he is bound to exercise as one of the acts which divides paintership from studentship; any professional man who sticks so close to the letter as to deny himself a conscious and unstinted though always cautious exercise of this license confesses himself thereby to be in leading-strings. However, it can hardly be said that Mr. Hamerton succeeds in making of his subjects pictures rather than studies; they are studies intelligently controlled in the direction of pictorial results, but not thorough pictures as yet. Perhaps their leading deficiency in this respect is a lack of anything like the feeling of association; the scenes look as if they had no history save that of morning, noon, afternoon, evening, and night; cloud and sunshine; wind, rain, and fair weather; cold and hot. To put this forward as an objection raises a question, on both sides of which much may no doubt be said. I will not venture to discuss it, for to give a fair analysis of the nature, and influence on the human mind of what is termed association, would cover a considerable area in metaphysics, to which an art critic may be content to confess himself unequal. I will only say that some landscapes, those probably, of all the greatest men, seem to depend upon association for no small part of their power

and beauty; and that, to my perception, these landscapes of Mr. Hamerton do not. For some executive defects, such as opaqueness of light and of handling, and scantiness of form in the foregrounds, he is probably his own most persistent critic."

This sharp review appeared as we have said, some thirteen years ago, and since then it is reasonable to suppose that Mr. Hamerton has made some progress. In the present year, critics speak of him in a way decidedly more favorable. The *London Times*, on the 29th of January, 1876, thus said:

"The facility and success of Mr. Hamerton in combining the skill of an accomplished painter with that of the accomplished writer on art, make up together something so unique that we were at first tempted to regret the generous purpose of the present volume. The enthusiastic artist and art critic seldom passes with effect to the point of view of the politician and the social philosopher. He commonly descries on every side some form of a Philistinism which he would willingly excite the whole 'cultured' world to extirpate. But the soundness of Mr. Hamerton's judgment and the accuracy of his observation in common things have happily survived his high artistic cultivation."

On looking back over the forty odd years of his life, Mr. Hamerton has not to regret much loss of time through carelessness or indolence; but he has lost much time in making experiments on his own powers and on the public taste. He has often wasted time, particularly in art, by attempting things for which he was not then fully qualified, and by *not* attempting things which he could have done easily and well. He lost a great deal of time in Scotland by struggling against the inconveniences of a bad climate. He has spent,—not lost,—considerable time in technical investigations about the processes used in etching and painting. We are here reminded that some critics have said that Mr. Hamerton has written about many subjects, but is deep in none. True, he has dived pretty deep into artistic matters, and has certainly gone farther in the study of etching and of some departments of painting, than any other critic. The essential peculiarity of his position as a writer on art, is that he has always accompanied his critical work by private observations and experiment. The appendix to the new edition of "Etching and Etchers," is an example of this; but he has also made experimental investigations in painting.

Mr. Hamerton is as much at home with French art and artists as he is with the English; and he has always regarded this double cul-

tivation as an immense advantage to him, as it has constantly afforded him opportunity of comparison. In early life, he was much under the influence of Mr. Holman Hunt and Mr. Ruskin; but their influence ceased to affect his work about the year 1862, and has not affected it since. He is ready to say of himself that he was quite out of Pre-Raphaelitism in 1863.

Mr. Hamerton seems not to belong, at present, to any definite school of art, or to follow any particular leader. In painting, he aims to be as broadly comprehensive as possible; in etching he tries to *select* well, and to omit and sacrifice what ought to be omitted and sacrificed in that art. In literature, he endeavors to write clearly and readily, and is always very careful,—especially so in his later works,—not to go beyond the limits of what he has really learned or observed. It is probably to the observation of these very simple rules that he owes the considerable degree of success which his books and other writings have attained both in England and America, and among these writings we must not omit to include the able and interesting papers on European art matters which Mr. Hamerton, as a regular contributor, has furnished to the pages of this Review.

Of all the English writers on art, Mr. Palgrave and Mr. Hamerton are undoubtedly the two whose writings are, to-day, doing the most good. They both possess unusual qualifications for the work, and both hold sound views as to the real nature and function of Art—that she is neither the handmaid of religion nor of science nor of medicine nor of law, but that she has a specific aim of her own,—to give the highest possible pleasure to the greatest possible number. Looking closer at Mr. Hamerton, we find that he has not Ruskin's poetical power nor his brilliancy of style; but it is not the least extravagant to say that his expressed views and opinions have probably done as much good in the direct service of art as any books ever written.

FRENCH LITERATURE OF THE RESTORATION.

HOWEVER little they may know of the facts attending the fall of the First Empire, few can fail to understand something of the hopes that had birth, and the wrath that was aroused in 1814, at the sound of the sonorous word "Restoration!" Ardent Royalists awaited the re-establishment of an absolute monarchy, with parliaments, privileged classes, a State Church, and religious intolerance. The cautious monarch who succeeded Napoleon, in spite of the indifference with which all dogmas inspired him, could not refuse to grant to the "Legitimists,"¹ who welcomed with such sincere enthusiasm the return of a "son of Saint Louis," the abolition of divorce, and the re-establishment of Church and State. But he nevertheless gave the Protestants liberty to exercise their religion, continued to allow the Jews all of the rights which the Revolution had accorded them, and refused to restore to the clergy and nobility the privileges they so bitterly regretted. In fact, he gave France a Constitution, which in the days of Austerlitz and Wagram, would have been considered as a work of "Jacobin," the name often given to the prudent and spiritual Louis XVIII., by the friends of his brother, the Count d'Artois, in their orthodox cabals.

These results of the Restoration were not those which its adversaries feared, nor did they at all meet the expectations of its most impetuous partisans. The latter class not only included in its ranks the ignorant and fanatical *Nobereaux*, who formed the "*Chambre Introuvable*" of the Second Restoration, but it congratulated itself upon having in its midst popular writers like the Viscount Chateaubriand, thinkers like the Viscount Bonald, and theologians such as the Abbé Lammenais. It is certain that, while under the Empire the defenders of Catholicism were few and isolated, the Restoration saw the rise of a school called the "theological," or the "ultramontane" which has since achieved great power, but whose true appellation is "catholic"; and it is a notable fact that its members were generally found among the laity.

¹ This word, which since then has played such an important part, was first used at this period.

THE SCHOOL OF LAMMENAIS.

Chateaubriand and Bonald¹ had been too intimately connected with the Empire to appear as acceptable leaders at this period of the exaltation of party standards. Lammenais, on the other hand, belonged to that old Celtic province which had braved the formidable Republic of Terror in all of its power; and he, whose writings were regarded with uneasiness by the Imperial censorship, seemed by his great talents, his passionate impetuosity, the vehemence of his character, and his exclusive and positive spirit, destined to become the soul of the school whose aim was the restoration of old institutions. We say chief of the school and not of the party, for he was too sincere to lend himself to that system of calculations and concessions characteristic of parties.

The liberals of the Restoration committed a grave error in giving the name of Jesuit to a priest entirely incapable of following the line of conduct, at that time, pursued by the skillful followers of Ignatius Loyola. But this incapacity for understanding the practical workings of parties, made him quite at home in the province of theories, where nothing impedes the soaring of imagination, where the practical never interferes with logic, and where we can destroy and reconstruct societies at ease—a pastime eminently French.

It was not reasonable to expect from a man of this character the conciliatory views which the Abbé Froyssinous, pacific disciple of the Cartesian theologians of the seventeenth century, had declared under the Empire in his apologetical sermons on the "Defence of Christianity," which appeared during the Restoration,—sermons to the remembrance of which he owed the title of Bishop of Hermopolis (1822), of Grand Master of the University, and finally of Minister of Public Worship (1824–28). Between the "Defence" and the "Essay on Religious Indifference" (1817–1823), there is in reality an abyss. For the celebrated theologians of the seventeenth century, for Bossuet as well as Fenelon, "philosophy" paved the way to faith; and "natural religion," in spite of its deficiencies and obscurities, was considered the basis of "revealed religion." A great writer, Pascal,² and a learned bishop, Huet,³ had endeavored to show that

¹ The first had once been in the diplomatic corps, and the latter had belonged to the Imperial University.

² *Pensées*. Faugère's edition, 1844. It is well known, as Cousin proved in 1842, that the old editions can not be relied upon.

³ *Traité de la faiblesse de l'esprit humain*, 1723. A posthumous work published without the name of the author.

philosophical skepticism was the best preparation for Catholicism; but the Jansenism of Pascal caused it to be regarded with suspicion by the orthodox school, and the Bishop of Avranches, a worldly prelate, fond of paradoxes,¹ had never been considered as an oracle by French theologians.

But if Lammenais was not "a genius"² like Pascal, if he had not the vast knowledge of the Bishop of Avranches, he had a remarkable conviction wanting in the egotistical and ambitious author of the "Genius of Christianity;" he possessed also powers as an orator, too often spoiled by his declamation, which the obscure metaphysician of the "Primitive Legislation" did not possess; and to these he added a gloomy and powerful imagination which vividly represented to him the extreme consequences of the doctrines of his adversaries, and which in his warfare with them, made him sincerely believe that he was preserving society and the world from the greatest misfortunes.

His contemporaries were not inappreciative, and no sooner had the first volume of his "Essay on Indifference in the Matter of Religion" (1817-1823) appeared, than the Catholics conferred upon him the high-sounding name of the "last of the Fathers of the Church." But in this pretended defender of the faith, one could recognize the old disciple of Jean Jacques Rousseau, who, even while combating, had remained faithful to his spirit of passionate exaggeration; one could already discern, without difficulty, a Tertullian or an Origen, one of those spirits who, in the West as in the East, seem to accept a doctrine only to impress upon it the seal of their violent and powerful personality. The "Essay" presents in fact a new Catholicism, which tries to impose upon the Church a philosophy, and a system, alike in boldness, and if not compromising, at least apologetical.

The Gallican, like the Orthodox Church, was not hostile to the philosophy which had given such important aid to the ancient apologists in their war against Greco-Roman polytheism. In the middle ages, Aristotle, in spite of tendencies in his teachings so widely differing from those of Christianity, had become, to the University of Paris, as to the rest of Europe, a veritable oracle for theologians. When Cartesianism triumphed, Descartes was assigned the place formerly accorded to Aristotle, whose philosophy had become better known in the Renaissance. But Lammenais, who regarded the doctrines of the seventeenth century and the French Revolution as the legitimate

¹ It has been said that in his *Demonstratio Evangelica*, he demonstrated only science.

² Chateaubriand.

inheritors of Cartesian "rationalism," saw in philosophy but a preparation for skepticism and political anarchy. The individual—he reasoned—can not arrive at any certitude. Descartes' rule of "evidence" is a pitfall and a lie. The senses mislead us; consciousness is not more reliable; reason ought to inspire us with still greater distrust, for in the first place she operates only on given facts which are furnished us by our senses and consciousness. And what is her mode of operation? What guarantee have we of the legitimacy of her acts? Do we not see her constantly deducing contrary results from the same principle, or identical results from different principles?

In this reasoning, we recognize the polemics of the skeptics, already presented with so much talent in the Greek schools,¹ but which had no influence upon Pascal, and could not overcome the scruples of the seventeenth century. But Lammenais had no more desire than Pascal, to deliver his soul to the monster of skepticism. According to him, authority can rescue us from doubt. When our fellow-beings have sanctioned our perceptions and individual conclusions by their words, we can believe in the existence of the physical world, and in moral order. We are far from Pascal, and vaster horizons open before our eyes. To the author of "*des Pensées*," "authority" is that revelation which the world has never been without, and which has developed itself without substantial change, gradually, as the education of the human race progressed through different stages; first patriarchal, then Mosaic, finally Catholic. To make the two authorities which he recognizes—Revelation and human experience—accord, Lammenais is obliged to suppose a chimerical identity in their teachings. Humanity has always recognized the existence of a Supreme God; intelligences in the service of the power that governs the world; spirits good and bad, a heaven and a hell, etc. In his writings on Isis and Osiris, addressed to a priestess of Delphi, does not Plutarch say that gods are everywhere the same,—that is to say, forces obeying a superior power, only called by other names, and revered differently by different peoples? In prostrating themselves before the altars of Zeus and Ahura-Mazda, Greece and Persia attested in their own way the existence of this supreme power. As errors are but incomplete perceptions of that which is true,² so these false religions are but imper-

¹ See Saisset. *Le Scepticism d'Anéside, Pascal, Kant*. Paris. 1863.

² This idea was the basis of Cousin's "Eclectisme," under the Restoration. "There is not," says he, "and there can not be an absolutely false Philosophy, for the author of such a system could not place himself beyond his own thought, that is to say, beyond humanity." ("*Fragments philosophiques*," 1826). There was, thus, it seems, a tendency then to give

fect impressions of religious truth.¹ Is not Brahminism a simple alteration of primitive religion, Mahometism of the religion of Moses, and heresy, of Roman Catholicism? But the Supreme Head, invisible before Christianity; always present, and everywhere invoked, in spite of being continually ignored and disobeyed; had now as its organ the Church, sole, holy, catholic and apostolic, speaking by its infallible head, the Pope, the authority in person, the incarnate law—in one word, the vicar of God. He alone was judge of the legitimacy and illegitimacy of political powers, by him kings and peoples were upheld. This Catholicism, truly universal because it embraced all ages and all places, and which could not cease to exist for a moment without leaving man in the depths of skepticism, did not seem without peril to the ancient Gallicans,² accustomed to see in the religions of antiquity only the “worship of devils.”³ It seemed to them that the Church was reduced to a secondary position, in proclaiming only the general faith of nations. Lammenais, with that good faith which inspires orators, among whom the spirit of philosophy is but little developed, was subject to the mysterious influence of a principle which was destined to place humanity above the Church, and finally, Religion, as he understood it, above Christianity itself. The “Essay on Indifference,” contained in germ the book entitled “*L’Humanité*,” by Pierre Leroux.

The ardent author of the “Essay” was better able to assume the offensive, than to defend himself against adversaries for whose talents and courage he had but little respect. The Gallican Church with its bishops chosen since the Restoration from the nobles devoted to the Bourbons, and a clergy which had submitted with such resignation to the more or less “schismatic” decrees of Napoleon,⁴ seemed to him but an assemblage of servile priests, egotistical, worldly, and incapable of understanding the grandeur of the catholic spirit. While in journals such as the “*Quotidienne*,” or the “*Drapeau Blanc*,” he made warfare upon the partisans of constitutional monarchy, he did not spare those who wished to impose limits to the omnipotence of

amnesty to the past, a tendency without limit, with Hegel, who affirmed that “All that is real, is rational.”

¹ Cousin curiously enough says the same: “What is the fault of Philosophy? It is in having considered one side alone. There is no false system, but many incomplete. (“*Fragments philosophiques*.” 1826.)

² See Boyer, “*Examen des doctrines de M. de Lammenais*.” Paris, 1834.

³ Even in the seventeenth century the learned Jesuit, Baltus, tries to prove to Fontenelle that they speak by oracles! (“*Reponse à l’histoire des oracles*,” Strasbourg, 1708.)

⁴ See Lanfrey’s “*Napoleon I.*”

the papal power. Already ultramontane under the Empire,¹ he continued his controversy against Gallicanism² with such ardor that he drew upon himself the anger of the civil power and the censure of the Archbishop of Paris, Hyacinth de Quélen, a native of Brittany, who was not more than himself exempt from the stubbornness attributed to the Celtic race. Without taking into consideration the immense difference in talents, the position of the priest was better than that of the Archbishop. The latter, devoted to an unlimited monarchy, would have been greatly embarrassed in presenting the Pope as the constitutional head of a purely aristocratic church, if the traditions of the Gallican Church, particularly since the accession of the Bourbons, and the example of Bossuet, had not accustomed the bishops of the period to contradictions with which one can not reproach their successors to-day, who have for their logic, the logic of the Roman Catholic system. Lammenais, while so indignant at the lukewarmness of the clergy, had reason also to complain of a want of energy among the laity. For instance, the Baron d'Eckstein, a Danish nobleman, who commenced in 1826 to publish in Paris the "*Catholic*," must have seemed to him too much inclined toward compromising concessions. The baron without doubt opposed Cartesianism, which takes the individual as the starting-point of philosophy. But he avowed that the method of Descartes would lead to the understanding of self.³ At all events he believed the "antique" traditions alone capable of giving us a really satisfactory science, or of enabling us to understand mankind in general, of whom Adam personifies the fallen, and Christ the regenerate nature. This erudite thinker, whose historical knowledge was very extended for that period, and who loved to oppose the tradition of individualism, first turned his attention toward theocratic India, then very little known, but which seemed calculated to inspire the conservatives of the period with an enthusiasm like that of Voltaire⁴ and his friends for the China of the learned. But his admiration for the science of Brahminism did not extend to all sacerdotal corporations. "The Catholic clergy," said he, "were so far from possessing the light necessary to direct society, that they seemed on the contrary to repel it; and it was necessary to respect liberty of discussion, if only to oblige the priests to seek information."

¹ See his "Reflexions sur l'état de l'Eglise de France," (1808), and the "Institution des évêques," (1812.)

² See "La Religion considérée dans l'ordre politique et civil" (1825), and "Les progrès de la Révolution et de la guerre contre l'Eglise." (1829.)

³ *Le Moi*, or the *Ego*.

⁴ See *l'Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations*.

Lammenais found a much more capable auxiliary, and one who understood his views, in a nobleman whose brilliant literary *début* was made in 1796, a native like himself, of one of the provinces where the theocratic spirit of the Celts had resisted foreign influences.

THE SCHOOL OF JOSEPH DE MAISTRE.

Born in 1754, of French origin, in that part of Savoy which the coalition had recently ceded to the king of Sardinia, the Count Joseph de Maistre had all the qualities necessary for the propagation of a doctrine among people of the world. His correspondence published after his death¹ has greatly modified the general opinion of his character. It proves that he united with the absolute convictions peculiar to those of his province, the suppleness of that Italian diplomacy in which he took part when he represented Sardinia at St. Petersburg (1803-1817), where we found remembrances of him in conversations with one of his friends, a renowned diplomat. Like the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, and the Cardinal de Retz, the Marquise de Sévigné, and the Duke de Saint Simon, he had only to use the admirable language, pure, strong, keen, and original, spoken by the old French nobility, to become a superior writer. He had but to remain faithful to aristocratic traditions, to express with a masculine frankness (which one of his adversaries called a "rare intrepidity"), ideas more or less opposed to dominant opinions. Just as La Rochefoucauld had bravely defended the philosophy of egoism; Saint Simon the theology of persecuted Jansenism; and Retz the unpopular policy of Machiavelli;² Joseph de Maistre resolutely proposed to the French of the Restoration to sacrifice the rights of a "very Christian king," to abandon the national Gallicanism, and adopt the Spanish Catholicism, without taking into account their repugnance for the Inquisition.³

To the proud bishops of the kingdom of St. Louis,—“the most beautiful after that of Heaven,”—the author of “The Pope”⁴ declared that they could never be a “race of kings,” as their fathers in the faith had believed, and that in the Church as in the State, there must be “but one recognized chief.” To those theologians who believed that they had preserved the grand apostolic traditions better than Italy or Spain, he declared without reserve⁵ that Gerson and Bossuet were not in reality more “schismatical” than Photius and Michael

¹ *Correspondence diplomatique*, 1859. See also the *Lettres opuscules et mémoires*, 1851.

² The Condi were originally from Florence.

³ *Lettres à un gentilhomme Russe sur l'inquisition Espagnole*.

⁴ Lyons, 1819.

⁵ *L'Eglise Gallicane*, Paris, 1821.

Cérullaire. He believed it to be not impossible that at some future period, as in the Middle Ages, the Pope would again become the venerated arbiter of kings. But as he addressed himself chiefly to the people of the world who cared little for biblical exegesis, and did not trouble themselves to ransack the folios of the Fathers, he willingly employed arguments suited to their habits of thought. Since all good government presupposes, in the civil order, a supreme court, and in the political, an authority whose decrees are without appeal, why should Christ not make an infallible tribunal of the chair of Saint Peter? Why should he not assure the unity of Christian society even in the temporal sphere, by giving it a sovereign animated by His spirit? With arguments like these, he also used the ardor of the order which was so imperious in the Restoration, to represent as seditious and quarrelsome those who wished to introduce into the Church—into the kingdom of the “Prince of Peace!”—the discord and agitation of a parliamentary administration. As a philosopher, Joseph de Maistre is not less bold. In the “*Soirées at St. Petersburg*,” the defender of the papacy transforms himself into an apologist for the government of providence. He proposes to prove that upon earth, the righteous and the wicked alike suffer, but the first less than the second; that the righteous suffer not as the righteous, but as men; that men suffer because of original sin; that there are two methods of atonement for sin,—by prayer and by “reversibility.”² The Count de Maistre would rudely curb the most rebellious spirits before the throne of a sort of supreme “Emir,” who has given the scaffold as the basis of a society composed of the culpable sons of a rebel father; and who has impressed on the forehead of the executioner the seal of a mysterious and terrible faith calculated to appall the criminal. Spectator and victim of a political movement as contrary to his interests as his convictions, the author of the “*Soirées*” is but too much inclined to see in men, only criminals, profoundly depraved by the revolt of their progenitor; and he seems less astonished at the trials they endure, than surprised at the indulgence with which they are treated by a Judge who knows all their perversity. Vain was the effort to disconcert this trenchant, proud, and haughty logician, by opposing to him the highest names and the most popular authorities. He did not credit the men at court, or rather the nobility, with any knowledge of philosophy or learning. In Francis Bacon he saw only a “sophist.”³ If he consented to a monument to Voltaire, (cultured him-

¹ Paris, 1824. A posthumous work.

² The innocent redeeming, by superabundant merits, the faults of sinners.—[Ed.]

³ *Examen de la philosophie de Bacon*, Paris, 1836.

self, he was not insensible to the charms of the mind), he charged the executioner to prepare it.' In the contemporary Catholic school, the title of "prophet" has been accorded to Bonald and Joseph de Maistre. And such, in truth, they are. They announced to the French of the Restoration, a radical transformation of their religious traditions, and the accession of a new autocratic policy, capable of curbing the liberal spirit, and of securing when circumstances should become favorable, the restoration of the unlimited monarchy. But, by one of those ironies of which history offers us so many examples, it was not to be permitted to the Bourbons, who had founded the absolute monarchy in France, and who were encouraged by Bonald, Lammenais and de Maistre to reassume unlimited power—to restore to a "truly Christian" throne, the scepter of Louis XIV. Everything conspired to prepare and render possible the empire of Napoleon III., under whose reign Gallicanism, against which Joseph de Maistre directed his principal work,² received incurable wounds.

THE SCHOOL OF BALLANCHE.

The same belief does not produce an identical impression on every mind. While Joseph de Maistre believed that man, corrupted by original sin, "was capable of untold crimes and of attempting every thing horrible," and ought to occupy himself first of all, in appeasing a justly offended Judge; the benevolent Ballanche³ belonging to the *Bourgeoisie*, who had only to felicitate themselves upon the results of the revolution, undertook to reconcile the dogmas of the fall, with a belief in the elevation of the race, attained, by a succession of mysterious and painful experiences. But the thought which predominates in his "Social Institutions," that of the successive and gradual development of the human mind, consoles the spirit saddened by struggles against nature, emblematic of the contests still more redoubtable, of which the moral world is the theater. If communities, like individuals (according to the law of Vico) degenerate and perish after attaining to old age, there is no such decay for the human mind. It is infinite in life and perfectibility, and does not, with the human species in all of its vigor, attain the apogee of glory which awaits it.

¹ See *Soirées at St. Petersburg*.

² "Du Pape."

³ "One would be tempted," said the Baron l'Eckstein in the *Catholic*, "in speaking of the faithful administrator of Madame Récamier, to class him among those artless and tender philanthropists whose simplicity is proverbial."

Ballanche loved to develop his ideas in those compositions of a mixed nature, which are called poems in prose.¹ These poems, which the friends of the author characterized as of the "noble style," were merely the episodes of a social transformation, the sketch of which² is to be found under the head of "Orphée" (1829). But his writings,³ mixtures of mysticism, symbolical poetry, and inspirations drawn from the theories of the century, were not destined to exert a great or durable influence. While the rationalist could not accept a God who, at the beginning of the world, took a human form in order to give paternal education, with a revelation of language, to our first parents, the Catholic was astonished to hear a religious thinker speak, with the enthusiasm of a Lessing and a Turgot, of the progress of humanity, in an age when every thing seemed to him to tend toward ruin.

The Viscount de Bonald did not pursue poetical chimeras after the example of the philanthropist, and the liberal, of the theological school. He considered the Restoration as a hopeful opportunity for giving practical direction to views which he had proclaimed under the Empire, and which he continued to defend.⁴ Elected deputy in 1815, he exerted a marked influence in the assembly denominated the "*Chambre introuvable*," which shared his views on the indissolubility of marriage. In the Chamber of Peers, which he entered in 1823, he remained faithful to a line of conduct which seemed to him the only one that a Catholic philosopher could follow. The principle of unlimited power, which constituted, in his view, the strength of the Church, seemed to him the only one that rendered possible a proper direction of the affairs of state.

But men who, like the Viscount de Bonald and the Count de Maistre, had exerted their utmost strength to secure the re-establishment of the Bourbons on the throne of their ancestors, were not proof against deception. In truth the "Usurper" (who had loaded Bonald with favors), realized their ideal of government much better than the "legitimate king." The aristocratic government of the "*Corsican*" who had re-established confiscation, and prisons of State, among the most disapproved institutions of the old régime,⁵ could have but one fault in their eyes—its origin.

The author of the "Philosophical Researches,"—the Count de Bonald—in common with those who were called "ultra," consoled

¹ "*Antigone*," "*Orphée*," "*La Vision d'Hébal*," "*La Ville des expiations*," "*L'Homme sans nom*," "*Le Vieillard et le jeune homme*."

² *Essais de "Paléogénésiologie sociale."*

³ "Philosophical Researches," 1818.

⁴ See his works, 6 vols. in 8vo. Paris, 1832.

⁵ See Lanfrey's "*Histoire de Napoléon I.*"

himself by thinking that the Count d'Artois would act in accordance with his counsels, and that France would enjoy a veritable restoration of religion and order, impossible under a "Voltairean" prince, whose life in England had accustomed him to a constitutional form of government. They hoped, after a skeptical and indolent Charles II, to be permitted to have as their chief a veritable James II. The Viscount de Bonald had the unhappy fortune to see his hopes realized. Disenchanted, probably, by the catastrophe of 1830, the result of the same illusions which had produced the Revolution of 1688, he seemed to resign himself to the triumph of the *Voltairean bourgeoisie*, and ceased to interest himself in affairs of state. But his family has retained the faith¹ and confidence of the Roman Catholic party, and in our days the home of Ballanche has had for its archbishop, his son, whom the Pope has invested with the purple of the Cardinals.

The theories of the Roman Catholic school would have had a far different influence on the nation, if the University of France² had taught them to the youth of the country. But the State had been cured of its taste for the ultramontaniam of De Maistre, no more than of its partiality for the ideas of the eighteenth century; and the instruction which it gave, ended by spreading in the capital—whose influence is of such importance in a strongly centered government—the teaching of systems whose orthodoxy was very doubtful. If Royer-Collard,—the illustrious Royalist professor,—had not for political reasons been deprived of his seat, it is possible that he, without trying to impose on his pupils the politics of Bonald and Joseph de Maistre, would have given a Christian tendency to the philosophical teachings of the University of France, whose organization had not been changed by the Restoration.

¹ In a work signed "Victor de Bonald," ("Moses and the Geologists,") the author believes that the Roman inquisition, in the case of Galileo was right. How wise was the sagacious Talleyrand in dreading for any cause, the ardor of zeal!

² Le Corps enseignant barbarisme dû à Napoleon I.

THE PRUSSIAN EVANGELICAL CHURCH.

THE General Synod of the Prussian Evangelical¹ Church held its sittings in the House of Peers, Berlin, from the 25th of November to the 18th of December, 1875. Its task was a twofold one—*first*, to frame a constitution for the Evangelical Church, suited to the new circumstances of the time; and *secondly*, on the one hand, to guard the variously threatened unity of the Church; on the other, to provide it with organs for the enjoyment and exercise of its independent life. This last was all the more necessary, as it had hitherto been very dependent on the State, and destitute of organs of its own competent to the discharge of legislative and administrative functions. The assembling of this Synod was one of the most important events in the recent history of the Church: its work, therefore, which has already² received the sanction of the monarch as the Head of the Church, the ratification of both houses of the Parliament, and the approbation of the monarch as the head of the State, deserves attentive and careful consideration.

Most of the Reformed Churches have had for a long period peculiar fixed constitutions of their own, in great or even complete independence of the State—for example, in North America and Scotland: and though the Episcopal Church of England is still very dependent on State and Parliament, its American branch possesses a stable organization, well adapted to its position of independence. At the same time, it must be confessed that the connection between the individual bishoprics of the American Episcopal Church is very loose, and that as far as government and administration are concerned, it can scarcely be said to constitute an organic whole. Nor are the laity allowed much official share in the internal manage-

¹ In English we should use the word Protestant. The Germans prefer the term Evangelical in contradistinction to Catholic or Roman Catholic, as less negative—as denoting the *positive*, *i. e.*, Evangelical character of their Church Communities. The Evangelical Church of Prussia embraces within itself both the Lutheran and the Reformed (or Calvinistic) Churches.

² The 20th of January.

ment of church matters. If we understand by the freedom of the Church, self-government, there is very little of it in the Episcopal Church, either in America or England; for the great mass of the members are simply governed by the clergy. The same remark may be made regarding a large part of the *Methodists*.¹ Among the Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Baptists, the laity have that share in church activity which is involved in the principle of the universal priesthood of believers reasserted at the Reformation; but in the two latter bodies, the connection between the individual churches is very slight; and as to organization, there is little more than the presbytery and an imperfect form of the synod. Nor have even the Presbyterians any permanent functionaries, such as superintendents or consistories, for the control and direction of the Church as a whole; they have merely self-government in the individual churches, with synods in ascending degrees; these latter, moreover, have scarcely any administrative, but merely legislative and judicial, functions. Nor is this position of matters a mere accident. For even if the Presbyterian system were to develop permanent church officers out of itself, they must owe their existence to the synods, and their appointments could not be for life. This, now, would involve so much dependence, that the governing functionaries would be little more than the executive arm of the synod, with a shadowy existence, and entirely swayed by the moods and tendencies of the body to which they owed their existence. There are not a few among Presbyterians who are sensible of the advantages which a stable authority would insure;—who feel that a closer union of the individual communities; a greater certainty of the laws being not merely enacted but carried out; and a fuller guarantee for the conscientious discharge of their duties on the part of the church officers, would thus be insured, in that such an authority could exercise supervision over the whole, and undertake regular visitations. As it is, not only are the individual churches left to themselves, save as far as the right of complaint to the synods is concerned—and notwithstanding this right, great evils may gradually creep in unawares—but a further important advantage is sacrificed, namely, the possibility of insisting on the more careful theological education of the ministers, and of seeing that the regulations

¹ In recent times, however, the Methodists of North America have conceded to the laity the right to send delegates to the General Conference. This same General Conference, too, constitutes, even in the case of the Episcopal Methodists, a regular bond of Association, which is lacking to the Anglicans, unless we regard Convocation as such a bond. Yet even they can not be said to have a permanent organ for the direction of the Church Body as a whole; they have merely a synodal, that is, an intermittent, authority at the head of affairs.

made to this end were observed by instituting stricter examinations than periodically-chosen examiners are likely to institute. The Presbyterian system gives up these advantages almost entirely ; and indeed rightly, considering that it treats the principle of the equality of church officers well-nigh as an article of faith. Besides, as ruling authorities could only be created by synodal election, there would arise the danger, constituted as men are, that ambition, which exists no less in the Church than in the State, should assume a form dangerous alike both to the health and freedom of the entire organism. The Synods might easily become the arena of intrigues and coteries which would disturb the peace and rend the unity of the Church. It is wise, therefore, in the Presbyterians, to allow of no distinction of superior and subordinate among their clergy, and to restrict ambition to the domain of a noble competition among equals. The danger of a hierarchy and a tyranny is thus reduced to its minimum, and obedience is secured to our Lord's command, that his disciples should not seek to rule after the example of earthly potentates. At the same time, not only are the advantages above referred to sacrificed, but the *Charisma* of *Kübrnesis*, which the Spirit of God confers on the Church, finds only an uncertain, inorganic application. The Independents, or Congregationalists and Baptists, are—as indeed their essential principle requires—still less organized, and admit of no authority extending beyond the individual churches.

The Evangelical Churches of the Continent of Europe, especially of Germany, have taken up, in this respect, from the time of the Reformation onwards, a very different position. Not only have they evinced a national bent, even in church matters, like the Presbyterians and Episcopalians of North America, but they have also aimed at a closer connection between themselves and the supreme authority or head of the nation. Indeed, in the monarchical States of Germany and Scandinavia, the prince was allowed to assume the position of Head of the Church, under the title of either Bishop in Need (Noth-Bischof), or Summus Episcopus, or Membrum Præcipuum, or of the First Elder. In the Free Cities, the magistracy exercised the rights in the government of the Church, which elsewhere fell to the monarch.

Although both the populations of the German Empire and their representatives at the Diet belonged to various Confessions, one Confession alone, namely, that of the prince, was treated as having full rights in the individual territories. Nay more, in Protestant countries the princes acquired more and more absolute power in the

Church as well as in the State. Nor was the tendency to absolutism which proceeded from Louis XIV the sole cause of this state of things; on the contrary, the theologians had previously contributed materially to this result. The Lutheran theologians neglected to stir up the laity of their church to active cöoperation, and objected to concede to them ecclesiastical rights; indeed, the so-called third estate (*status æconomicus*) was reduced to a purely passive rôle. Nominally, indeed, the three estates of the people (*magistratus politicus, ecclesiasticus æconomicus*) constituted together the Christian hierarchy; but as the christian people were only allowed the right of hearing, consenting, and obeying, and as the Church functions were reduced to the functions of the clergy, a hierarchical spirit inevitably took possession of the theological teachers who then sought to dominate the princes, and to use the power of the State for their own ends. These ends, as far as the Lutherans were concerned, were the maintenance and establishment of "pure doctrine," in opposition to the heterodoxies and heresies that were constantly arising. At first the princes lent their aid willingly; soon, however, more and more reluctantly. So long as the life of the Church was restricted to its worship and its unchangeable dogmas, the Protestant hierarchy had no great practical aims, and accordingly, after a brief attempt to secure independence of, or even power over, the ruler, it succumbed under the weight of the *Summus Episcopus*, whose inclination to share his authority with the clerical order naturally constantly diminished. Although the civil ruler did as little to stir up the laity to free cöoperation as the clergy had done, the reception given to Pietism and to the efforts of Christian Thomasius, shows that the German Protestants preferred the rule of Evangelical princes to that of the clergy, however passive the rôle assigned to them in the Church might be. Ever since the Reformation they have cherished the strongest abhorrence of a clerical hierarchy. The idea of the universal priesthood of believers, the need of direct intercourse with God without human mediation, the feeling for inner religious freedom, are so strong that an ecclesiastical hierarchy is regarded as the most dangerous poison, and the pressure of the civil authority from without is deemed more tolerable than a hierarchy holding sway within. The rule of a prince in the Church is after all the rule of a layman, and spiritual freedom is considered to be more secure under lay than under any sort of clerical dominion. It must further be remembered that German Protestants have never had a Henry VIII., or Charles I., or Charles II. at their head; that they

have never been urged on by their princes either to Romanism on the one hand, or frivolity and unbelief on the other; that, on the contrary, they have generally received good at the hands of their rulers, and that the Evangelical princes of Germany have frequently taken active steps against the Catholicism and Jesuitism by which they were surrounded, and with which the imperial authority identified itself, even to the extent of risking their own existence. All these things must be taken into consideration, if we would understand how it came to pass that in the eighteenth century, German Protestants could put up with even the territorial¹ form of the *Summus Episcopus*.

Meanwhile, during the present century, absolutism having been overthrown, and the citizens having accustomed themselves to active participation in public affairs, it is natural that changes should be demanded in the constitution of the Church, especially as a new life, various as the varied populations of Germany, has been awakened in its midst. Now that, in consequence of the dissolution of the German Empire, Catholics and Protestants are subjects of the same rulers, have the same rights, and are represented in the same representative bodies, it is evident that the old commixture of the political and ecclesiastical can no longer be tolerated. Prior to that dissolution the Protestant princes legislated for the Church, under the advice of theologians; at the present time, they share their entire legislative power with the Deputies, and these may be not only Evangelical Protestants, but also Catholics, Dissidents, and Jews—none of these latter being elected to discharge ecclesiastical functions. The State has no right to legislate for the Romish Church in matters relating purely to its inner life; how then can the Evangelical Church continue to be ruled in the old fashion by the Prince and his Diet conjointly, under these altered circumstances? The demand has accordingly become ever more general that a distinction be made between Church and State; and the question of their respective rights and their relations to each other has occupied more and more attention. At the outset, the Liberals, with us as in North America, adopted as their motto, "Separation of Church and State," "Free Church in a Free State;" latterly, however, the experience of Belgium, where the Liberals have succumbed to the compact forces of Ultramontanism and the heightened claims of Romanism resulting from the Vatican Council, have led the German Liberals to give up the entire separation of Church and State, and the indiffer-

¹ Equivalent to what in English is termed *Erastianism*.

entism of the State in respect of the Church. They see now that the only freedom with which Ultramontaniam will be content, is the freedom to use the civil power at its pleasure, and to keep the people and science in pupillage and obedience to the Church. For these reasons the German Empire, and Prussia in particular, have enacted a series of laws having, indeed, for their design to guard the rights of the State against injury by the Church, but which were also, no doubt, inspired by a distrust of the Church, especially of Romanism. The same laws, however, impede the movements of the Evangelical Church, and will continue to do so, so long as the State for the sake of "Parity," as it is termed, thinks itself bound to treat things that are really unlike, namely, Romanism and Protestantism, in a like manner. In so far, the present juncture was not a very favorable one for the formation of a constitution for the Evangelical Church. Still the attempt needed to be made, in order that the Church might be conducted safely through the crisis brought on by the recent political and religious developments.

Let us now examine the constitution finally settled by the Special General Synod, which met at the close of the year 1875, and which, as observed already, has received the sanction of the monarch and the Diet.

The fundamental ideas of the new constitution are these:—On the one hand, the eternal freedom of the Church is to be so insured that the State can no longer impose its decisions on its inner life; on the other hand, internal freedom is to be secured by providing for the coöperation of the laity in all important acts of the ecclesiastical authorities. In accordance herewith the hitherto prevailing territorialism, the confusion of the political and ecclesiastical, and the absolute power of the ruler in the Church, are to be abolished, without, however, depriving the monarch of his position as the Head of the National Church, and without putting a purely synodal government in his place. On the contrary, it is the decided wish of the Prussian National Church to continue to lean upon the royal power, which has so long aided in the preservation both of its popular character and external unity:—indeed, this support could not be dispensed with, at all events suddenly, without great risk of disruption. It is anxious to retain the advantages which have hitherto accrued to it from its connection with a noble race of princes, without the disadvantages resulting from the mixing up of political and ecclesiastical matters. A clearer distinction is to be drawn between the king as the head of the State, and the king as the chief officer in the

Church, and this distinction is to find expression in correspondingly organized functionaries. To the highest political officer below the king, namely, the Minister of Public Worship, will correspond in the ecclesiastical domain, the Supreme Church Council; and at the next stage below, the Provincial Governments and Provincial Consistories will be correlated. It is expected that the disadvantages referred to above will be avoided by the combination of new, that is, presbyterial-synodal, arrangements with those of the consistorial system. The rights which have hitherto been exercised in the individual provinces by the Consistories and the Supreme Church Council conjointly, in the name and on behalf of the Protestant monarch—exercised, however, in great dependence on the civil power, especially the minister of cultus—are now to be shared by synods, and the influence hitherto wielded by the minister of cultus is to cease. At the same time, there is a general conviction in Prussia that while the improper influence of the State should cease, the prince as the *Summus Episcopus*, and his ecclesiastical courts, should not lose their rights; for according to the German view of things, a purely presbyterial or an independent constitution, or a presbyterial-synodal constitution, without the consistorial element, would be less perfect than one combining all these separate features. The public feeling is that a permanent ruling power and an independent administration are needed to counterbalance the changing synods, with their parties and moods—a strong, central force capable of keeping up a lively circulation of talents and interchange of gifts, but also especially to protect the Church from the inner divisions to which the ambition of vain-glorious men so easily gives rise. The elevated position of the monarch makes him superior to the spirit of party, and under ordinary circumstances his sole aim, in his ecclesiastical character, will be to further the interests of the Church generally. An increase of power can scarcely accrue to him from his position:—in a State where all confessions have equal rights, the Evangelical Church can not be used for political ends.

The constitution of the Church, beginning with the independently organized presbyteries of the individual parishes, and rising up through the District and Provincial Synods to the General Synod, which embraces all the old¹ provinces of Prussia, being thus framed, the next step was to see that it had free scope for its activity. To this end, the Extraordinary General Synod imposed material restrictions on the political authority, and its functionaries, in relation to

¹ The provinces prior to the war of 1866.

the Church; and legally determined the distinction between Church and State. As far as this latter point is concerned, internal church matters are to be henceforth entrusted to purely church officers, while the action of the political authorities is restricted to the guardianship of the rights and interests of the State. Political functionaries are no longer to be at the same time ecclesiastical, nor ecclesiastico-political, in their character; on the contrary, each is to be definitely distinguished from, and made to a certain extent independent of, each other; the degree of their independence and the domain of their coöperation being legally defined.¹ The State has reserved to itself, it is true, the right of determining the limits in question. But as the State is the source of law, this can not be avoided; and should the State go too far, it is open to the Church to obtain the redress of its wrongs by working on the convictions and winning the confidence of the political authorities, and by proving their anxious precautions to be unnecessary. The Evangelical Church has the right of managing its own funds and endowments, as well as of imposing rates on its members, both for parish and synodal purposes, up to four per cent. of the income and class tax;—beyond that limit, it requires the sanction of the government. At present, indeed, it has no endowment like the Romish Church, although it might justly claim one, its possessions having been secularized for the benefit of the State during the present century. By far the majority of the livings, however, are foundations, and have local property of their own; they are therefore not dependent on the contributions of the State. What the Church needs beyond this can be supplied by the voluntary offerings of its members, who can thus make it in this respect more and more independent. As the State has retained the right either of proposal or veto, in the case of the higher appointments in the Catholic Church, it will do so also, at all events for the present, in the Evangelical Church; the initiative, however, rests with scarcely an exception, not with the State, *i. e.*, with the Minister of Public Worship, but with the Church functionaries, the former having merely the right of veto for reasons of State. The main point, after all, is that the commingling of the political and the ecclesiastical, even in the ruler, is done away with, and that precautions are taken that the Church and the State functions of the king shall not come into collision. His political duties he performs through the medium of his ministers, and it will fall to the lot of the minister of cultus in particular to exercise the royal right of patron-

¹ § 38.

age and supervision over the churches—indeed, over all religious bodies in essentially the same manner—namely, to adopt Dr. Falck's own expression, "quasi as Minister of Justice." The ecclesiastical functions of the king, on the contrary, are discharged through the medium of the Supreme Church Council, as the central authority to which the consistories are subordinated.¹ For the purpose of preventing any collision between the monarch as Head of the State and as Head of the Church, it has been legally ordained, that before new ecclesiastical laws are issued, the Ministers of State and the Supreme Church Council shall come to an understanding as to their admissibility, in relation to the State, before they are submitted for the royal sanction. The right of ecclesiastical legislation, whether through the ministers or the king *qua* Head of the State, has been given up by the State; but the king *qua* Head of the Church retains a positive share in legislation, though not in absolutistic form. Henceforth, therefore, no law can be imposed on the Church against its will by any power on earth. Besides this negative freedom, it has also a positive share in legislation. The General Synod, to some extent also the Provincial Synod, is a coördinate factor with the Church functionaries of the monarch. The necessity for an agreement between the two factors—synod and ruling power—before a law can be enacted for the Church, may sometimes be a hindrance in the way of progress; but it is a pledge and guarantee for a cautious and wise method of procedure, as well as for the peaceful and constant development of a Church embracing more than twelve millions of members.

With this abolition of the commixture of State and Church is also conjoined the limitation of the absolutistic power of the monarch and his functionaries within the Church, which has hitherto existed. This limitation has been consented to for the sake of the entire church organism; that is, not for the sake of the clergy as such, but of the synodally organized church organism, especially of the laity. In future, all laymen, qualified in church respects, are called to act in church matters—not merely to do works of charity, and to further home and foreign missions, which may be regarded as a preparatory school for the properly ecclesiastical activities, but

¹ Laws affecting the National Church as a whole, will therefore be issued by the king (on the basis of Resolutions of the Synod) not as the Head of the State, but as Head of the Church; they will accordingly be countersigned, not by the cultus minister, but by the president of the Supreme Church Council; and they will become binding through publication in an ecclesiastical gazette.

also to aid in managing the parishes, and in the deliberations and decisions of the various synods, from those of the districts, up to the general Synod. The public preaching of the Word of God, and the administration of the Sacrament of the Eucharist, are reserved for the clergy; in all other activities, the laity henceforth take part. And how great is the proportion of the laity to the clergy! Alongside of the clergyman, in the parishes there are the elders, whose number (at least four) depends on the size of the parish; alongside of the presbytery or parish council, there are in parishes of above five hundred souls the so-called parish representatives,¹ numbering three times the presbyters. Though the functions of these representatives relate mainly to financial matters, they unite with the presbytery in choosing the lay members of the district synod, whose number is double that of the clerical. The district synods, in which all the pastors have a seat, elect the members of the provincial synods; the latter those of the general synod. Of the elected members of the provincial and general synods, one-third *must* be clerical and one-third lay; the remaining third are chosen without restriction, so that there may be a majority on either side, or the two may be equal—a proof that the Evangelical Church acknowledges no distinction between clergy and laity, and leaves the question of proportion of members to depend on the confidence reposed in the candidates by its members.

But in order that our readers may be able to form an idea of the manner in which the Prussian National Church will henceforth govern itself, we will now briefly describe the rights of the parish officers and of the various synods, with their respective spheres of activity.

The *Parish Council* (Presbytery) will consist of from four to twelve members, exclusive of the pastor, and its duty will be in general to sustain the pastoral office; to do its best for the religious and moral building up of the parish; and to represent the Church community in internal and external affairs. Accordingly, it will be expected to seek to maintain and cherish a Christian spirit and Christian habits in the community, both by a good example and by a wise use of all appropriate and admissible means. It will be both its right and duty to take notice of inconsistencies in the private or official conduct of either the clergy or elders, and to bring them to the knowledge of the proper authorities; so also to decide prelimi-

¹ In parishes of fewer than five hundred souls all the qualified together constitute the representative body.

narily, at the request of the pastor, whether any member shall be excluded from participation in spiritual functions, especially from the Eucharist:—all parties, however, having the right of appeal to the district synod. The duty further devolves upon it of seeing to the maintenance of the outward decencies of worship, of promoting the observance of the Sabbath, of watching over the religious education of the youth, and of seeing that the interests of the church community are not overlooked in the schools. Defects in the religious instruction of the young, or in their moral conduct, are to be brought by it under the notice of the legal organs of the school authorities. The Parochial Church Council has further to take the lead in all church arrangements for relieving the poor, visiting the sick, and rescuing the outcast;—in doing which it may associate with itself helpers from the parish, especially from the number of its representatives, or coöperate either with free Christian societies or with the civil poor relief officers. It has to nominate and inspect the inferior church officers. When a living is vacated, it is its duty, in conjunction with the parish representatives, to make the necessary arrangements, and to exercise the rights of the parish relating to the appointment of a pastor, whether it be the right of objection, as in the case of livings in private patronage, or when the duty of election devolves on it, either regularly or merely alternately. In matters relating to church property it represents the parish, and appoints one of its members treasurer. Even over against the several ecclesiastical authorities (from the Superintendent and Consistory up to the Supreme Church Council) and the synods (district, provincial, and general), it is the organ for the assertion of parochial interests, and, in case of necessity, may bring forward proposals there anent. Its duty is further to endeavor to stir up the parish to a lively participation in church matters, and with this view not only to make public communications regarding the more important parts of its administration, but to encourage and carefully to consider proposals and wishes brought forward by individual parishioners. On it devolve the arrangements for, and the conduct of, the elections of elders and parochial representatives. The pastor is the *ex-officio* chairman of the parish church council; in his absence, one of the elders.

The *Representatives* of the parish, whose number, as was remarked, is three times that of the parish council, and in parishes of under five hundred souls embraces all who have the qualification, do not constitute an independent board or body, but may be regarded as an expansion of the council for special cases. Their meetings are

summoned by the council, and the president of the latter presides also over the collective sittings of the parish representatives. It is obligatory to consult this body in matters involving important financial issues, as, for example, in new buildings, laying church rates, fixing the amount of fees, endowing new or improving existing offices, granting help to other parishes or to Christian institutions and associations, and in drawing up parochial statutes. The parish council is also justified in bringing other appropriate matters under the consideration of the representative body. As the latter shares the rights belonging to the parish council relatively to the election of a pastor, so also the right to send deputies to the district synod—rights of such significance that it is of the utmost importance to train and stir up these representatives to take a genuinely Christian interest in all church activities.

The *mode* in which the *organs of the parish are constituted* must therefore be a matter of great weight.

The parish council and representative body are chosen by the members who have a right to vote. Who, then, according to the constitution of the Prussian Church, are electors, and who not?

No parishioners can vote who are either dependent on others, or who have not the full rights and privileges of citizens, or who have caused public scandal, either by despising the Word of God or disreputable conduct, and have not atoned for it by permanent improvement, or whom the laws of the Church have deprived of the right, for the violation of special Church duties. Electors are all self-supporting males, twenty-four years old and upwards, not otherwise disqualified, who have lived a year in the parish, who contribute their due quota to the parish funds, and who have *regularly inscribed their names in the electoral list*.

By means of this last provision the *electing parish* is distinguished from the parish in general, and constituted into a special body, with specific rights and duties—a narrower within a larger circle—analogue, in a certain measure, to the distinction made in Reformed churches between church members or communicants and mere parishioners. The arrangement in question differs, however, from that of the Reformed churches in this, that according to the view of the German Evangelical Church, Regeneration ought not to be made a condition of membership of the electoral body, as is frequently the case in America, especially since the time of Jonathan Edwards. It considers regeneration to be not certainly recognizable, being an inward and spiritual thing, and objects either to require a public

declaration thereof, or to submit it publicly to the judgment of others. Nor does it allow the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to be a criterion of membership, deeming the Eucharist to be rather a fellowship in the Lord and his true body, than with the electoral Church body. The German Protestants consider all the baptized and confirmed, who are able to "examine themselves" (1 Cor. xi.), and who may be assumed to be in a worthy, that is, a penitent and seeking state of mind, to be admissible to the Lord's table. Their becoming communicants does not therefore depend on their giving evidence of being born again. We shall accordingly find in Germany communicants who are not qualified to be electors; for example, persons under age, and females. On the other hand, there may be electors who are not communicants, either from scrupulosity or other reasons. Any one who is excluded from the Lord's table for unworthiness will of course be disqualified from being an elector; and he who persistently absents himself from the Eucharist will become chargeable with contempt of the Word—"Do this in remembrance of me," and "Ye shall (by this celebration) proclaim the Lord's death till he come." Instead of the conditions just referred to, those who wish to have the right of voting are required to register their names in the manner prescribed by law. Two reasons have dictated this provision: *first*, that as there is a long interval between confirmation and the age which qualifies for voting, those who claim the right may be compelled distinctly to avow their connection with the Church; and *secondly*, that it may be possible for the Church to test the worthiness of those who shall take part in its elections. As it is the way of the Germans rather to be reserved than otherwise, relatively to their religious and church position, the provision in question interposes a great hindrance in the way of the irruption of unchristian elements. Just because churchliness is not a fashion or custom in Germany, but rather the contrary, an acknowledgment of interest in the Church, such as the fulfillment of the aforementioned condition involves, may be assumed, in general, to be neither a lie nor hypocrisy, but the truth. As things stand in Germany, a man who is inwardly alienated from or hostile to the Church, will scarcely compromise himself, or bring upon himself the contempt of his acquaintances, by a profession of churchliness.

The requirements of those who are *eligible to church offices* are of a more stringent character. Those only are eligible as parochial representatives, or as members of the parish church council, "who have not renounced their position as members of the Church, by per-

sistent absence from public worship and neglect to participate in the sacraments." A member of the church council must also be thirty years old. Speaking generally, therefore, one may say that parish councillors and representatives must be communicants.

Besides this, the elders elect have to be solemnly inducted to their office, during a principal service, in the presence of the assembled worshipers, and to take upon themselves the following vow:—"Do you vow before God and this church community to attend to the service intrusted to you carefully and faithfully, in accordance with the Word of God and the ordinances of the Church and this parish, and to see that all things are done decently and honorably for the welfare of the community?" Not until this pledge has been given is an elder to be regarded as inducted into office.

Whosoever causes himself to be registered in the list of church electors is, ipso facto, pledged not to decline the office of elder, save on the ground of old age or sickness, or other valid hindrance.

The *District Synod*, which meets every year under the presidency of the superintendent, embraces all the clergy of the diocese; the beneficed clergy vote, the others merely advise; and there are, besides, twice as many voting lay as clerical members. The lay members must either be elders, or such as are qualified to hold the office of elder. They are elected by the collective organs of the church community, and are expected to take the vow imposed on the parish councillors, in a form altered to suit the new circumstances.

The *sphere of action* of the district synod embraces the following privileges and duties: It joins in exercising supervision over the parishes, the clergy, the candidates, and all the church officers of the diocese. With this view, at every ordinary meeting, it will receive a report from the superintendent or his deputy regarding the state of the parishes, both in a moral and church point of view; and it will warn and admonish in a brotherly manner, or hand over to the proper disciplinary authorities, such church officers as may have been guilty of grievous inconsistencies in life and conversation. For cases in which the first disciplinary procedure rests with the parish, the district synod constitutes the next court of appeal. Its duty also is to consult regarding proposals of the church authorities, or suggestions which are brought forward by its own members. It coöperates in the supervision of the charitable and religious efforts of the individual parishes; it manages and directs institutions having similar objects which belong to the district as a whole; it audits the paro-

chial church accounts; it examines proposed parochial rules and statutes; and finally, elects clerical and lay representatives for the provincial synod.

During the time when the district synod is not sitting, its powers are exercised by the managing committee, or the directory of the same, consisting of the superintendent and four assessors. This directory keeps the minutes of the synod, and settles matters which do not admit of delay; it further decides on objections raised against elders and parochial representatives, and may either admonish or reprove, or, if there has been gross neglect of duty, dismiss them from office—against which, however, an appeal may be lodged with the consistory. In the case of objections being raised against the character or talents of a candidate for a vacant cure, or when two-thirds of a parish declare against a pastor designate, the directory decides at a sitting in pleno. Objections touching doctrine are submitted in the first instance to the judgment of the consistory, the directory of the *Provincial Synod* coöperating.

We now come to the *Provincial Synod*. First, however, we must remark that the Church in the provinces of the Rhine and Westphalia, which has had a constitution of its own since 1835, is exempted, so far as it may desire, from all the new regulations which deviate from those already existing in its midst. This exemption applies especially to the provincial synods, which, in its case, are constituted of one-third lay and two-thirds clerical members, and to the district synods, in which the number of the two classes of members is equal. The parochial representative body participates neither actively nor passively in the work of the latter synod, for elders and clergy alone are deputed by the local presbyteries.

The provincial synods of the six eastern provinces of Prussia, that is, Brandenburg, Prussia, Saxony, Pomerania, Posen, and Silesia, are constituted as follows:

1. An equal number of clerical and lay deputies, chosen by the district synods, either individually or in groups.
2. Special deputies from the *largest* district synods, to the number of a third of the ordinary deputies, who may be either clerical or lay, but must be men of experience and tried worth in church matters, or, at all events, elders.
3. A member of the theological faculty of the province.
4. Members nominated by the king, who are not to exceed a sixth of those who are chosen by the district synods.

On assuming their seats in the synod, the members have to

pledge themselves in the following words:—"I vow before God that I will discharge my duties as a member of the Synod with care and faithfulness, in harmony with the Word of God and the regulations of the Evangelical National Church, and that I will labor, that the Church may grow in all things, in Him who is its Head, even Christ."

A royal commissioner, ordinarily either the general superintendent of the province or the president of the consistory, will attend the sittings of the synod.

The following is the sphere of activity of the provincial synod and its permanent directory or managing board. In general, its duty will be to look after the state of the Church in the province, and to provide for its requirements, with regard to which the president will have to present a detailed report. It will further be its business to see to the maintenance of the Church's order, doctrine, cultus, and constitution, and to endeavor to remove abuses by suggesting measures, or making complaints in the appointed way. It has to discuss the measures proposed by the church authorities, and the suggestions made either by the district synods or its own members; to give its judgment, and to adopt resolutions, regarding matters submitted to its consideration. These last require the confirmation of either the ruling authorities or the general synod. It will take an independent part in legislation, in so far as its consent will be requisite before laws can be promulgated which relate solely to the province which it represents. The same thing holds true of new explanations of the catechism, religious lesson books, hymnals, and liturgical formularies. Precepts and laws which are issued with the consent of the general synod take precedence, indeed, of those of the provincial synods; but still the latter, as also even the individual parishes, have the right of protest, with regard to alterations in the form of administering the sacraments. The consent of the provincial synods must be secured prior to the introduction of new and regularly recurring collections for church purposes; and they have the right to decide as to the application of moneys collected either in the churches or from house to house, for the help of needy parishes, and to authorize disbursements for provincial purposes, so far as they have to be covered by church or parochial funds. They have the privilege of deputing two or three of their members, to assist and vote at the examinations of candidates for the ministry. Finally, it devolves on the provincial synod to choose both representatives for the general synod and its own directory or board,

which holds office as long as the synod itself exists, namely, three years. This directory will consist of a president and several assessors—not more than six—half lay and half clerical. The president has the casting vote, and has the duty of acting as the representative of the synod at church solemnities in which a province as a whole is interested. He has a seat, though not a vote, in the district synods. So far as the directory of the provincial synod constitutes a collegium by itself, he is its chairman. On the directory, in this capacity, rests the duty of settling and publishing the minutes of the synod, and communicating them to all the pastors and parochial church councillors of the province; of seeing that the decisions of the synod are carried into effect; of preparing for the next following synod—especially of sending in to the latter a report regarding its own activity; and finally, of giving its opinion on matters submitted to its judgment by the consistory.

The directory of the provincial synod coöperates further with the consistory, whose president is the joint chairman; the members of the directory are extraordinary members of the consistory, and as such have a vote; and mention must be made of their coöperation in drawing up official documents.

In all matters of considerable importance, the consistory *may* avail itself of the help of the directory in question; it *must* do so in the following cases: Whenever a vacancy in the governing authority has to be filled; especially when discipline has to be exercised on elders who have appealed from a lower court, when a parish protests against the doctrine of one who is designated as their pastor, or whenever charges of heresy against clergymen have to be inquired into or adjudicated on.

We now come to the *General Synod*, its constitution and functions. It is constituted of—

1. One hundred and fifty members chosen by the provincial synods, distributed in the following proportions: to Prussia 24, to Brandenburg 27, Pomerania 18, Posen 9, Silesia 21, Saxony 24, Westphalia 12, the Rhine Province 15. A third of the entire number must be clergymen in charge of parishes; a third laymen who either hold or have held office; the remaining third may be either clergymen or laymen, as long as they are men who have had experience in ecclesiastical affairs, and have deserved well of the Evangelical Church.

2. Of six theological professors of the universities of Königsberg,

Berlin, Greifswald, Breslau, Halle, and Bonn, to be chosen by the respective faculties.

3. Of the general superintendents of the provinces, who at present number eleven.

4. Of thirty members to be nominated by the king.

It is in harmony with the entire spirit of the constitution that a proportion of the members of the general synod should be nominated by the king; for it is intended that the synodal and the ruling elements should coöperate, instead of regarding each other with distrust or hostility. Hence, also, as we have seen already, on the one hand, is the association of the synod with the permanent church functionaries for certain specially important purposes, and on the other hand, the bond of union between synodal and ruling authority created by the nomination of members by the monarch. These nominations take place after the hundred and fifty other members have been elected. Under this arrangement, able men who have been passed over in the elections can be nominated, or the undue predominance of any one party can be rectified by the action of the supreme authority, and the synod thus be rendered more truly representative than it otherwise would be.

The general synod is to meet every six years, and will settle its own order of procedure and appoint its own directory. The following extract from the charter itself, will give the best general view of its province.¹

“The duty of the General Synod is in conjunction with the ecclesiastical government of the king, to see to the maintenance and growth of the National Church on the groundwork of the Evangelical Faith; to hold the ruling functionaries, teachers, and parishes alike to coöperation in the building up of the Church; to take care that the various branches of the administration duly observe the rules of the constitution; to determine on necessary legal developments of church institutions; to promote an interest in works of Christian charity; to guard the unity of the National Church against disintegrating elements; to mark out the limits of the independence of the provincial churches, and to protect it within those limits; to cultivate fellowship between the National Church and other sections of the great Evangelical Church; to aid in bringing about a better understanding as to matters of doctrine between the various Christian churches; in short, either of its own motion or at the instance of the ruling authorities, and in harmony with the constitution, to do everything in its power to build up the National Church, and to aid the Church Universal in the fulfillment of its religious and moral mission.”

Among the special rights and obligations of the general synod, is its share in the work of legislating for the National Church, to

¹ § 4.

whose *formal* aspects reference has already been made. The province to which its legislative functions relate is the following :

1. The regulation of the liberty of teaching within the Church. Here, however, we must remark that the position of the existing Confessions of Faith and union in the various provinces is left untouched by the present constitution,¹ and that the National Church takes its stand on the foundation of the Evangelical Confession.²

2. The settlement of the vows to be taken at ordination.

3. The liturgical forms which are to be universally binding.

4. The introduction or the abolition of church festivals.

5. Alterations in the regulations affecting either the parish or the district, or the provincial or the general synod ; as well as changes in the constitution which touch the fundamental principle that the royal authority in the Church is to be exercised through the medium of collegial boards, consisting of clerical and lay members.

6. Ecclesiastical censures for the violation of the general duties devolving on members of the Church, or disciplinary procedure against clergymen and other church officials.

7. The conditions to be fulfilled by candidates for church offices, and the general principles which are to regulate the filling up of the spiritual offices.

8. The conditions of the celebration of marriage by the Church.³

Should the general synod deem it advisable to undertake the regulation of other questions of church order by means of general laws, it is at liberty to make proposals there anent. It is also at liberty to make any suggestions that it may deem proper to the highest authority, which is bound to state its reasons in case of refusal to adopt them. The same holds good with regard to all kinds of complaints—they must be examined and a reply be given concerning them.⁴

The general synod has further the right of laying rates for the purposes of the National Church, by means of an assessment of the provinces,⁵ of giving its consent to the appointment or abolition of national collections⁶ and of exercising control over the entire management of church property by the supreme church council. Official account will be rendered to the synod regarding the application of funds, which will still continue to be managed by the minister of public worship. Should these funds be handed over to the management of the Church, they will be under the control of the synod.⁷

¹ § 1. ² § 4. ³ § 6. ⁴ § 7, 15, 16. ⁵ § 13. ⁶ § 12. ⁷ § 11.

The resolutions of the provincial synods have to be laid before the general synod, on which it will devolve either to set them aside or to give them legal validity, according as they are compatible or not with the unity of the National Church as to Faith and Union,¹ as to cultus and constitution.²

The general synod has further the right to frame resolutions directed to the strengthening of the bonds of fellowship between the various sections of the German Evangelical Church, and to further develop any methods of accomplishing this end, as for example, by deputing some of its own members to take part in the proceedings of bodies that may represent the German Evangelical churches. Its consent is necessary before the National Church, as such, can take part in other ecclesiastical assemblies, especially those which bear an international or inter-confessional character.³

The *order of procedure* to be observed by the general synod is as follows: It will meet every six years at the summons of the king, who may at any time either dissolve or adjourn it. During the period of its sittings, prayer will be offered on its behalf in all churches at the principal services; and a solemn divine service will be held on behalf of the synod the day after it has been opened. Every sitting will be begun with the reading of a passage of Scripture and prayer, and closed with the benediction.

The proceedings will be public. The president of the supreme church council will be present in the character of royal commissioner, to watch over the interests of the ruling ecclesiastical authority, and it will be competent for him to speak at any time, or to bring forward proposals. The same right to be present at the sittings of the synod belongs also to the minister of public worship and his deputies, and they may speak as often as they may deem it in the interest of the State that they should do so.

The synod will frame the rules of its own procedure; test the validity of the elections; and choose its own chairman and vice-chairman. These latter, with four secretaries, are to be selected at the commencement of the sittings, and hold office during their continuance. It devolves on them to keep and settle the minutes of the synod. The members of the general synod take upon themselves the same vow as that which binds those of the provincial synods.

¹ The term Union refers to the relation existing in Prussia between the Lutheran and Reformed churches, which there constitute one united Evangelical National Church, and not, as in some other parts of Germany, two distinct churches.

² § 17.

³ § 18.

There is one other specially important and peculiar arrangement to which reference must be made. At the close of the proceedings, when the duties of the president cease, the synod will elect, for the six years that intervene before another synod meets, a directory and a council, both of which shall continue in office until their successors have been chosen, even though the synod be closed before the election takes place.

The directory comprises a chairman, a vice-chairman, and five assessors. The council will consist of the directory and eighteen other members elected by the synod from the provinces according to their relative size.¹ The function of the synodal council will be to advise with the supreme church council as to the laying down of principles of action, in relation to important affairs and tasks devolving on the National Church. With this view, it will be its duty to meet once a year in Berlin, and attend the sittings of the supreme council. The great extent of the monarchy renders an arrangement of this kind necessary, if the supreme council is to remain *en rapport* with the several provinces, and to receive timely information of their movements, dispositions, and wishes, as well as to give opportunity both for the explanation of measures, tasks, and aims, and the removal of misunderstandings.

Still more important is the position of the directory. For on the one hand, it is an independent collegium for the period that intervenes between one synod and another; and on the other hand, it has to coöperate with the supreme council, thus taking part directly in the business of the central authority.

1. As an independent collegium, it decides on the suggestions of its own members touching defects either of administration or legislation, which are to be laid before the supreme council, either for immediate removal or as the ground of legislative action. It may also itself frame drafts of laws to be submitted to the general synod. In the case of provisional orders of the Church authority which can not be postponed, but which require the consent of the general synod, the directory acts in the place of the latter. Its business further is to carry into effect the decisions of the synod; to see to the printing and distribution of the synodal minutes; to prepare for the following synod; to present a report of its own proceedings, of those of the synodal council, and of the provincial synods, to the next general synod; and finally, to manage the funds of the general synod.

2. In certain important matters the synodal directory will coöper-

¹ § 19, 20.

erate with the supreme council, its seven members becoming *pro tempore* extraordinary members of the latter body, with the full right to assist in its deliberations and to vote. This coöperation *must* take place in the following cases :

(1) In drawing the instructions relating to the drafts of laws which are to be laid before the general synod, by the governing power, and to the execution of the laws of the National Church.

(2) In cases of appeal to the supreme council touching the doctrine of clergymen, whether arising out of objections raised to his appointment, or disciplinary procedure, because of error.

(3) In the case of the appointment of general superintendents.

(4) In all other specially important matters of administration, in which the supreme church council shall deem it advisable to seek the coöperation of the directory.

The expenses of working this entire synodal constitution will be borne by the Church itself, and not be met by votes of the civil government ; and will be raised by assessment.

These, then, are the fundamental features of the church constitution which was voted by a majority of more than two-thirds of the members of the freely elected general synod of 1875. Whatever objections may be brought against it, either from the right or the left—be it that it is too liberal or too conservative—the Church, by means of its legitimate representatives, has framed it and stamped it as suited to its present needs. Who, then, can now say : the Prussian National Church ought to have framed for itself a different constitution? There is no such thing as either a political or ecclesiastical constitution suited to all peoples or to the same people at all the stages of its history. Many an improvement might even thus early be suggested ; and yet the principles of the Reformation are recognized, and to a large extent embodied in it. What was needed was on the one hand to avoid the two extremes of anarchy and hierarchy, and, on the other hand, to lay the foundations of a presbyterial-synodal self-government, with a hereditary lay head so limited as to be able to injure as little as possible and to benefit as much as possible. The Protestant principle that the Church and not the State is the depositary of Church authority has been adequately preserved.

Even during the brief period of its existence, the constitution has done good—it has, for example, turned aside the thoughts from the endless disputes about “Union” and “Confession,” about pure doctrine and Lutheranism, to moral and practical tasks, without quitting

the groundwork of the Evangelical Faith. No one can deny that it constitutes a great step in the direction of liberty—liberty both externally, as regards the State, and internally, as regards the relation of clergy and laity. Not only is room for free movement supplied to the presbyterial elements in the Church, but an end is put to the absolutism of the authorities by the recognition of the synods as a coördinate factor. Many are anxious because of the great influence now conceded to the laity; but the dangers to be apprehended from those who have had no experience in, or have been strangers to, church matters, are frequently exaggerated; besides that, the existence of authorities which are not dependent on the will of the synods constitutes a strong, and for the present, necessary barrier in the way of mere democracy. The unity of the Church is thus insured against efforts to resolve it into a mere confederation, such as some conservatives are disposed to put forth. In one word, rights, duties, and powers are so balanced, the one against the other, that while the various factors of the Church have freedom to move and act, the whole will be able to pursue its course without hindrance.

We will close with referring to what we deem one of the chief excellencies of the constitution, namely, its *capability of development*. The pathway has been opened up:—may there never be a lack of wise and prudent men who shall nobly vie with each other in seeking to fill the freer forms which have been cast with the Christian life and spirit.

THE CHINESE QUESTION IN THE UNITED STATES.

IN both the great political conventions recently held in the United States, what is called the Chinese or Mongolian, question was brought up and resolved upon. In neither was anything positive declared. In one it was resolved that Congress should inquire into the facts, and determine whether anything was necessary to be done;—in the other that the people of the Pacific coast should be protected against the Mongolians. No facts were affirmed; and no specific measures recommended. Negative and nerveless as these resolutions were, the attentive observer can not fail to see that two things very positive were implied;—first that the Chinese question had become one of great public interest, and next that the general government had a right to act upon it and if necessary to restrain Chinese immigration, or restrict its conduct. The last proposition has seemed to many persons, if not unconstitutional, at least inexpedient:—but these political conventions affirm the power of the general government over the subject, or they would not require Congress to act upon it. In this view, the question becomes open not only to discussion, but to inquiry as to the right or policy of measures restricting Chinese immigration, or restraining the immigrants here. In this inquiry, three questions at once arise.

1. Are the *facts* such as to justify any fear of consequences arising from this immigration?

2. Has the general government any right to prevent immigration?—or, is it solely within the province of the States?

3. If the general government has the right to restrict or modify immigration, is it expedient to exercise that power?

First, let us consider the facts of the case without which we can form no just opinion. The immigration of Chinese did not begin until 1853. Prior to that only a few individuals arrived, the total number being insignificant. When, however, the gold mines of California became productive, and the price of labor became high, speculation in labor, as well as that in the mines, became active and inventive.

Companies were formed for the importation of Chinese; and the Chinese laborers were brought into California subject to certain conditions, which made their state for a time that of semi-slavery. They worked cheap and worked well. The consequence was, that the Chinese migration increased, and in a few years assumed large proportions. This increase of numbers,—this cheap labor competing with American—the anti-American habits, and above all, the anti-christian religion of the Chinese, have created jealousy among the citizens of the Pacific States, with a certain fear that they might demoralize society and assume a controlling importance in the ultra Western States. This fear is not entertained on the Atlantic, but with the internal relations and connections of all the States, such an event, should it occur, would be of profound interest to the whole country. What then has been the Chinese immigration? The admirable Reports of the Bureau of Statistics (made by Mr. E. L. Young) give us the returns of immigration for half a century. We have not the whole series, but the following returns are sufficient for our purpose.

Chinese Immigration from 1851 to 1860 inclusive was	41,397
“ “ “ 1861 to 1869 inclusive	56,146
Total number in 1870	15,741
“ “ Prior to 1871	113,284
“ “ in 1873	20,273
“ “ in 1875	16,430
“ “ in 1876	22,592

Taking its average of 1873 and 1875 as the unit, the Chinese who arrived in this country from 1876 to 1875 inclusive, were 91,750; and doubtless there were quite that number, if not more. The annual arrivals of Chinese from 1851 to 1860 inclusive were 4,139, from 1861 to 1869 inclusive 5,611. From 1870 to 1875 inclusive 18,350. We see, therefore, that Chinese immigration, instead of having diminished, has increased at a very rapid rate. The ten years from 1850 to 1860 gave 41,000; the ten years from 1860 to 1870 gave 56,000; but the ten years from 1870 to 1880 will give 180,000. To understand the effect of this properly, we must refer to the States in which they are localized. These States are California, Nevada and Oregon; which States had in 1870, less than 700,000 population. At the ratios in which they are increasing, they will have in 1880, an addition of 400,000 people, and of this number nearly half will be Chinese! Furthermore we observe that the total immigration

into the United States in 1875 was less than half what it had been three years previous, while that of the Chinese was trebled. In fact, then, it amounts to this,—that the immigration of the Chinese is, in proportion to British and Germans, six-fold what it was three years ago: and that in the three Pacific States it is equal to other immigration added to the natural increase of population. The inference from these facts is inevitable, that this Chinese immigration is, if continued, likely to affect the whole United States, and to the Pacific States is vitally important. Then the question arises, is it likely to continue if unrestricted by law?

There are certain laws of human nature which have been historically exhibited in every age of the world and from which we have no indication of any departure. Man is a migrant;—not because he could not be satisfied with a perfect state; but because being imperfect, he seeks a better condition. To seek a better condition has been the one motive which has induced every emigration upon earth; from the hungry hordes which descended upon the Roman empire, to the Irish and Germans who come to this country. It is the instinct of human nature, and the most home-bound Switzer, who ever wept at the songs of his native land, leaves that land to come here. Will this motive be less powerful in the Asiatic? The wages of a Chinaman in his own country is scarcely a tenth in our currency of what it is in the Pacific States. Of course the food necessary for life is also very much cheaper in China. When, however, we make full allowance for this fact, it must be that the condition of a Chinese laborer in America is incomparably better than it can be in China. The knowledge of this better condition soon spreads in China; and the migration to America which was at first induced by companies formed for that purpose, is evidently becoming voluntary. When we remember that population in some provinces of China exceeds 400 per square mile; and that in Belgium, the very garden of Europe, it is not more than 300; and in the State of Ohio, it is only 70—we can understand why a Chinaman,—with wages at the very lowest point, and with the pressure for food constantly upon him—would be willing to migrate to a land of high wages and abundant food, even when climate, religion, and fatherland all urge him to remain. The Chinese Asiatic, although he may at first be slow to adopt this last remedy for human evil—will scarcely violate the instincts of human nature, or reverse historical precedents. If he be driven to the last refuge of humanity, he will seek a better condition, as every people pressing against the limits of subsistence have done, from Huns and

Goths, to Irish and Germans; at least the statistics before us point to that conclusion. In regard, therefore, to the fact of increasing numbers, and especially in its great proportion to the population of the Pacific States, there is reason for some fear; a fear, which has for many years been felt in regard to some classes of people coming from Europe. In their case, however, the fear was alleviated, and has in a degree proved groundless, because they were professed Christians, to a great degree of our own race, and of the same order of civilization. Doubtless this is the reason (the similitude of conditions) which prevented any limitation or restriction on European immigration. In the case of the Chinese, however, there is no such similitude. They are neither of our religion, our race, nor our civilization. It is impossible to conceive of any portions of the human race more opposite to each other in their elementary character, than the Anglo-American and the Mongolian Chinese. Here comes in another fear, and the one which most affects the people of the Pacific, and the political conventions to which they appeal. It is the fear of the demoralization arising from a people of their different habits, methods, and examples. It is not the fear that they can propagate their religion, or that they can be of political importance; but it is the fear of the demoralization which arises interfering with the pursuits of Americans, with the introduction of morals and manners which present new forms of evil,—examples of vice which have had no parallel here, and of Paganism tolerated, and uninterrupted in a Christian country. In one word, it is the demoralization, which must necessarily attend an anti-American and anti-Christian system set up in our midst. In reply to this fear of anticipated evil, it is said by some who are well acquainted with the Chinese; first, that it is the lowest and worst of this people who have come, and should a large immigration follow, they would be of a better class; and again, that these very Chinese have some virtues—virtues highly valued by Americans. It is said they are thrifty, industrious, good servants, and obedient. This may be true, as it is true of some Americans and Europeans, and there may yet be a great amount of the lowest vice and ignorance. A traveler who has been in nearly every country on the globe, told us that he had never seen a people whom he disliked as much as the Chinese, on account of their low vices and their degraded character. He may have been prejudiced; but the account given of the Chinese, by the citizens of California, corresponds with that given by him. At any rate we must remember that virtue and intelligence are the essential founda-

tions of republican government, and all the legislation of our country in regard to education and morals, has been directed towards strengthening these foundations. In the vast European migration to this country, there have been thousands who were as full of vice and irreligion, as these Chinese. But these thousands came individually, very few compared with the whole number, and set off against them were tens of thousands of the virtuous and intelligent. They were not embodied masses of the ignorant, vicious, and Pagan. If the great body of Irish who have migrated to this country, had been Pagans, totally ignorant of all our institutions, sympathizing with nothing they found here, and sending back their very bodies to be buried in the cemeteries of Ireland; does any one believe that millions would have been suffered to come? We are not arguing this question; but presenting the clearly expressed fears of those among whom these people live.

A pamphlet has recently been issued by L. T. Townshend, D.D., which gives the other side—the one favorable to the Chinese in California. But does he give us any new facts? Not at all. He says:

“We likewise admit, looking upon the condition of the Chinese at their arrival, unimproved by our civilization, education, and Christianity, that they are far from being the most desirable companions. As they touch these shores, they are, as a race, cool and cynical, corrupt and corrupting heathen. More than once we have started back from that sort of deceptive physiognomy whose smile, with its set teeth and parted lips, seemed to go through us like a blade of steel.

“But on the other hand, we are led to reason thus: if they are human beings, they can be Christianized; and when they are Christianized, they will become valuable and desirable citizens in any State or country. Hence the most vital thought connected with this Chinese question is the one which relates to their conversion to the Protestant Christian faith.”

After saying this, he likens them¹ to the Irish Catholics, or the German Infidels, and rather prefers the Chinese to either. We do not. He admits them to be “corrupt and corrupting heathen,”—and is that not the definition of the worst people? But the learned doctor forgets that he is not discussing the real question. The question is a practical, and an immediate one. It is whether we shall allow a race, utterly foreign to our own; with a religion utterly opposed to our own; interfering directly with the wages and benefits of the American laborer,—“corrupt and corrupting,”—to come into our Pacific States, and fill them up with Asiatic hordes? That

¹ Page 60.

is the practical question,—whatever theories may be formed upon it. The statistics we have given, and the admitted facts concerning the Chinese character, prove that there is some ground for fear from this Chinese immigration. Then come the other questions.

2. Has the general government any constitutional right to prevent immigration? Or, have the States that right?

The conventions of the great political parties, to which we have referred, admitted the full right of the general government over this subject, when they referred it to Congress for inquiry, or legislation. The constitution of the United States contains no provision either admitting or prohibiting immigration of any kind. It was taken for granted that there would be immigration, and at the time the constitution was formed, immigration was desirable, and looked to as one of the means of strengthening and enlarging the country; and while the immigrants were a similar people, of a similar religion, no objection was made to their increasing numbers. The constitution has only two provisions which at all touch the immigration of foreigners; the first (1st article, 8th section, 4th clause)—that they be naturalized; and the second, (4th article, section 3d, clause 1st)—that new States may be admitted, no matter of what people they were composed. The effect of the first of these provisions was to make—under general laws which were immediately enacted for that purpose—all immigrants to this country, who, as the law provided, might remain for five years, naturalized “citizens” of the United States. The effect of the second provision was to make a new State in the Union, although the inhabitants of that state might be all immigrants from foreign countries; or all of a different race and religion. Nothing like this was ever adopted among all the nations of the world. If this be admitted, as a principle *without exception*, then it follows, that we have no country; for the very essence of a “country,” is that it is a land in which we have something *exclusively* our own. If all the world can come to the United States,—be made citizens,—and inherit the land which we claim, then we have no country; that is, we have no country in which we have anything exclusive. In “Mansfield’s Political Grammar,” published more than forty years ago, this question was anticipated with these remarks:

“The *principle* is simply this, that a colony settled upon an adjacent territory, and within the jurisdiction of the United States, whether it be composed of citizens of the Union or emigrants from foreign nations, Europeans, or Asiatics, shall, on enumerating a specific population, be admitted to equal rights with the original States.

This principle is likewise unlimited in respect to the number, distance, or settlement of the colonies. The consequence is that the original States may ultimately, or they soon must, be left in a minority as to power in that government which they founded and of which they were the sole possessors. They make the whole world partners with themselves, in an inheritance of liberty, and power, and wealth. The grant thus made to the world of an asylum for all mankind, is noble and benevolent, and the more so, as it seems to have had no former example among nations. It may be said, that the States thus added are not *foreign*;—it is true they were not *conquered*, but they are just as subversive of the powers of the old States as if they had been taken from foreign countries."

This passage was alike descriptive and prophetic. The "original states" have been "left in a minority," with the strong probability, that in a few years they will make but a small part of the American Union. States have been admitted without any reference to "number, distance, or settlement." Louisiana was admitted, when its inhabitants were almost wholly French or Spanish. Florida was admitted from Spain; Texas and California from Mexico. All this was undoubtedly noble and generous; but these immigrants belonged to the Christian nations of the earth. They belonged to the Caucasian race. There was nothing antagonistic in their blood, habits or religion to the people who formed America. But now we have a new question. Shall Paganism come to form new States in America? Shall the Mongolian, who is nothing more than the semi-civilized type of our North American Indian, come here to share in the empire which his barbarous cousin has lost? In that case, human history will never have presented a more remarkable scene than that in which the last Indian perishes from this continent, while his Mongolian kindred quietly comes in to share the country of his conquerors! But we close this branch of the inquiry by saying that the sole and exclusive power in this matter belongs to the National Government, and that the political conventions were right when they noticed this subject, as of great public interest, and referred it to the inquiry and legislation of Congress.

3. We come now to the third question. If the general government has the right to restrict or modify immigration, is it expedient to exercise that power?

In general terms,—we answer that it is.

Of course we do not mean, that the universal practice of our country should be reversed. All practical legislation ought to de-

pend upon the particular circumstances of the case. It is impossible to apply abstract rules to the legislation of any country. It is quite possible that it was expedient to admit universal immigration up to 1875, and yet not expedient after that. It depends upon what is practically for the interest of this country, socially, morally and politically, whether we shall admit Turk and Pagan to sit at our table, and share our inheritance. The question of expediency in reference to Chinese immigration does not depend upon any established political principle; for our constitution has established no principle upon the subject. We are on the same ground, as to emigrants coming into the country, that England or France is. We can put what restriction upon it we please. The question of expediency then comes back to where we began;—do the facts give such reasons for fear of danger from Chinese immigration, as to justify interference? We have given these facts, and every reader can judge for himself. There are at present three States and one territory on the Pacific coast. In 1860 they contained 450,000 people; and in 1870 715,000. The whole increase of ten years was 265,000, or 59 per cent. Of this increase 60,000 were Chinese. There is no reason to suppose from recent statistics, that increase of population on the Pacific coast has been in a greater ratio since 1870, than it was before. In the six years since the census was taken the increase of the Pacific States would, then, be 253,100, of which 100,000 in round numbers are Chinese. In the next four years, bringing results to 1880, there will be an increase of 168,000, of which, at the present rate of Chinese immigration, 88,000 will be Chinese. In other words,—in 1880, the increase of Chinese in the Pacific States, *will exceed that of Americans and all other races put together*. It is exactly a similar case with that of the importation and increase of negroes in the extreme Southern States. They increased until three or four of those States have a majority of negroes, and the question of their condition enters into all the religious and political discussions of the day. Is it worth while for us to go through exactly the same experiences and raise questions and antagonisms which will agitate the country in the next generation?

There is connected with this subject a religious problem, which Dr. Townshend solves by saying that the vital question is to convert the Chinese, and make them desirable citizens. All Christians will assent to this; but does it follow that the Mongolian must be brought to America to be converted? That is the question. The whole policy of the Bible is opposed to this idea. The word had to be preached first at Jerusalem, because there were the ancient people

of God. Then the apostles and disciples were sent forth with the command, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." The whole policy of the Bible is aggressive. From the bondage of Egypt to the days of the apostles, and from the apostles to the missionaries of America, the whole language and policy of the Bible is GO; preach the Word to the nations and subdue the earth. We are not to convert other nations by inviting them to come here. We are to go to them, as we are doing from the Ganges to the Himalayas, and from Japan to China. The argument that the Chinese are to be converted here, is precisely that of the slaveholders, when they claimed that bringing Pagan Africans to America to become Christians here, was one of the great blessings of slavery!

The political conventions have referred this subject to Congress for inquiry and legislation. There we may leave it. But one or two suggestions may not be out of place. First, this discussion revives the question whether this is a Christian country? We all assume it to be. All our legislation, from the constitution down through the laws of the respective States, have assumed, directly or by implication, that this is a Christian country. It is so in fact, and no one doubts it. Have we, then, no right to say that idol gods shall not be worshiped in idol temples? Then ought we not, as a Christian people, to legislate upon this subject?

Again, we have assumed the right, not only to prohibit slavery, but to destroy slave property. We have also a perfect right, and it is not only a right, but a duty, to prohibit the semi-slavery, which exists in what is called the Coolie trade. The Chinese have nearly all been brought to this country by commercial companies, who pay their expenses under a contract to labor so long, their wages to go to the contractors. This is for a time semi-slavery. It has the evil effect of bringing thousands to this country, who would not otherwise have come. The suppression of this practice is absolutely necessary, if any restraint whatever is to be put on Chinese immigration. If individuals and families are left to come by their own voluntary action, the immigration will probably be much reduced and be of a better character.

At the rate the Chinese are now coming they will number millions in another generation. There is nothing—not even their conversion to Christianity—that can make them homogeneous with our present people. They will live among us a separate race; and there will arise all the troubles and problems which now arise out of the negro condition, unless their immigration can be restricted by proper legislation.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE, ART, AND SCIENCE.

RECENT AMERICAN BOOKS.

HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WAR IN AMERICA.¹—The second volume of the History of the Civil War in America, by the Comte de Paris, sustains the high opinion we had formed of the conscientious pains-taking and accuracy with which the distinguished author has performed his task. As a narrative of events from and including McClellan's Peninsular Campaign to the issuance of the Emancipation proclamation, it leaves scarcely anything to be desired. Here and there is a mistake of a name, like "Randall" for "Randol;" and we find occasionally an inelegant or inaccurate translation, a French word not translated, an omission of an important statement, or the deduction of a conclusion not fully justified by the facts, but on the whole the work is by far the best one yet published in reference to the great conflict. It is not our intention to follow it microscopically page by page for the purpose of drawing the reader's attention to the flaws to be found in it. Such an examination might reveal a number of minor defects, which will doubtless be pointed out from time to time, and will receive correction at the hands of an author who seems to have written solely in the interest of truth, and who certainly has manifested no desire to perpetuate error. Notwithstanding the high praise we have heretofore bestowed upon the first volume, it now becomes our duty to direct attention to an essential particular in which we regard the work as defective. In considering the relations of McClellan to the administration, and especially to Mr. Lincoln, and in discussing the strategic principles involved in the various campaigns, and particularly in the peninsular campaign, the author, through his partiality for McClellan, has fallen into grave error. He has given McClellan praise to which he was not entitled, and Mr. Lincoln blame which it has long been known, did him great injustice. In commending the peninsular campaign, he has shown himself to be not only a poor master of the art of war as taught by Jomini, but in some respects an indifferent critic of practical military operations. Our readers will not have forgotten the fact that after

¹ "The History of the Civil War in America," by the Comte de Paris. Translated with the approval of the Author by Louis F. Tasistro. Edited by Henry Coppée, LL.D. Vol II. Philadelphia: Jos. H. Coates & Co. 1876.

McClellan was placed in command of the army of the Potomac, he spent many months in organizing his army and in making preparations for carrying out the great plans he is supposed to have formed for suppressing the rebellion. The country first, and then Mr. Stanton, the patriotic and energetic Secretary of War, and finally Mr. Lincoln, the long suffering and patient President, lost faith in "the young General-in-chief." Sounds of discontent began to arise on every side; the President begged and persuaded, the Secretary of War fretted and chafed, and the newspapers raised the cry of "On to Richmond," and yet McClellan stubbornly waited till his patriotism as well as his courage came to be doubted. The author throws but little light on all this, and that little mostly in McClellan's favor. He praises the latter highly, as many others have done, for organizing the Army of the Potomac, and yet when the history of that period comes to be fully written it will probably appear that McDowell, its first commander, did quite as much as, if not more than, McClellan towards giving form and discipline to that great force of patriotic volunteers. It was McDowell who organized the first divisions, and gave them their earlier lessons in discipline. McClellan added to their number, increased the artillery, and strengthened the cavalry, but he confirmed all that McDowell had done, and it must not be forgotten that in all his labors he had the help of nearly all of the regular army, including Franklin, Smith, Sumner, Kearney, Howard, Meade, Humphreys, McDowell, Hancock, Warren, Sedgwick, and many other able and accomplished officers. In fact he absorbed the best of every thing, and yet withal maintained a defensive attitude throughout one entire fall and winter. Other armies were organized by Buell and Grant out of raw volunteers, with the help of but few trained officers and no regular troops, and it will not be forgotten that these armies were the first to gain decisive victories. The Report on the Conduct of the War, the History of the Army of the Potomac by William Swinton, and the various biographies of Mr. Lincoln, especially that by the late Henry J. Raymond, throw much light upon the differences which arose between the President and General McClellan, and present a rich field for the study of the historian. They seem to show beyond reasonable doubt that these differences were not brought about entirely by Mr. Lincoln. The celebrated memorandum of General McDowell, quoted at length by Mr. Swinton, is historical evidence of the highest character, and stands to-day entirely unimpeached. It refers mainly to a meeting between the President, General McDowell, General McClellan and others early in 1862. It will be remembered that McClellan had fallen sick, and that the country felt the greatest anxiety concerning the military operations which it was commonly supposed were suspended by that misfortune. The President, who is, by the constitution, Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, shared this anxiety and desiring to gain some insight into the military problems of the hour, during the sickness of McClellan, called to his counsels Generals McDowell, Franklin and Meigs, officers of rare accomplishments and untarnished reputation, and with them discussed

the various possible plans of campaign for the armies in the west as well as in Virginia. As soon as McClellan had recovered sufficiently he was invited to a conference with the President, Secretaries Chase and Stanton, and the officers just named. During the conference he was requested by the President to make known his plans and opinions, and to criticise those of McDowell, but he curtly declined, remarking that McDowell and Franklin were entitled to have any opinions they pleased, and that the true plan was so "plain a blind man could see it." When pressed by Mr. Chase and the Secretary of War, to indicate what it was, he expressed himself as very unwilling to develop his plans, "always believing that in military matters the fewer persons to whom they were known the better," but he "would tell them if ordered to do so." It was not only the right but the duty of the President, under the advice of whomsoever he might deem worthy of his confidence, to fix the military policy of the government, and it needs no argument to show that he was fully entitled to command every source of information, as well as the opinions of every officer of the army. Considering the extraordinary circumstances which surrounded him, and the enormous burdens he was compelled to bear, the forbearance of Mr. Lincoln in the case just cited is one of the most curious incidents in the whole range of history. He patiently submitted to McClellan's whims and broke up the meeting more ignorant if possible than ever of the military policy of his own administration. It is scarcely conceivable that the head of any other great power on the face of the earth, would have borne for a moment with such assumption even if it had come from a Napoleon himself, much less from a young and inexperienced general who had as yet taken no part in military operations of the first magnitude. It is well known that there is nothing mysterious in the art of war, and that a mind of far less power than that of Mr. Lincoln was fully capable of understanding the most complicated military plans. Had McClellan at this period of the war treated the President and his Cabinet with that confidence and respect which they seemed disposed to extend to him, his subsequent career must have been much more fortunate. But with inexcusable vanity, he presumed alike upon their ignorance of warfare, and upon his own popularity, and disposed of policy and events rather as if he were himself the constitutional commander-in-chief than as a subordinate, whom they could advance or cast down at will and whose highest duty was loyalty and obedience to his properly constituted superiors.

The limits of this paper will not permit us to follow this subject through all its interesting details, but we can not forbear even at the distance of twelve years from that trying time, to give it as our opinion that McClellan's treatment of the President throughout his entire career seems to have been highly insubordinate and apparently based upon the idea that he regarded himself as the nation's only hope, forgetting that to a free people no man has ever become indispensable, however powerful his intellect or exalted his virtues.

The plan which McClellan thought so clear that "even a blind man

could see it," was afterwards ascertained to be that of transporting his army to Fortress Monroe by water, and marching thence by the peninsula between the York and the James rivers to Richmond. This plan notwithstanding the terrible disaster in which it terminated, receives the unqualified approbation and praise of the Comte de Paris. It will be remembered that the enemy under Joe Johnston had confronted McClellan in the neighborhood of Manassas Junction ever since the battle of Bull Run, and that at no time during the entire fall and winter of 1861, would the latter have been compelled to march longer than three days at the slowest pace, in order to bring on a general engagement. It will be conceded that the object of strategy is to bring armies into conflict under circumstances favorable to victory. Keeping in view the fact that the national capital was of prime importance not only politically but strategically, to the national cause, it will be difficult to perceive any justification for the extraordinary movement by an eccentric line to the James River. The fact is that the movement in question, requiring fully thirty days for the completion of its preliminary stages, violated nearly every well settled principle of scientific warfare. It has been called a "giant's stride," and yet it is within bounds to say that the same army, if left free to move without interruption, could have marched from Washington to Richmond and back, and to Richmond again before it reached the vicinity of Yorktown by the route which it actually took. It will not escape the attention of even the non-professional reader, that if the federal army had time for all this, the confederate army could do as much, and in fact a part of it under Stonewall Jackson really did more. The division of the federal army into two parts, one under McDowell covering Washington and the other under McClellan going down the Chesapeake Bay, gave the Confederates in Virginia what strategists designate as interior lines—that is, it gave them shorter distances always to march, in order to concentrate their army to resist an attack, or for the purpose of making an attack upon either of the armies threatening them. And although this division of the army was made through the direct interposition of the President, when it is remembered that one of the sub-divisions reinforced and strengthened by other troops gathered up for that purpose, saved Washington, while the other division was undergoing delay, discomfiture and defeat, on the James, it will generally be admitted by military critics that Mr. Lincoln's interposition was fully justified. Without going into details, it is enough for our purpose now to call attention to the fact that, taking advantage of the rare opportunity offered them, the Confederate Generals Johnston, Lee and Jackson, although largely outnumbered by the troops opposed to them, gained a series of victories not surpassed by any since the days of Napoleon's campaigns in Italy. Every step which McClellan took after leaving Washington was characterized by mismanagement and followed by disaster. From the hour of his landing upon the peninsula to the end of the seven days' battles, every movement reminds us of Napoleon's saying that it is better to have an army of stags com-

manded by a lion than an army of lions commanded by a stag. The fatal delay in reaching and the false policy in besieging Yorktown, the bloody affair of Williamsburg, the snail-like march to the Chickahominy followed by an almost passive attitude on the banks of that sickly stream, the disastrous battle fought by a fragment of the army at Gaines' Mill, and the lost opportunity to strike a vital blow after the battle of Malvern Hill, will forever deprive McClellan of even mediocre rank among the great generals of history. Prudence has been aptly called the virtue of prosperity, audacity that of great emergencies! How much better would it have been for the commander of a hundred thousand men to act upon this principle, than to waste his precious time, and the life-blood of his army in crying for help, or in fighting desultory defensive battles?

It is true that the Government might have withdrawn fifty thousand veteran troops at that time from the coastwise expeditions to the Carolinas, and sent them to McClellan's assistance. It afterwards did so, but they came too late to avert the results of McClellan's defective generalship. The defeat which Pope experienced, and the unbroken series of absolute disasters or partial victories, which followed the Army of the Potomac, till Grant finally assumed the direction of it in person, may be traced with more or less certainty to McClellan's fatal blunder in transporting it to the James River instead of marching overland to find the enemy, and beat him in open battle. The Comte de Paris gives us a careful history of the marches and counter-marches, of the skirmishes and battles, and of the advances and retreats, as well as of the topography of the entire theater of war. He describes the military characters of Sumner, Sedgwick, Kearney, and many others, briefly although graphically and truly, but he throws a weak and uncertain light upon the inner history of events, and almost none, upon the idiosyncrasies, passions and jealousies of the characters who directed them. In short, while his work gives an accurate account of what took place in all quarters of the theater of war, it is devoid of that philosophical tone and critical appreciation of men and events, which is necessary to give it a sustained and abiding interest to the reader. The writer has not caught the spirit of Tacitus, or even of Kingslake or Napier, and although he has done a great work, with fidelity to the truth, he has fallen far short of giving to the world an exhaustive history of the great conflict.

In our notice of the first volume, we expressed a doubt as to the utility of Dr. Coppée's labors as editor of the work, and may have done him some injustice thereby. We are now assured that the Comte de Paris regards him as entirely competent for the task, and has thanked him most cordially for the manner in which he has revised the translation. We can not help reiterating, however, an expression of regret that he did not translate the French measures which are invariably used in the book into their equivalents in the English language. He might at least have put a scale of miles upon the maps and plans, which, together with the letter press, are in every other respect all that could be desired.

FORTS SUMTER AND MOULTRIE.¹—General Doubleday's narrative has no marked literary character; and the critical reader may find some fault with its construction or its rhetoric. But every citizen of the United States will feel a charm in it, as a simple and faithful recital of the facts accompanying the actual outbreak of hostilities between our government and the revolted States, by a man who bore an honorable and responsible part in them. The book has been misrepresented as an attack on Major Anderson's character; and there has been some angry controversy on this subject, with which we have no concern. But the careful reader will find in it nothing but respect for that noble old soldier; and excellent grounds for respecting him; for the bitterness of the conflict has certainly passed away sufficiently to enable all men, North and South, to appreciate the conduct of a commander who, amid influences and discouragements so strong, adhered with resolute simplicity to his soldierly honor and duty. That Robert Anderson's friends and associates were in the rebellion, that his personal sympathies were with men arrayed against his flag, made his position painful beyond measure. That his own government, for a long time, neglected him and his post, and even gave him reason to apprehend that his fidelity would never be appreciated by his superiors, added vastly to his embarrassments. But the testimony of his comrade, an ardent foe of disunion, ready to regard hesitancy as treason, clearly shows that the commander firmly subdued all considerations and devices which seemed inconsistent with his duty as a soldier of the United States, and held himself ready to be sacrificed to the trust given him.

There are many incidents of the life of the little band besieged in Fort Sumter, and of the siege itself, which appear here for the first time; and which throw new light upon the conduct and principles of both parties to the conflict. The book, though so small, is one of the most instructive of the personal narratives of the war.

THE MIKADO'S EMPIRE.²—This volume meets a want which has long been felt and expressed; and gives us, at last, a trustworthy and intelligible statement of Japan's history from the earliest period to the present time. It shows long and patient research in the literature of Japan, and more originality even in the method of compilation, than would at first be evident to the casual reader.

During a residence of nearly four years in "*Dai Nippon*," at a time when the country was undergoing the most important changes that have occurred in its annals, the writer was associated with many of those who took a leading part in the progress of events, and was enabled to study from an inside point of view, many instructive phases of those political

¹ "Reminiscences of Forts Sumter and Moultrie in 1860-61." By Abner Doubleday. Brevet Major-general U. S. A. New York: Harper & Bros.

² "The Mikado's Empire." By William E. Griffis, A.M., late of the Imperial University, Tokio, Japan. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

phenomena which have sorely perplexed the occidental observer. He witnessed the transition from feudalism to the practical life and enterprise of the nineteenth century, and favors us with a clear insight of those principles and motives which are slowly moving old Japan into a new and better era.

The author remained one year in the interior of the country, away from all foreign influences, having charge of a government scientific school at Fukui, a provincial city. Here he studied Japanese life in all its primitive simplicity, and saw Japan as it had been for centuries during its ancient feudal days. The result of his experiences and observations, as well as his subsequent travels through the country, he gives us in the form of a journal; and this, in a popular sense, constitutes the most interesting portion of the book.

From Fukui he came to Tokio, the newly established capital of the empire, where he resided nearly three years, in connection with the government university.

The volume before us contains over six hundred pages, and is divided into two portions. Part First presents a history of Japan from "the twilight of fable,"—or 660 B. C.—to the present time. Part Second contains the author's personal experiences in the country, given with much freshness and picturesque effect, although the chief value of the work is to be found in the historical information concisely presented in Part First.

From a literary point of view, the work is open to many and grave criticisms, though these are frequently counterbalanced by superb passages where the youthful author is able to control as well as exercise his brilliant powers of descriptive imagery.

Judged simply by the material and information contained, the book can not be too highly praised, and in this respect is worthy of finding a place in every library; its value will be more and more recognized as permanent, the further we examine its contents. The appendices particularly, show careful research and are a valuable addition to the work.

There are three things, however, which strike the reader at the outset, and very considerably affect his first impressions. These are the excessive use of Japanese terms, without the least intimation as to their meaning; the constant introduction of the first personal pronoun, even in the purely historical portion of the work; and the common-place appearance of the illustrations, many of which the reader has seen before.

Some of the illustrations are new and well drawn, and even the old ones have new light shed upon them, being clearly explained.

But they are so interspersed with ridiculous specimens of Japanese "Art," hideous both in design and execution, that they continually suggest the caricatures on Japanese fans, which have so much misguided the popular apprehension concerning Japanese physiognomy and scenery. Japan abounds in beautiful landscapes and characteristic life-studies, and contains withal, excellent facilities at present, for the photographer and en-

graver. There seems to be no reason why modern works on the country should not be sufficiently illustrated to give the reader a moderately truthful idea of the appearance of the country and people.

One work only has as yet made any pretensions in this direction; it is the "*Japon Illustré*" by M. Hubert, of Neuchatel, Switzerland.

Some of the best pictures in the volume under consideration, are taken from Alcock's "Capital of the Tycoon."

"The Mikado's Empire" was chiefly written at the Mikado's capital, Tokio, under influences which have very naturally,—yet very unfairly biased the author's judgment, respecting the formerly great, but now fallen dynasty of Tycoons. The title of the book reflects the idea to which most prominence is given throughout the work, to the constant and uncalled for disparagement of the "Tycoon." The latter functionary, though never the real emperor, as foreigners imagined, had nevertheless, during the last two hundred and seventy years, greater power and greater influence for good, than even the secluded and superstitiously-reverenced "Mikado." To all practical intents, he was the ruler of the realm, the perfecter of feudalism, and the founder of the greatest period of peace the country ever possessed. There is no sufficient reason, therefore, why the Tycoon should be stigmatized by the author, as a "diplomatic fraud," or should have his title and well-kept position assaulted as being a "bombastic figment of authority." Such expressions and many other similar ones,—on pages 293 and 304,—betray an inexcusable spirit of severity, and a lack of good taste as well as judgment. This uncivil treatment of the Tokugawa line of Tycoons runs like a stream of bitterness all through the book, and should be condemned both from a political and a literary standpoint. In close contrast to the harsh invectives poured out unsparingly upon the great and patriotic,—though now deposed,—Tokugawa Tycoons, are the extravagant encomiums heaped upon the present Mikado, and upon the imaginary perfections of his form of government. We confess that we can see as little reason for the superlative praises bestowed upon the one, as we do for the caustic censure vouchsafed to the other.

It is easy however to trample on a fallen cause, and equally pleasant to exalt a successful one: truth meanwhile may wait.

We regret that want of space will not permit us at present to enter into a full discussion of many important questions presented in this ably written work; nor to even present a resume of Part first, where the real "History of Japan" has been recorded for the *first time* in a foreign tongue, and handled in a competent and masterly manner.

The dividing line between history and tradition, or fact and fable, we can not regard as very clearly drawn; nor can we accept all the author's convictions, where his social and political theories have been built up on rather slight premises. But we cannot be blind either to the almost insurmountable difficulties which have been overcome, in the laborious task of writing and compiling such a volume as this, where the materials had to

be so patiently sought and carefully sifted, and where the results of years of study and observation are recorded in a way that affords us much profit and still more pleasure.

With some faults and mistakes, the book will long maintain its place as the best standard work on Japan.

THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES.—The candidate for Presidential honors, however unsuccessful in his main aspiration, may be quite sure of a place in biographical literature; and if he is not elevated to the highest office in the gift of his fellow citizens, a brief study of his own biography may cause him to forget his disappointment, however grievous, in generous sympathy for the unhappy nation whose only opportunity for escape from manifold and appalling catastrophes, according to the biographer, has been—in himself—recklessly put aside.

The biographical literature of the Presidential campaign of 1876 will not be found wanting in the consolatory elements indicated, whichever aspirant for honors may suffer disappointment. Mr. Hayes and Mr. Tilden, the nominees respectively of the republican and the democratic parties, have already been made the subjects of various biographies, from that inspired by the sincere friendship of the scholar rather than the politician, to that which owes its origin to the bohemian spirit thirsting for literary adventure and to the campaign committee which feeds it with congenial employment.

An example of the class first named, and a noteworthy exception to campaign biographies generally, is that by William D. Howells, of the *Atlantic Monthly*. It is a modest book, written in its author's usually excellent style, and furnishes a sketch of the life and character of Mr. Hayes¹ which, if presented with the partiality of friendship, nevertheless bears the evidence of a scrupulous adherence to truth, and an avoidance of whatever could be construed as having been written for mere effect. There is, indeed, a sufficient *raison d'être* for the book in what Mr. Howells so pleasingly tells us of the military and civil career of Mr. Hayes without regard to his present prominence as a presidential candidate. As an example of persistent integrity and honorable devotion to duty, in private, business, and public relations, the character of Rutherford B. Hayes as simply portrayed by Mr. Howells, may well be presented as an example to American youth.

In Mr. Howard's² life of Hayes, and the life of Tilden as written by Mr. Cook³ and Mr. Lester,⁴ we have fair examples of the ordinary cam-

¹ Life and Public Services of Rutherford B. Hayes. Wm. D. Howells. New York: Hurd and Houghton. 1876.

² Rutherford B. Hayes. Life, Public Services, and Select Speeches. J. Q. Howard. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1876.

³ Lives of Samuel J. Tilden and T. A. Hendricks. By T. P. Cook. New York: D Appleton & Co. 1876.

⁴ Lives and Public Services of Samuel J. Tilden and Thomas A. Hendricks; C. Edward Lester. New York: Frank Leslie. 1876.

paign biography—books written without much claim to literary merit, and chiefly with a view to political effect. Mr. Cook's book, for example, is less a carefully written biography than a judiciously arranged volume for political uses. It is chiefly confined to the political life of the subject, and the facts are presented with an evident purpose to affect public opinion in his favor. Mr. Howard's book, aside from the merit of greater conciseness, is very similar to Mr. Cook's. It is written from a party standpoint; eulogizes its subject as the possessor of every quality that can be conceived of as desirable or useful in a public servant; compares him, greatly to his advantage, of course, with the candidate of the opposing party; and portrays with a startling array of facts and figures, the dangers which may be escaped by making him President. To the campaign speaker in search of what are termed "bristling arguments," the books of both Mr. Cook and Mr. Howard will be found very serviceable. Mr. Lester's book, which is an attempt in the same direction as that of the two last mentioned, is in every respect an inferior work.

The biographies named are accompanied by brief historical sketches of Wm. A. Wheeler, and Thomas A. Hendricks, the respective candidates of the two parties for the office of Vice President.

A SUMMER IN NORWAY.¹—Since Bayard Taylor gave them his glowing description of the land of the midnight sun, the people of the United States have had a growing interest in those twin countries of the North which had before been a sort of *terra incognita*. Since that time, Norway and Sweden have become favorite resorts for American tourists, who form no small part of the nomadic population which annually takes possession of its quaint hostels, and enjoys the solitariness of its carriols. Mr. Caton's book is the account of a journey to this region of the "unsettling sun," by one who carried with him a large capacity for enjoyment, who gave himself with keen zest to the pleasure of journeying in a strange and interesting land, and who has returned to tell the story of his travels in such a manner as to transfer to the pages of his book much of the interest with which he regarded the country and the scenes of which he writes. Those who have visited the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia, and remember the great pains taken by the distinguished representatives of Norway and Sweden, Messrs. Dannfelt, Garda, Christopherson, Lindahl and Thordén, to exhibit features characteristic of their respective countries, will be especially interested in Mr. Caton's book.

EARLY MAN IN EUROPE.²—The six chapters of this book republished from *Harper's Magazine*, well deserve the durable form in which they now appear. Mr. Rau, who writes with charming grace and simplicity of style,

¹ "A Summer in Norway." By John Dean Caton. Chicago: Jansen, McClurg & Co.

² "Early Man in Europe." By Charles Rau. Illustrated. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

addresses the popular rather than the scientific mind; but his statements bear the impress of scholarship and authority, and what he says may therefore be regarded as the presentation, for the benefit of the unscientific reader, of the principal facts known to the scientist regarding the early history of the human race upon the continent of Europe. No other book upon the subjects treated of contains, in the same space, a greater fund of information, and numerous illustrations of ancient habitations, implements, etc., add largely to the value of the text.

BIBLE LANDS ILLUSTRATED.¹—To add anything to the already voluminous literature of the Holy Land which should possess distinguishing merits, would seem to be a difficult task. If Dr. Fish, in his volume of upwards of a thousand pages, has not added largely to the fund of information already existing in various forms, he has at least succeeded in his primary purpose, which was, as he expresses it, to provide "A working book on the Bible Lands." In a manner full of interest, he treats of Egypt, the Desert, the lands east of the Jordan, Palestine proper, Mesopotamia, Assyria, Persia, Chaldea and Babylonia, Syria, Asia Minor and the Ægean Islands, Greece and Italy. His statements bear evidence of a wide familiarity with previous writings upon the subject, as well as a knowledge gained by personal observation, and the book will undoubtedly commend itself to pastors, Sunday-school teachers and laymen, who desire to find in a single volume a full and interesting compendium of information upon the subjects of which it treats. The book is profusely illustrated with cuts many of which, because poorly executed or because printed on cheap paper, do little credit to the text.

ELEMENTS OF PSYCHOLOGY.²—This little work contains no new theories, but confines itself to an outline of the leading facts of mental science, as generally received by the English school of philosophers, before the rise of the Associational psychology. It does not indicate any acquaintance, on the part of the author, with the works of James Mill, Bain and Herbert Spencer; nor even with those of Kant, Fichte and Hegel. Teachers who wish their pupils to be thoroughly grounded in the doctrines of Reid and Stewart, of Hitchcock or of Bascom, and to accept them as absolute truth, before making any acquaintance with the more aggressive and scientific forms of contemporary thought, may find in Mr. Day's Elements a help. But a mind accustomed to the living controversies in this field can not but regard a large part of the book as a discussion of words rather than of facts.

¹ Bible Lands Illustrated. A Pictorial Handbook of the Antiquities and Modern Life of all the Sacred countries. By Henry C. Fish, D. D. Hartford: American Publishing Company. Cloth, \$3.50.

² "Elements of Psychology." By Henry N. Day. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

RECENT ENGLISH BOOKS.

FROM FEUDAL TO FEDERAL,¹ AND CITIZENSHIP.²—The author of these essays is a vigorous writer, as well as an earnest student of history, and its lessons as applied to Political Science. The essays contained in the volume "From Feudal to Federal" present a general study of democracy with reference to the past history and the future of the British nation. The definitions of liberalism and conservatism, and the important part assigned to these elements in the workings of British politics, are worthy of attention, as is also the author's statement of the laws in accordance with which society gravitates toward democracy, or from the rule of one to the rule of all.

In his republican ideas, Mr. Partridge is advanced and pronounced. He would even discard such checks as are provided for in minority representation and second chambers, and would let "the national intellect be open to all influences and opinions, industrial, intellectual, spiritual, natural, and then let it act." He presents an ideal of government, which, if not attainable, is certainly worthy the careful study of those who believe that governments generally may be made much better than they are. The essays entitled "Citizenship" are brief and vigorous discussions of the educational polity of England, in which the writer presents strong arguments in favor of freedom in education; or in other words, an educational system framed in accordance with the views of neither sacerdotalists nor secularists, but so constituted as to retain the Bible, and secure that fundamental religious instruction which he believes to be essential to the welfare of the citizen and the nation. His reasons for retaining the Bible in the schools are presented with great force, and are in many respects similar to those which have been advanced by American writers during the discussion of the same subject in the United States.

KING AND COMMONWEALTH.³—To the student of history no period in the life and growth of the English nation presents a more interesting field for study than that which comprises the reign of Charles I. and the Great Rebellion—a period extending from the year 1625 to 1660, and during which the people of England may be said to have fought the battles which forever established their claim to a government based on a recognition of popular rights. In preparing a book specially devoted to this era in history, the authors, in respect both to the subject treated and the character of the material afforded, have had exceptional opportunities for making a

¹ From Feudal to Federal. By J. A. Partridge. London: Trubner & Co.

² Citizenship versus Secularists and Sacerdotalists. By J. A. Partridge. London: Trubner & Co.

³ "King and Commonwealth." A History of Charles I. and the Great Rebellion. By B. Meriton Cordery, and J. Surtees Philpots. Philadelphia: Joseph H. Coates & Co. 1876.

work of more than ordinary interest and value. These opportunities have been wisely used, and their book will prove a satisfactory aid to those who would obtain full and correct information as to the character of the leading men of the epoch treated of, the spirit which inspired them, and the importance of their deeds.

RUDIMENTS OF THEOLOGY.¹—The purpose of the Canon of Bristol in preparing this handbook of theology, was to meet the requirements of a limited class—the Candidates for Holy Orders with whom he is brought into relations as Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Manchester. It is not too much to say of his book, however, that it is worthy of a far wider circulation than its author intended. Of the various attempts to present, in a brief, logical and attractive form, the fundamental doctrines of the Christian church, very few have been as free from the faults of dogmatism, weakness in argument, or dullness.

As a man of positive convictions, and a loyal member of the Church of England, Mr. Norris naturally infuses into his writings, in various places, the spirit of a Churchman; but he does it in a manner so thoroughly sincere, and with such freedom from anything like sectarian feeling, that he carries with him the respect of those who are ecclesiastically, if not doctrinally, opposed to him.

TYPES OF GENESIS,² **AND THE SECOND DEATH.**³—The earnestness and sincerity which pervade Mr. Jukes' writings, can not fail to win a certain degree of respect for the opinions expressed in these two volumes. In the first, the author's purpose is to elevate the Word of God to a higher place in man's esteem, by leading him to look upon it, not only as a field for the supply of certain every-day spiritual necessities, but also as a place where he may have access to Pisgah heights from which he can look out to study "heavenly depths full of unnumbered lights." It is in an attempt to bring knowledge from these "depths" that Mr. Jukes asks the reader to follow him, in a study of the types of Genesis. He regards "the development of Adam, or human nature, in the great world without," as having "its exact image and counterpart in the little world (the individual life) within;" and it is by drawing various lessons from this supposed likeness, that he would accomplish his purpose of awakening a deeper interest in the study of the Bible.

In the second volume, Mr. Jukes discusses, first the nature and inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, and then enters upon certain inquiries as

¹ "Rudiments of Theology." A first book for Students. By John Pilkington Norris, B.D. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1876.

² Types of Genesis: By Andrew Jukes. Third Edition. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

³ The Second Death, and The Restitution of all Things: By Andrew Jukes. Fourth Edition. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1876.

to the destiny of man, with special reference to Bible teachings regarding the future state of sinners. In this book also, the author makes free use of types and comparisons, and his views, although expressed with considerable crudeness and a want of logical cohesion, are in the main original and interesting.

RECENT GERMAN BOOKS.

AMERICA IN GERMAN LITERATURE.—The American Centennial has brought out in Germany a copious literature of the United States. Bigelow's "Life of Franklin," with an introduction by Dr. Frederic Kapp, Higginson's "Young Folks' History of the United States," Bancroft's popular edition of his History, and other trustworthy works of American authorship have been issued in German dress; some leading magazines have had creditable articles upon American affairs; Professor von Holst, who has spent several months in the Berlin Library and the British Museum in preparing the second volume of his Constitutional History of the United States, has given us a foretaste of his results in the admirable essay on Sumner, which may offset his disparaging critique on Jackson; the daily press has shown symptoms of awakening intelligence upon trans-Atlantic history; and the clever little *Reichs-Kalender*, which is a sort of "Poor Richard's Almanac," will diffuse in thousands of humble German homes these wholesome sentiments touching the United States: "the wonderful energy of the American people has driven the occupants of the oldest civilization forward in the line of productive and industrial progress; its free institutions have become to us a luminous example, to spur us on to self-government. We are under inexpressible obligations to the transatlantic Republic, and will hope that she may long endure as a shield of Freedom, as the home of unfettered Labor! But above all we are indebted to the Hundred-Year-Republic for the wholesome lesson that in a much higher degree than the individual, a whole People is the forger of its own destiny."

Such talk as this to plain people, in their house almanac, is far more weighty than labored essays and reviews. Just now it is pointed by the criticism of Professor Reuleaux upon the products of German manufacture as "cheap and nasty" in comparison with those of other nations at the Exhibition in Philadelphia. This criticism by the head of the Industrial Academy in Berlin, and the Chief Commissioner of the German Empire to the Exhibition, has aroused the press of Germany to a discussion, which, for a time at least, has diverted it from its chronic carping at the United States. The epithets that Professor Reuleaux applies to German fabrics would be appropriate to the average correspondence of the German press from America, which seldom has got beyond denouncing the "Puritan"

Sabbath and the Temperance Laws, and retailing the latest social or political scandal. The Centennial year has shown a marked improvement, since the press has found correspondents of intelligence, culture, and good-breeding among Germans who have gone over to Philadelphia. The *Garten Laube* for instance, and the *Illustrierte Zeitung*, have had some well-informed and well-timed articles concerning American society and institutions.

Mr. Becker,¹ however, seems to fancy that the "cheap and nasty" style is still preferred by his countrymen in criticism as well as in clothes. In an octavo of 384 pages on the social and political condition of the United States, he has heaped together all the smut of the press, of politics, of the courts, of the bar-room, of the socialistic sects and the low comedy of life, to make a color with which to paint a nation that has given home, freedom, education, opportunity, prosperity, to millions of his own countrymen, and has imparted some of the best influences of progress to Germany herself. His chapters on domestic education and married life show that he has never been honored with the acquaintance of a respectable American family; that on religious life shows him ignorant of the first conception of an inner religious faith or a controlling religious principle. It is surprising that the author of such a wholesale slander (his book has none of the cleverness of caricature or satire to redeem it) does not see what an exposure he makes of himself—the training he has had, the company he keeps, the notions and beliefs he cherishes. Becker's volume is not worth the space we have given it. It can do no harm; and it may do us the great service of keeping such Germans as are capable of believing in him or sympathizing with him, from emigrating to the United States, with a view to improve the social and political condition of our people or the style and manners of our authors!

German criticism of the United States finds a most candid, competent, and creditable representative in Dr. Friedrich Kapp, who has taken advantage of the interest awakened by the Centennial to bring out in a substantial form his various essays and observations upon facts and events in America.² Dr. Kapp unites in himself many of the best qualities of the political critic;—a broad training in history and philosophy, a legal habit of investigation and analysis, a clear and trenchant style, experience in public life, knowledge of men and affairs, sympathy with freedom and progress, and an honest openness to conviction from new sources of light. It would be too much to say that he is entirely without prejudice; but he is remarkably free from the *Chauvinism* which the Germans brought back as their most visible and permanent conquest from France. Unfortunately

¹ Die Hundertjährige Republik. Sociale und politische Zustände in den Vereinigten Staaten Nordamerikas, von John H. Becker, Mit Einleitung von Friedrich von Hellwuld. Augsburg: Lampart & Comp. 1876.

² Aus und über Amerika. Thatsachen und Erlebnisse von Friedrich Kapp. Berlin. Julius Springer, 2 vols. oct. pp. 380 and 425.

for our reputation abroad, Dr. Kapp, during his residence in New York, got far enough "inside politics" to see the machinery of corruption in city and state; and this he exposes with unrelenting frankness. Yet Americans have reason to thank him for an exposure that may stimulate the new spirit of reform; since Dr. Kapp, as an impartial observer, points out the sources of the evil and suggests possible remedies.

In the historical papers that open the first volume, Dr. Kapp gives Washington measured but hearty praise as "one of the noblest and purest characters that the history of any time or people knows," and as having completed the cycle opened by the Reformation. For Franklin he manifests more warmth of sympathy, and we are indebted to Dr. Kapp for introducing Mr. Bigelow's biography to German readers. In his article on the Declaration of Independence, Dr. Kapp does justice to Paine, but attaches too much importance to the alleged Mecklenburg manifesto. His *Diary of the civil war* is a document of high historic value, reflecting as it does the temper and events of the time in one who was neither a native nor a partisan, but a friend of liberty and union.

A large portion of the first volume is devoted to the history of German emigration to America—a subject that Dr. Kapp has fully mastered—and to the future of the German element in the United States. He says with truth that "Music was the bridge over which German life found its way into American families," but he has the sagacity to see that not all the witchery of music could charm Americans into adopting German life or cultivating German characteristics and manners. On the contrary he argues that the German immigrants must become absorbed in American life. While setting forth this law of absorption, against which so many of his countrymen rebel, we marvel that Dr. Kapp, who has been a party to the legislation for Germanizing Posen and Elsass, did not warn his countrymen of the breach of faith that every naturalized citizen commits, who attempts to keep up a separate distinction of race and nationality in the land of his adoption.

Mr. Herbert Tuttle's discriminating sketches of "German Political Leaders,"¹—in which the author shows such perfect mastery of political parties, systems, and movements—are soon to be republished in German, in whole or in part, and will be followed by a history of the development of constitutional government in Prussia, a task to which Mr. Tuttle has devoted years of research among the original documents and authorities. Dr. J. P. Thompson's "Jesus of Nazareth"² will presently appear in German from the press of Perthes of Gotha.

The Medical Faculty of the University of Berlin have awarded a prize, and the special honor of a gold medal to Mr. A. H. Van der Horck, a young American, for an essay embodying his investigations upon the implantation of foreign organic bodies and organic tissues in the anterior

¹ Published by Putnams, in New York, and Longman, Son & Co. in London.

² James R. Osgood & Co. Boston.

chamber of the eye.¹ These investigations had special reference to the reaction of the membrane and the development of tissue. The Essay, of one hundred and fifty pages, is illustrated by numerous drawings made under the microscope. The Ethnological Society of Berlin has also complimented Mr. Van der Horck's ethnological researches among the Laps.

Professor Helmholtz, in a recent paper before the Berlin Academy, made honorable mention of investigations made in his laboratory by two American physicists who are already enrolled as professors, one at Baltimore, the other at Amherst. Thus the rising generation of American scholars is redeeming the country abroad from the disgrace of its home politicians.

ART IN EUROPE.

ABOUT twenty or thirty years ago the English were very generally supposed on the continent of Europe, to have scarcely any artistic taste whatever. Even amongst the English themselves there was a common opinion that they were not intended by nature for success in anything requiring the education of the eye. The members of the nation who were cultivated in other ways had a contempt for art-culture when they were, as often happened, of a proud and aristocratic disposition, and when they were modest and good-natured they looked upon it as something unattainable without special gifts, which they did not believe themselves to possess. The number of people in England who at that time really had opinions of their own on any artistic subject was surprisingly small. I am old enough to remember the time when in the best provincial society you could hardly find a single individual of either sex who ventured to think independently on artistic matters, or who took sufficient interest in them to pursue any sustained investigation. In matters of house decoration (which concern every householder, for the humblest dwelling where there are paper and carpets has decoration of some sort) the rule was to follow the fashion, and the fashion was made, in a mysterious manner, by the shop-keepers and their customers together, the shop-keepers providing patterns which they hoped would sell, and then trying to persuade people to buy them. There was at that time hardly any superior influence from which some degree of artistic cultivation might percolate down to the public as literary cultivation did from the universities and the higher class of schools. The Royal Academy had not the slightest influence over national industry and it could do nothing to affect fashion, even in minor matters. An educating force was required which would spread itself widely through the common life and work of the country, and this was established in the South Kensington Museum

¹ " *Instituantur experimenta ad cognoscenda mutationes, quae corporibus organicis in anteriore oculi Camera obviis efficiuntur.*

and the Schools of Design with their constant encouragement of art-study of a practically applicable kind. The fine energy and perseverance with which these art studies have been instituted and pursued have had for their result the general raising of the national level in everything which requires, or appeals to, an educated taste.

England is no longer, in these matters, of necessity dependent upon France; she is indeed advancing persistently while France is standing still, and it requires little prophetic power to predict that in the course of a generation or two France will be completely distanced in artistic industry unless she bestirs herself in time. The comparison is like the comparison between the National Gallery and the Louvre. The Louvre is the larger collection of the two, but it has no money to make purchases—the National Gallery buys and grows, and it is easy to foresee the day when it will surpass the French collection. Some of the more intelligent Frenchmen are already quite delivered from the absurd old national conceit that France had nothing to apprehend from any human rivalry, and they quite clearly perceive that if she only stays in one place while others go forward the time can not be far distant when she will be left to supply only her home consumption, and cease to be the great exporter of the artistic industries. Having wisely cast national vanity aside, these men are now seriously attempting to found a South Kensington Museum in Paris, in the midst of the working population. There is no foolish affectation of denying the origin of the scheme, for they frankly call their intended institution “Un South Kensington Museum français.” Your Exhibition at Philadelphia is the immediate cause of this determination, for a correspondent of the *Temps* sounded the cry of alarm from Philadelphia itself: “The assiduous study of the models in the South Kensington Museum,” said the correspondent in question, “reproduced in many schools of design and of fine art applied to industry is steadily purifying the taste of the English, and raising the character of their productions.” A circular issued by the projectors of the new museum in Paris, says that this rivalry is becoming daily more and more formidable, so that the day may be foreseen when France will no longer be able to contend against it. The statistics of the Ministry of Commerce prove that French exportations in artistic industry are diminishing, while those of other nations, and especially of England, are rapidly increasing. This commercial side of the question affects France very nearly for she works especially, in the artistic industries, for exportation, and has driven a great trade in the past, on her reputation for superior taste. The “Musée des Arts Décoratifs” is intended to meet the difficulty for Paris, but the sums subscribed for it hitherto have been ridiculously small; and there is so little public spirit in the country where subscribing is concerned that unless the government comes forward the project will inevitably fall through. It is curious how little educational influence over the working classes is exercised by the numerous provincial art-museums in France. The reason is that they are not arranged for purposes of education. Pictures

and statues are sent to them on no principle but that of the purest hazard, and there is nothing systematically educational to lead the workmen gradually from simple conceptions to more complicated ones. The movement, indeed, among French provincial workmen, during the last hundred years has been decidedly retrograde. In former times ornamental furniture was produced in small provincial towns, of a kind which evidently implies a considerable degree of artistic sense and training, and so it was with the provincial work in wrought iron, in railings and balconies. At the present day you may go into the old towns where these things were done, and not find a single workman capable of understanding a drawing, for design is a language which can not be read without some degree of education. The establishment of the Republic has been accompanied by an awakening on the part of the government, to the necessity for attention to educational matters of all kinds, so it is likely that design will come in for its share of attention. What is chiefly wanted is a steady and constant circulation of good models through the provinces, and this might be attained easily, now that there are railways to all places of any importance, and the provincial museums might be brought within the system. I feel sure that the *circulation* of art-objects is necessary to keep up a lively interest in the subject in the provinces, for the few objects in a small country museum soon become too familiar, and no longer stimulate the attention of the inhabitants. Another kind of exhibition may be most usefully organized from time to time in the provinces, a small art-treasures exhibition including pictures and furniture and objects of all kinds which have any artistic interest. There is an exhibition of this kind open just now at Autun. It is considerable enough to occupy eight large rooms, which are filled with objects of all kinds that a person of artistic taste is likely to take an interest in, and all these things have been contributed by people in the neighborhood. I remember an exhibition of a similar character at Burnley in Lancashire, many years ago, which contained a good many interesting things. Nobody knows how many art-treasures are scattered over the provinces of France and England. Two years ago an attempt was made to induce the provincial museums to lend the best of their contents temporarily for a central exhibition in Paris, but the scheme failed from the opposition of the provincial authorities, who would not confide their treasures to the railways.

As the French are trying to imitate our South Kensington Museum, so they are establishing a "Black and White Exhibition" on the model of the one in London. This is an excellent measure for the simple reason that nobody goes to see the drawings and engravings which happen to be attached to an exhibition of pictures. When the eye has been excited by the stimulus of color, and charmed by the graces of pictorial execution, all work in black and white comes like water after wine, so that it is only the engravers and draughtsmen themselves, or their friends, who give it any serious attention. When, on the other hand, an exhibition without color is isolated, people come to it out of the street, or fresh from their own homes,

and their eyes are ready to enjoy it. These exhibitions are filled with pen-drawings, etchings, charcoal drawings, engraving, designs for the wood-engraver, monochromes in sepia, etc. By a law of reaction well known to exist in the fine arts, and very conducive to extension of knowledge and breadth of study, it so happens that when an artist has been working very hard to attain one quality he is often tempted, when that quality is fully attained, to go in search of its precise opposite. Thus in black and white art, when a man has become clever in etching, and can draw very finely and delicately with a sharp point, he is always very likely to throw himself into some kind of study which has the opposite qualities of richness and softness, and which does not aim at minute precision at all. In this way Lalanne and Appian, without abandoning etching altogether, have found it a great relief to throw their main strength for the last year or two into charcoal drawing, just because charcoal drawing has perfections of an entirely different kind from the perfections of etching. Their charcoal-drawings have been reproduced by one of the photographic processes with a considerable degree of fidelity, and are published by Berville. There are seventy-five of them by Lalanne, some of which are very remarkable. The best are *La Naumachie* (Parc de Monceau) *Clair de Lune dans les Pyrénées*, *Ruines et Chêne*, and *Lepont*. Appian exhibited two very fine charcoals at the Salon, *Une Excluse, dans la Vallée D'Estressin* (Isère) and *Les Bords du lac D'Arandon* (Ain). There were also two important ones by Allongé.

I made a mistake in my last letter about the award to Paul Dubois for the portraits of his boys. He received the first medal. He is too old for the *Prix du Salon* which was given to M. Sylvestre for his *Locusta*. Dubois got the *médaille d'honneur* for his statues and the *première médaille* for his painting. Both medals were fairly won, and nobody finds fault with the award except a few unsuccessful artists here and there who are jealous of superior ability.

P. G. HAMERTON.

SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS.

AN observation by Weber, at Peckeloh, of a round spot upon the disk of the sun, on the fourth of April last, revives the question of the existence of a planet within the orbit of Mercury, which was raised by the famous observation of Lescarbault in 1859. A period of revolution of 42.02 days would connect these two observations, as also those of Lummis and Decuppis in 1862 and 1839 respectively, referring them to the same body, but there are similar ones which can not be reconciled with this period, though a number of them may be satisfied by the assumption of a period of 28

days. In a notice in *Nature*, M. Leverrier is stated to have expressed an opinion in favor of the existence of two planets at nearly the same mean distance from the sun, a supposition which would remove the difficulty in accounting for the most of the discrepancies in the observations. The planet has been very carefully looked for during the first days of October, when a transit was expected to occur, but, so far as reported up to the time of writing, without success, a circumstance which will confirm the skepticism of many astronomers as to the reality of its existence, though by no means conclusive against it.

AMONG the most important papers read before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, at the Buffalo meeting, was a communication by Professor C. A. Young, on the effect of the sun's rotation upon the position of the lines in the spectrum of light from different portions of his disk. A short time ago Professor Young hit upon an elegantly simple device, by which, in combining a glass prism with a diffraction-plate ruled with fine lines, the spectra of higher orders produced by the plate, which ordinarily overlap in such a way as to render observation of them a matter of the greatest difficulty, are separated by reason of the unequal refrangibility of their different rays, so that the various lines can be distinguished with ease and certainty. A still more important advantage is the attainment of a degree of dispersion far superior to that reached with the ordinary spectroscope. One of the earliest results of this method was to prove the duplicity of the famous line 1474 of the solar corona. This had shown a perplexing coincidence with a line in the spectrum of iron, but Professor Young showed that the lines were really distinct, the iron line being slightly less refrangible than the other. He has now made a successful application of this contrivance to the study of the question mentioned above. When an image of the sun formed at the focus of a telescopic object-glass is thrown upon the slit of the instrument, and this is adjusted so that the two D-lines are visible in the field of view, such is the amount of dispersion that not only are these lines widely separated, but eight other lines are seen between them. The diffraction-plate employed had 8640 lines to the inch, and the spectra of higher orders were used for the observations. Calculation of the velocity of approach or recession of the edge of the solar disk by reason of his rotation gives a velocity of 1.235 miles per second, or for the relative velocity of the two edges with respect to the earth 2.47 miles. Now Professor Young finds, from the difference of position of the spectral lines from these two parts of the solar image, a velocity of 2.67 miles, which is a very close approximation, especially as the probable error of the determinations with the instrument is ± 0.17 mile. It may be regarded as a satisfactory experimental proof of the proposition that motion of a luminous body in the line of sight does produce a displacement of the lines of its spectrum proportional to the velocity of that motion, a matter of great importance as confirming the recent deductions of Huggins and others respecting the movements of the fixed stars.

AS BEARING upon the proposition above stated, some experiments just completed by Dr. C. Vogel upon the effect of motion in a sounding body have a special interest and importance. They were essentially a repetition of the well known experiment of M. Buys-Ballot, which were made upon the sound given by a cornet played by a person standing upon a locomotive in motion, as it approached or receded from the observer. Vogel's experiments were made with the whistle of the locomotive itself, and were performed with great care, and under conditions proper to secure precision in the determinations. The results were that the sound of the whistle when approaching was higher, when receding was lower in pitch, than when it was stationary, and the difference in the two cases was found, with some slight discrepancies, accounted for by a want of complete uniformity in the conditions, to agree very well with the theory familiarly known as Doppler's principle.

THE DEMAND for rapid communication of intelligence has stimulated numerous inventions and modifications of telegraphic apparatus, some of the more recent of which are of the greatest interest. First there is the automatic telegraph of Mr. Edison, which can transmit some 1200 words in one minute, by a modification of the Bain or chemical telegraph. Then there is the telephone of Mr. E. Gray, an instrument which transmits, or rather reproduces, musical sounds by the telegraphic wire, and which is capable of transmitting a number of dispatches simultaneously over the same wire, apparatus having already been constructed which sends four at once, with the possibility of the number being largely increased by suitable disposition of the mechanism. Finally, and this is the most remarkable of all, there is the invention of Mr. Graham Bell, by which sounds may be so faithfully reproduced at the distant station, that the modulations of the human voice are distinctly perceived and spoken words readily understood. This wonderful result is produced by surprisingly simple means, the essential principle of which is as follows: At each station is a small electro-magnet the coils of which form a portion of the circuit of the line. Over each is a kind of acoustic resonator, that is, a hollow vessel closed at one end by a delicate membrane, the center of the latter being very near the poles of the electro-magnet. The armatures of the magnets are very small pieces of soft iron attached to the membranes, and separated by a small interval from the cores of the magnets. A motion of one of the armatures to or fro while a current is passing in the wire, in accordance with a well-known principle, changes the intensity of the current, and thus produces a corresponding motion of the armature at the other end of the line. Suppose now a person speaks into the resonator at the sending station. The light membrane vibrates in accordance with the sound, thus moving the little armature attached to it, the result being that these motions are copied by the armature and the membrane at the other end of the line as above explained. The effect will be that the membrane thus made to vibrate will reproduce the sound with all its peculiarities, provided the vibrations are

of sufficient intensity to render it audible. Experiments have resulted in a complete success, and it is stated that whole sentences have been clearly understood which had been transmitted in this way over many miles of wire.

THE BEAUTIFULLY STRATIFIED appearance of tubes containing gases at very low pressure when traversed by electricity has been the subject of much study, without having received hitherto an entirely satisfactory explanation. A recent memoir upon this subject by M. Neyreneuf, gives an account of some elaborate experiments under very varied conditions, and furnishes an acceptable solution of the problem. Having found evidence from preliminary experiments that a gas is repelled by positive and attracted by negative electricity in general, and taking into account the fact that the discharge which produces these luminous effects is always intermittent in its character, he concludes that vibratory movements are established in the gaseous column within the tube, producing waves which by their interference give rise to stationary regions of condensation and dilatation, corresponding to the nodes and loops in a tube traversed by sonorous waves. As the resistance encountered by the electricity is greater in the denser than in the rarer parts, the intensity of the light emitted suffers a corresponding variation, the bright portions of the segments being, as M. Neyreneuf thinks, those where the density of the gas is greatest. Numerical calculations on the basis of data furnished by his experiments confirm this explanation. He has also shown that similar stratifications occur in a tube containing a mixture of inflammable gases, as oxygen and hydrogen, when the gases are exploded, the sudden impulsion of the gas in the act of detonation causing vibratory movements similar to those observed in the other cases. These experiments with detonating gases were in fact suggested by the effects obtained with the vacuum-tubes, and are a striking confirmation of his theory in regard to them.

A NOVEL PROCESS in the printing of textile fabrics employs the aid of photography in producing colored designs upon cloth. The material which is to be ornamented is dipped in a solution of bichromate of potash, a salt which is very sensitive to the action of light. The patterns to be copied, which may be figures cut out of sheet metal, or other objects, as, for instance, leaves of plants, are laid upon it, and the whole exposed to the light for a short time. The part exposed and thus acted upon by the light is so changed that when plunged into certain dyes, as 'madder, logwood, and others, it takes up the color, the salt in those parts acting as a mordant, while the covered portion is not affected, and remains white or of its original color when the fabric is washed. The pattern is thus reproduced upon the cloth with admirable effect.

ARTHUR W. WRIGHT.

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